We regret that owing to circumstances beyond our control, the publication of this work has been much delayed.

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ON THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF BHARATAVARṢA OR INDIA

ON

THE ORIGINAL INHABITANTS

OF

BHARATAVARṢA OR INDIA

BY

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PREFACE.

THE main object of this work is to prove from existing sources, so far as they are available to me, that the original inhabitants of India, with the exception of a small minority of foreign immigrants, belong all to one and the same race, branches of which are spread over the continents of Asia and Europe, and which is also known as Finnish-Ugrian or Turanian. The branch which is domiciled in India should, according to my opinion, be called *Bharatan*, because the Bharatas were in olden times its most numerous and most honoured representatives, after whom the country received its name Bharatavarṣa or Bhāratavarṣa.

The favoured spots in which, in primeval periods, men preferred to select their dwellings, were the highlands, hills, and mountains; for these regions afforded greater protection not only against the attacks of men and of wild beasts, but also against the fury of the unfettered elements, especially against the ravages of sudden and disastrous inundations. Though the plains were not altogether uninhabited, still the bulk of the population preferred, where obtainable, the higher and more secure places. I believe that the Bharatas were essentially a race of mountaineers, and that their name is intimately connected with the Gauda-Dravidian root *para*, *pārai*, mountain, a circumstance to which I draw attention.[1]

[1] See pages 13, 32, 33.

The Bharatas divided at an early date into two great sections, which were known in antiquity, as Kuru-Pañcalas and Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, and afterwards as Gaudians and Dravidians, and as Kuruvas or Kurumbas and Mallas or Malayas, etc. All these names, too, are derived from words which denote mountains. However nearly related these tribes were to each other, they never lived together in close friendship, and although they were not always perhaps at open war, yet feelings of distrust and aversion seem always to have prevailed.

Though positive evidence in favour of my assertions was very difficult to obtain, still, it was incumbent on me to verify my statements by the best means available. In order to do so, I had to betake myself to the fields of language and religion, which in matters of this kind are the most reliable and precious sources of information. For language and religion manifest in a peculiar manner the mental condition of men, and though both differ in their aim and result, yet the mind which directs and animates both is the same, so that though they work in different grooves, the process of thinking is in both identical. Besides the mental character, we must not neglect the physical complement which is supplied by ethnology, and in this case the physical evidence of ethnology supports thoroughly the conclusions at which I had arrived from consulting the language and religion of the inhabitants of India.

In the first two parts I have treated separately of the two branches of the Bharatas, relying mainly on the linguistic and historical material at my disposal concerning the ethnological position of the Dravidians and Gaudians. The principal Gauda-Dravidian tribes who live scattered over the length and breadth of the vast Indian continent are, in order to establish their mutual kinship, separately introduced into this discussion. This method

may create in the minds of some readers an impression that the several topics are somewhat disconnected, but this arrangement was necessitated by the peculiarity of the subject of my inquiry.

In pursuing the ramifications of the Bharatan, or Gauda-Dravidian, population throughout the peninsula, I hope I have been able to point out the connexion existing between several tribes, apparently widely different from each other. I have tried thus to identify the so-called Pariahs of Southern India with the old Dravidian mountaineers and to establish their relationship to the Bhārs, Brahuis, Mhārs, Mahārs, Pahārias, Paravāri, Pāradas and other tribes; all these tribes forming, as it were, the first layer of the ancient Dravidian deposit. In a similar manner I have identified the Caṇḍālas with the first section of the Gaudian race which was reduced to abject slavery by the Aryan invaders, and shown their connexion with the ancient Kaṇḍālas and the present Gonds. In addition to this, I trust I have proved that such apparently different tribes as the Mallas, Pallas, Pallavas, Ballas, Bhillas and others are one and all offshoots of the Dravidian branch, and that the Kolis, Kōis, Khonds, Koḍagas, Koṛavas, Kuṛumbas and others belong to the Gaudian division, both branches forming in reality only portions of one and the same people, whom I prefer to call, as I have said, Bharatas.

Where there is so much room for conjecture, it is easy enough, of course, to fall into error, and I shall be prepared to be told that many of my conclusions are erroneous and the hypotheses on which they are built fanciful. But though much of what I have written may be shown to be untenable, I shall yet be satisfied if, in the main, I establish my contention, and I shall deem myself amply repaid for my labor if I succeed in restoring the Gaudian and Dravidian to those rights and honors of which they have so long been deprive d

In the third part which treats on Indian Theogony I have endeavoured to give a short sketch of some of the most prominent features of the Aryan and non-Aryan beliefs. After noticing briefly the reverence which the Vedic hymns display towards the Forces of Nature, which develops gradually into the acceptance of a Supreme Being (*Brahman*), I go on to show how the idea of an impersonal God, a perception too high and abstract to be grasped by the masses of the population, gradually gave place to the recognition of a personal Creator, with whom were associated eventually the two figure-heads of Preservation and Destruction, all these three together forming the Trimūrti as represented by Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

About the time that the ancient Vedic views began to undergo a change, and the idea of the existence of a Supreme Spirit impressed itself on the minds of the thoughtful, the non-Aryan Principle of the Female Energy was introduced into the Aryan system. This dogma which originated with the Turanian races of Asia, and was thus also acknowledged in ancient Babylonia, soon exercised a powerful influence, and pervaded the whole religion of the Aryans in India. Its symbol was in India the Sālagrāma-stone, which Viṣṇu afterwards appropriated as his emblem.

I have further tried to show how the contact with the non-Aryan population affected the belief of the Aryans and modified some of the features of their deities. *Brahman* was thus, by assimilating himself with the non-Aryan chief-god and demon-king Aiyanār, transformed into a Brahmabhūta, while the very same Aiyanār was changed into *Śiva* in his position as demon-king or Bhūtanātha, and *Viṣṇu* became gradually identified by a great section of the Brahmanic community with the Female Principle and taken for Umā.

The religious opinions of the original inhabitants were

on the other hand not left unchanged as the result of their intercourse with the Aryans, and many ideas and many of the deities of the invader were received into their religion. The prominent features of this religion lay in the adoration of the Principle of the Female Energy, or Śakti, as represented by the chief local goddess or Grāmadēvatā, in the acknowledgment of a Supreme God revered under such names as Aiyanār (Śāsta), and in the worship of Demons.

I trust now that the racial unity of the great majority of the Indian population has been established by this research based mainly on linguistic and theological evidence, as it has also been proved independently by ethnological enquiries.

In order to perpetuate by an outward sign the racial union of the overwhelming majority of the population of India, I venture to suggest that the inhabitants of this country would do well, if they were to assume the ancient, honorable and national name of Bharatas, remembering that India has become famous as Bharatavarṣa, the land of the Bharatas.

In such a multitude of subjects, it was only possible for me to formulate my ideas in a somewhat imperfect manner, without being able to treat separately every particular subject as thoroughly and completely as it deserved, and as I had wished to treat it. I make this observation to show that I am fully cognizant of the incompleteness of this enquiry, but, I trust, I have at least succeeded in making clear its purport and significance. If time and circumstances had permitted, I should have added some chapters on some essential topics, and enlarged the scope of others, but my impending departure from India has compelled me to be brief. If this book should be deemed worthy of another edition, I hope to be able to remedy these defects. It is here perhaps not out of place to mention, that the first portions of this book appeared some years ago, the

first Part being printed as early as 1888, and it is possible that the publication of this work in fragments has been attended with some disadvantages.

I am thus well aware of the many defects in a publication like this, but I trust that even my errors may not be without use, if, like stranded vessels, they serve to direct the explorer, warning him away from the shoals and rocks that beset the enquirer in his search after truth.

GUSTAV OPPERT.

MADRAS, 14*th February*, 1893.

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k, kh, g, gh, ṅ, ḥ, h, a, ā.
c, ch, j, jh, ñ, ś, y, i, ī, e[1], ē, ai.
ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ, ṣ., r, ṛ, ṝ.
t, th, d, dh, n, s, l, ḷ, ḹ.
p, ph, b, bh, m, ḥ v, n ṉ, o[1], ō, aū.
Anusvāra ṁ ; ṟ, ḷ, ḻ, are peculiar to the Dravidian languages.

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[1] Used in the Dravidian languages.

On the Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa or India.

INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL REMARKS.

No one who undertakes to study the ancient history of India can fail to be impressed by the scantiness of the material at his disposal. In fact such an undertaking would soon appear to be futile, were he to depend solely on Indian accounts and records. Fortunately, however, we possess some writings of foreigners who visited India; and their reports of what they actually saw during their stay in this country, and of what they were able to gather from trustworthy sources, furnish us with materials of a sufficiently reliable character. If we except Kashmir and Ceylon, regarding the latter as belonging to India, no part of India possesses anything like a continuous historical record. The preponderance of caste and the social prejudices it creates are disabilities such as no Hindu who wishes to relate the history of his country can entirely overcome. The natives of India have, as a rule, little sympathy with people outside their own class, and when it is believed that persons belonging to the highest caste oan by their piety ensure final beatitude, if they simply remember and revere the memory of their three immediate predecessors—father, grandfather, and great grandfather—we need not wonder at the apathy displayed towards history by them and by others who are beneath them in the social scale.

*

Yet, if the study of Indian history has up to now not proved interesting to the Hindus themselves—and there exist many good reasons why this has been and is still the case—this fact need not discourage foreigners, who are interested in this subject, from pursuing it.

It is true no doubt that the results which have been obtained from decipherings and archæological researches in India, must appear insignificant when compared with what has been achieved elsewhere in the same fields. Still, there is no need to despair of final success, for our knowledge and material are daily increasing, though Indian history at present, becomes interesting only when it throws light on the communal, legal and social conditions of the people, or on their intercourse and relation with foreigners.

Owing to the meagreness and often to the untrustworthiness of the historical material, an Indian historian must be continually on the look-out for new tracks in which to pursue his researches. The task of a scientific historian is difficult in itself, but it is made still more so, if a scholar is anxious to make original researches and strike out for himself a new path in Indian history, as, in addition to other qualifications, he must be a linguist possessing some knowledge of the language of the people into whose past he is inquiring.

The limited number of Indian historical records, including architectural, palæographical, numismatic and similar antiquities, compels a student of Indian history to draw within his range subjects other than those usually regarded as strictly historical, *e.g.*, the names of nations and individuals, of countries and towns, of mountains and rivers, and such other topics, in which he believes that historical relics lie concealed.

I have selected as the subject of this inquiry the people to whom I assign in default of a better name that of Gauda-Dravidian, who by the extensive area they occupied, and over

which their descendants are still scattered, are well worthy of a careful research being made into their past history.

Philological Remarks.

Before entering upon the historical part of this inquiry, a few general philological remarks will not be out of place. Every one who is even slightly acquainted with the laws which govern the interchange of letters, knows that the labial nasal *m* is often permuted into the other labials as *p*, *b*, or *v* and *vice versâ*. *Mumba* is thus changed to Bombay, and *Mallava* into Ballava; *Marukaccha* is identical with *Bharukaccha*; Sanskrit *pramāṇa* is altered to Kanarese *pavaṇu* or *havaṇu*, measure; *maṭṭai*, stem, in Tamil resembles *paṭṭai*, bark; *maḍandai* in Tamil, woman, corresponds to *paḍati* in Telugu, and *Maḻḻar* to Paḻḻar, &c. On the other hand, *Bhavāni* becomes Bhamāni; *Vānam*, heaven, is changed in Tamil to *Mānam*; *Paluvanēri* to Palamanēri; *Pallava* to Vallama (Velama) and Vallamba; *paḻḻāḍu*, goat, in Tamil, to veḻḻāḍu; *Vaḍavan* to Vaḍaman; the words *Ciṟuvan* and Ciṟuman, *youth*, both occur; *piṟaṅku*, to shine, in Tamil corresponds to the Telugu *meruṅgu*, &c.

The above-mentioned rule is general and applies to other languages as well, for in Greek, *omma*, *e.g.*, becomes *oppa*; *meta*, peda; *membras*, bembras; *pallein*, ballein, and *patein*, batein, &c.; but nowhere else does there exist such a variety and difference of pronunciation as in the vernacular languages of India. Their system of writing is a proof of this fact. Tamil has, *e.g.*, only one sign for the four sounds[1] belonging to each of the five classes; in fact 20 different sounds are expressed by five letters, and even where, as in Telugu, these 20 sounds are provided with 20

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[1] க் for k, kh, g, gh; ச் for c, ch, j, jh; ட் for ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh; த் for t, th, d, dh; and ப் for p, ph, b, bh. In their transliteration accordingly are only used *k*, *c*, *t*, *ṭ* and *p*, which indicate the letter, but not the sound.

distinct characters, the pronunciation still remains so uncertain, that in his Telugu Dictionary the late Mr. C. P. Brown arranged these four letters respectively under one head. The cause of this striking peculiarity and these continual permutations is to be found partly no doubt in indefinite pronunciation and dialectical divergencies, but mainly in the strict enforcement of the over-stringent and artificial rules of Sandhi or Euphony, which affect alike vowels and consonants, and which do not, *e.g.*, permit a word in the middle of a sentence to begin with a vowel. Local differences in pronunciation exist in India as well as in other countries. Amongst these the interchanges between *tenues* and *mediae* are most common; we find them in Wales and in German Saxony, where the tenues *p*, *t*, and *k* are to this day confounded with the mediae *b*, *d*, and *g*, or *vice versâ*.

The three Dravidian *l*'s (*l* ல், *ḷ* ள் and *ḻ* ழ்) however differently they may be pronounced, are only varieties of the same sound and are therefore interchangeable, thus, *e.g.*, the Sanskrit *phalam* becomes in Tamil *palam* பலம், or *paḻam* பழம், while *mallam* மல்லம் becomes *maḷḷam* மள்ளம், *veḷḷāḷan* வெள்ளாளன் is also spelt *veḷḷāḻan* வெள்ளாழன், and a village or town is called *palli* பல்லி (*valli* வல்லி), *paḷḷi* பள்ளி, or *pāḻi* பாழி. The harsher sound is generally used by the lower classes, and where these pronounce an ல் *l* or ள் *ḷ*, a high caste-man will lisp a ழ் *ḻ*, which letter is probably a modern innovation prevailing specially in Malayālam and Tamil.

As the different *l*'s interchange between each other, so do the two Dravidian *r* and *ṟ*;[2] a hard double ற்ற் *ṟṟ* is pronounced in Tamil somewhat like a double *ṭṭ*,[3] which circum-

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[2] Tamil ர் and ற், Telugu ర and ఱ, Kanarese ರ and ಱ, Malayālam ര and റ.

[3] The Tamil ற்ற் is represented occasionally in Telugu by ట్ట, *e.g.*, the Tamil புற்று, *puṟṟu*, corresponds to the Telugu పుట్ట *puṭṭa*.

stance is a proof of the relationship between the *r* and *ṭ* sounds. After this statement the permutation between the lingual *ḍ* and the *r* and *l* sounds will not create any surprise. Some of these changes are pretty common elsewhere; they occur in the Aryan as well as in the Dravidian languages.

A further peculiarity of the Dravidian languages, and especially of Tamil, is their dislike to beginning words with compound letters: *Brahma* becomes Piramam, பிரமம்; *prabandha*, pirapantam, பிரபந்தம்; *grantha*, kirantam, கிரந்தம். In consequence of indistinct pronunciation and the desire for abbreviation, initial and medial consonants are often dropped at the beginning or in the middle of words, while on the other hand in opposition to this tendency a half-consonant is prefixed to an initial vowel, in order to prevent a word from beginning with a vowel. We thus occasionally meet words whose initial consonants are dropped and replaced by half-consonants, *e.g.*, *vella*, white, in Telugu becomes *ella* and *yella*, *vesa*, haste, *esa* and *yesa*, the name of the *Billavar* of Travancore becomes Ilavar and Yilavar; Vēlūr becomes Ēlūr and Yēlūr. This practice of prefixing a half-consonant before an initial vowel is generally enforced in the middle of a sentence,—a *y* is thus placed before an *a*, *e*, *i*, and *ai* and a *v* before *o*, *u*, and *au*. The half-consonant is used to avoid an hiatus and this explains why the University-degrees M.A. and B.A. are pronounced by many Natives *Yam Ya* and *Be Ya*. Metathesis is likewise of not unfrequent occurrence in the Dravidian languages. It is even found in words of common occurrence, in *kurudai*, *e.g.*, for *kudirai*, horse; in *Marudai* for the town Madura; in *Verul* for Elōra (Vēlūr or Ballōra); in *Vaikāśam* (வைகாசம்) and *Vaikāśi* (வைகாசி) for *Vaiśākham* and *Vaiśākhi*; in the Telugu *agapa* and *abaka*, ladle, &c.

Another peculiarity is to drop one of two consonants in a syllable and to lengthen the vowel if it happens to be short, or to double a consonant and to shorten the vowel,

if it happens to be long; *e.g.*, చెయ్యుట *ceyyuṭa* for చేయుట *cēyuṭa*, *Veḷḷāḷan* for *Vēḷāḷan*, *Palla* for *Pāla*, &c.

It will be readily perceived that this laxity of pronunciation affords a wide field for philological conjectures, and that, if we choose as an example the representative name of the *Malla* or *Palla* tribe, a variety of forms for *Mara* and *Malla*, or *Para* and *Palla*, which actually occur, can be retraced to the common source, and thus be shown to have a sound basis. The task which a philologist has to perform is a serious one and ought to make him cautious. Considerable and unexpected difficulties also arise from the great similarity of many Sanskrit and Dravidian words with *Mara*, *Malla* and their derivatives.[4] The explanations of names of persons, tribes, places, &c., so readily tendered by the Natives

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[4] A few of such similar words are in *Sanskrit* : *para*, other, *pala*, m., straw, n., flesh, *pala*, m., barn, *pallava*, m., n., sprout, *palvala*, m., pond, *pāla*, m., guard, *pula* great, *phala*, n., fruit, *phāla*, m., n., ploughshare, *phulla*, open, *bala*, n., power, *bali*, m., oblation, *bāla*, young, *bhāla*, n., forehead, *mara*, killing, *mala*, n., dirt, *malli*, f., jasmine, *māra*, killing, *māla*, n., field, *mālā*, f., garland, *valla*, covering, *vallabha*, m., lover, *valli* (ī), f., creeper, &c.; in *Tamil*: *alam*, plough, *alli*, lily, *alliyam*, village of herdsmen, *aḻai*, cave, *ālam*, water, *palar* (*pallār*), many persons, *palam*, strength, fruit, flesh, *pali*, sacrifice, *pal*, tooth, *pallam*, bear, arrow, *palli*, lizard, *paḻam*, old, *paḻam*, fruit, *paḻi*, blame, *paḻai*, hole, *paḷḷam*, lowness, *paḷḷayam* (*paḷḷaiyam*), offering to demons, *paḷḷaicci*, dwarfish woman, *pāl*, milk, *pālam*, bridge, *pālar*, herdsmen, *pālai*, arid, *pāḻi*, cave, village, *pāḷayam* (*pāḷaiyam*) country, camp, *pāḷi*, encampment, *pāḷai*, palmtree, *pilli*, demon, *pulam*, ricefield, *pulāl*, flesh, *pulai*, flesh, *pul*, meanness, *pullu*, grass, *pullam*, ignorant, *puḷḷi*, lizard, *malam*, excretion, *malar*, flower, *malai*, hill, *mal*, boxing, *mallam*, strength, *malli*, jasmine, *mallu*, wrestling, *maḻai*, rain, *maḷḷam*, strength, *māḷ*, greatness, *mullai*, jasmine, *muḷ*, *muḷḷu*, thorn, *mēl*, above, *valam*, rightside, *valam*, power, *vali*, strength, *valu*, strong, *valai*, net, *vallar*, strong persons, *vallapan*, beloved, *vallavan*, shepherd, *valli*, woman, village, *valliyam*, village of shepherds, *vaḻuti*, poetical epithet of the Pāṇḍya kings, *vaḷappam*, *vaḷamai*, *vaḷam*, *vaḷan*, strength, *vaḷavan*, epithet of Cōḻa, *vaḷḷam*, corn measure, *vaḷḷiyam*, pipe, pepper, *vāḻai*, plantain, *vāḷ*, sword, *vil*, bow, *villi*, Manmatha, *veḷ*, white, *veḷḷam*, inundation, *veḷḷi*, silver, *vēl*, lance, *vēli*, village, *vēḻam*, sugarcane-reed, &c.; in *Telugu*: *ala*, wave, *ala* (*alla*), then, *alli*, water, lily, *alle*, bowstring, *ela*, young, *ella*, all, limit, white (*vella*), *palla* (*pulla*), red, reddish, *pāḷemu*, camp, *paḷḷemu*, saucer, *pāla*, name of a tree, white, jay, *pālu*, share, milk, *pilla*, child, *pilli*, cat, *puli* (*pulla*), sour, *puli*, tiger, *pulu* (*pullu*), grass, *pulla*, piece, *balla*, bench, *bhāḷi*, affection, *mala*, mountain, *malumu*, dirt, *malu*, again, *malla*

of India and seemingly supported by some legendary and historical evidence, must be viewed with extreme caution and distrust. It is not an uncommon occurrence to make a statement of this kind, and afterwards to invent corroborative evidence. This is often not done with any desire to mislead, but rather because it affords a fair display for speculative ingenuity. If, *e.g.*, a rich man of a high caste acquires a Paṟaicēri, he will alter its name so as to hide the low origin of his property and to impart to it a sacred appearance. Near Madras is situated the well-known hill called St. Thomas' Mount. Its name in Tamil is Paraṅgi Malai or Mountain of the Franks or Europeans, from the original European or rather Portuguese settlement. Some years ago a Brahman settlement was established there and the name of Paraṅgi Malai was no longer deemed respectable. Thenceforth it was changed to Bhṛṅgi Malai, the mountain of the sacred Bhṛṅgi, and eventually in support of this appellation legendary evidence was not slow in forthcoming.[5]

(*malli*) again, *malle* (*mallelu*), jasmine, *māla* (*māle*, *mālika*), garland, *māli*, gardener, *māle*, house, *mulu* (*mullu*), thorn, *mūle*, corner, *mella*, hall, *mēlamu*, fun, *mēlu*, good, upper, *maila*, unclean, *vala*, right, net, *valla*, stratagem, *valle*, noose, *vāli*, custom, *vālu*, long, sword, *vilu* (*villu*), bow, *vīlu*, expedient, *vela*, price, *vella*, white, *velluva*, flood, *vēla*, limit, *vēḻa*, time, *vēlu* 1000, toe, &c.

Considering the changes the letters undergo in Dravidian words, when *paḻḻāḍu*, goat, is also written *veḻḻāḍu* and *pala*, flesh, becomes *pulai* and *Vallūru* is also written *Vālūru*, *Vellūru*, *Yellūru*, &c., similar alterations need not create any great surprise, especially if it is admitted that small orthographical changes assist their being the more easily distinguished. As an illustration how the names of the Mallas and Pallas appear in local appellations I only add as an example a few such names as Mallapur, Pallapur, Ballapur, Vallapur, Yallapur, Allapur, Ellapur, Vellapur, Yellapur, Illapur, Villapur, Vollūru, Ullapur, Vullapur, Mālavūr, Pālavūr, Balapur, Vālapur, Yālapetta, Ēlapur, Ēlavūr, Vēlapur, Yēlagiri, &c., &c.

[5] An example of the spurious character of similar writings is exhibited by the Sthalapurāṇa that contains the origin of the *Gunnybag-weavers*, which, though of recent origin, is by some incorporated in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.

A curious instance of the alteration of a name is supplied by the Barber's bridge near St. Thomé in Madras. It was originally named *Hamilton's*

It might appear that when so many changes are possible, no reliance can be placed on such evidence, but these permutations do not all take place at the same time, indeed dialectical pronunciation selects some letters in preference to others. The northern Hindu pronounces, a *B*, where the southern prefers a *V*, and both letters occur only in border districts; thus no *B* is found in the names of such places situated in the Chingleput, South-Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevelly, and Malabar districts, while in South-Kanara, Ganjam and Mysore a *V* is seldom used.

These few preliminary philological remarks are absolutely necessary to facilitate the understanding of the subsequent discussion. The important position which language occupies in such a research as the present was well pointed out more than forty years ago, by the Pioneer of North-Indian Ethnology, the learned B. H. Hodgson, when he wrote in the preface to his first Essay: "And the more I see of these primitive races the stronger becomes my conviction that there is no medium of investigation yielding such copious and accurate data as their languages."

Historical Remarks.

Turning from these linguistic to historical topics, we know as a fact that when tracing the records of any nation or country as far back as possible, we arrive at a period when all authentic or provable accounts cease. We have then reached the prehistoric stage. What occurred during that epoch can never be verified. When the mist of historic darkness disappears from the plains and mountains of a country, the existing inhabitants and their dwellings become

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bridge after a gentleman of that name. The word *Hamilton*, being difficult to pronounce in Tamil, was changed into *amaṭṭan* (common form for *ampaṭṭan*) which means in Tamil a *barber*, whence by retranslation into English the bridge was called Barber's bridge.

visible, but whether these are in reality the first settlers and their abodes the first erected, is another question which does not properly belong to the domain of history, so long as we are unable to assert its relevancy or to find an answer to it. Whether the people of whom we first hear in a country are really its aborigines may be doubtful; but so long as no earlier inhabitants can be discovered, they must be regarded as such. So far as historical traces can be found in the labyrinth of Indian antiquity, it was the Gauda-Dravidians who lived and tilled the soil and worked the mines in India.

This discussion does not concern the so-called Kolarian tribes, whose connection with the ancient history of India is so very obscure, that we possess hardly any historical accounts about them.

However considerable and apparently irreconcilable may appear the differences exhibited by the various Gauda-Dravidian tribes in their physical structure and colour, in their language, religion, and art, all these differences can be satisfactorily accounted for by the physical peculiarities of the localities they inhabited, by the various occupations they followed, and by the political status which regulated their domestic and social habits. For every one must be aware of the fact that change of abode and change in position have worked, and are working, the most marvellous alterations in the physical and mental constitution of individuals and nations. Language, especially the spirit which pervades it, is the most enduring witness of the connection which exists between nations, and with its help we can often trace the continuity of descent from the same stock in tribes seemingly widely different.

From the north-west across to the north-east, and from both corners to the furthest south, the presence of the Gauda-Dravidian race in India can be proved at a very early period. On the arrival of the Aryans on the north-western frontier, the Gauda-Dravidians are already found in flourishing

communities. But successive waves of the Aryan invasion, swelled in their course by the accession of former opponents who had despaired of successful resistance, must soon have flooded over the Gauda-Dravidian settlements. Some by their prowess were able to maintain their ground against the invaders, while others, defeated, left their abodes and emigrated towards the South. Yet even the North, subject though it became in time to the Aryan or rather Brahmanical sway, can never be said to have been totally conquered by force of arms. Still less was this the case with the South, where the Brahmanical influence always assumed a more civic and priestly character; influence, which though of another kind, can hardly be deemed less powerful, since it is more lasting and more thorough. Even the Aryanised languages of North-India—however they may prove the mental superiority of the invaders who were able to force on their defeated foes their peculiar mode of thinking—manifest their origin in their vocabularies and show the inability of the victors to press on the vanquished their own language. The languages of both, victors and vanquished, amalgamated and formed new dialects, and the difference which exists between the abstract synthetic Sanskrit and the concrete agglutinated Dravidian is clearly expressed. This difference is easily observable when we compare on the one hand the construction of Sanskrit with that of such Aryanised languages, as Bengāli and Marāthi, which possess a considerable substratum of a non-Aryan element, and on the other hand the construction of Latin with that of the Neo-latin languages French and Spanish, which may be considered as entirely Aryan. I have alluded to this fact in my "Classification of Languages." Hindustāni is a fair specimen of such a miscegenation of languages.

The earliest mention of a Gauda-Dravidian word is to be found in the Bible. In the first book of Kings, x. 22, we read as follows: *For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish*

with the navy of Hiram; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks."[6] The expression for peacocks is *tukkiyyīm*, a word derived from the Gauda-Dravidian *toka* (*tokai* or *togai*), which originally signifies the tail of a peacock and eventually a peacock itself. It exists in Telugu, Tamil, Malayālam, Kanarese, Gondi and elsewhere. The identification of *tukki* (*tūki*) with *tokai* is very old indeed, and is already quoted as well known in the early editions of the Hebrew dictionary of Wilhelm Gesenius.[7] The mere fact that the sailors of Solomon and Hiram designated a special Indian article by a Gauda-Dravidian word, renders it probable that the inhabitants with whom they traded were Gauda-Dravidians and that Gauda-Dravidian was the language of the country. The Aryan influence could at that time hardly have been strong enough to supplant the current vernacular, or to force upon it a Prakritised Aryan term. Moreover, the peacock is a well-known bird, common all over India, and it is highly improbable that the Gauda-Dravidians should have waited for the arrival of the Aryans to name it, or should have dropped their own term in order to adopt in its stead an Aryan one. The vocal resemblance between the Hebrew *kōph* and the Sanskrit *kapi* is most likely accidental. The ancient Egyptians, who kept monkeys in their temples, called a monkey *kāf*. Besides it cannot at all be assumed that the sailors of the fleet of Tharshish did not know monkeys. May not *kōph*, *kāf*, *kapi*, &c., after all be an *Onomatopoiëtikon?* Another word which proves the connection of the Gauda-Dravidians with foreign nations is supplied by

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6 The Hebrew words in 1 Kings, x. 22, are: *Oni Tharṣīṣ nōsēth sāhāb vākeseph ṣenhabbīm veqōphīm vethukkiyyīm.* 2 Chronicles, ix. 21, has a long *ū* and reads *vethūkkiyyīm.* The derivation of *ṣenhabbīm* is still doubtful.

7 See also my lecture *On the Ancient Commerce of India*, p. 25. The derivation of *Almuggīm* or *Algūmmīm* from *valgu* as the sandalwood is called in different places, 1 Kings, x. 11, 12, and 2 Chronicles, ii. 7; ix. 10, 11, is very doubtful, and I hesitate to derive it from Sanskrit.

the Greek word *oryza* for rice, which corresponds to the Gauda-Dravidian *ariśi*, and not to the Sanskrit *vrīhi*.[8]

The Aryan invaders showed little sympathy with the inhabitants they found on the confines and in the interior of India. The outward appearance of the Dāsas or Dasyus—these were the names with which the new-comers honoured their opponents—was not such as to create a favourable impression, and they were in consequence taunted with their black colour and flat noses, which latter made their faces appear as if they had no noses. Indra is invoked to reduce into the darkness of subjection the colour of the Dāsas and to protect the colour of his worshippers, for the latter were not always successful in the combats, and the Dāsas at times turned the tables on their foes by becoming victorious aggressors.

So far as civilisation is concerned, a great difference could hardly have existed between the two races when they first met. However rude may have been the bulk of the indigenous population, a considerable portion of it must have already attained a certain degree of cultivation. It was no doubt the wealth which they had acquired that stimulated the invaders to pursue their conquests, even when a brave

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[8] See my lecture *On the Ancient Commerce of India*, p. 37 : "Of grains *Rice* formed an important commodity. The cultivation of rice extended in ancient times only as far west as to Bactria, Susiana, and the Euphrates valley. The Greeks most likely obtained their rice from India, as this country alone produced it in sufficient quantity to be able to export it. Moreover the Grecian name for rice *oryza*, for which there exists no Aryan or Sanskrit root, has been previously identified by scholars with the Tamil word *ariśi*, which denotes rice deprived of the husk. This was exactly the state in which rice was exported. The Greeks besides connected rice generally with India. Athenæos quotes *oryza hephthē*, cooked rice, as the food of the Indians, and Aelianus mentions a wine made of rice as an Indian beverage. If now the Greek received their rice from India, and the name they called this grain by is a Dravidian word, we obtain an additional proof of the non-Aryan element represented in the Indian trade."

Arṣi, rice, occurs also in Keikadi, and *ariselu*, ricecakes, in Telugu.

and stubborn resistance warned the Aryans not to drive to despair the various chieftains who had retreated to their mountain strongholds. The bravery of the Dāsas excited the admiration of their opponents. Indra himself occasionally protects the Dāsas, the Aryan priest deigns to accept his offering, and the divine Aśvins partake even of his food. Though both the terms *Dasyu* and *Dāsa* originally denote a destroyer, at times a malevolent superhuman being, and at times in contrast to *Ārya*, an enemy of the gods or a wicked man, and are in this sense specially applied to the aboriginal races who stood outside the Brahmanical pale, yet the expression *Dāsa* continued to be contemptuously used by one Aryan against another, till it became in time equivalent to a common menial or slave.

Division between Gaudians and Dravidians.

The foemen whom the Aryans first encountered were generally brave mountaineers who offered a stout resistance in their numerous castles. Indeed, most tribal names of the inhabitants of India will be shown to refer to mountains.

The two special Gauda-Dravidian terms for mountain are *mala* (*malai*, *pār*, *pāṟāi*, &c.) and *ko* (*koṇḍa*, *kuṟu*, *kunṟu*, *kora*, &c.). Both kinds of expressions are widely used and prevail throughout India. Hence are derived the names of the *Mallas*, *Mālas*, *Mālavas*, *Malayas*,[9] &c., and of the *Kōyis*, *Kōdulu*, *Koṇḍas*, *Goṇḍas*, *Gauḍas*, *Kuruvas*, &c. I shall in future call those tribes whose names are derived from *mala* Dravidians, and those whose names are derived from *ko* Gaudians.

[9] Concerning the single and double *l* which is found respectively in Malaya, Malla and in their derivatives, it should be considered that the Dravidian languages do not possess fixed orthographical rules regarding proper names and that single and double letters are often used indifferently. A mountaineer is thus generally described in South-India as *Malayan* or *Malaiyan*, while *Maḻḻan* also denotes an inhabitant of a mountainous district.

PART I.

THE DRAVIDIANS.

CHAPTER II.

The names of Ancient Kings and Asuras indicate the names of the people over whom they ruled.

Among the tribes and people whom I regard as Dravidians, whose names are derived either directly from *Mala* or from cognate terms, and who are of the same race as the *Mallas* or *Pallas*, which term is chosen on p. 6 as their representative designation, I may mention the Māras (Mhārs, Mahārs, Mahāras or Mālas), Māris, Maṟavar, Pariahs, Parjas, Paravar, Paravārī, *Πωρούαροι*, Pāratas, *Παροῦται*, Pāradas, Parheyas, Bārs (Bhārs, *Βάῤῥαι*), Brahuis; the Mallas (*Μαλλοί*, Malli), Mālas (Māls or Māras), Mala Arayar, Malacar, Malayālis, Mālavas, (Mālvas), Mālair (Māler or Pahārias), Mallar or Pallar, the Palliyar, Polaiyar, Pulayar, Holiyar, Pulindas (*Πουλῖνδαι*), Puṇḍras, Pallis, Pālas, Pālis, Pallavas (Palhavas, Pahlavas, Pahnavas, Plavas), Pāṇḍyas, Ballas, Bhallas, Bhīls (Bhillas, *Φυλλῖται*), Bhillālas, Ballālas, Vellālar, Velamas (Vallamas, Vallambams), Valluvar, &c.[10]

The Ṛgvēda only rarely confers special names on the Indians who opposed the Aryans, and these names wherever they occur cannot be easily recognised and explained.

On the other hand the Indian gods adopted, particularly in later times, the names of the demons they had defeated in

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[10] The Māvēlla or *Māvēllaka* whom Lassen in his *Indische Alterthumskunde* (vol. I, p. 751, or 605) identifies with the Megalloi of Megasthenes as occupying Mārwār, might perhaps be added to this list.

combat in order to perpetuate the memory of their victories. A natural assumption leads one to infer that the names of the conquered demons or Asuras represent those of the forces they led to battle, and that the Asuras Malla, Bala, Bali, Bàla, Bāli or Vāli, Vala [11] and others were chiefs of the aboriginal race.

Kṛṣṇa is thus called Mallāri,[12] the enemy or destroyer of the Asura *Malla*; Indra is renowned as Valadviṣ or Valanāśana, enemy or destroyer of the demon *Vala*,[13] the brother of Vṛtra, and as Balanāśana and Balārāti, enemy or destroyer of *Bala*.[14] Viṣṇu goes by the name of Balidhvaṁsin,[15] for he defeated the great giant king *Bali* in the shape of a dwarf in the Vāmana Avatāra. Rāma covers his name with doubtful glory by killing in unfair fight the mighty so-called monkey-king *Bāli* or Vāli, the brother of Sugrīva; hence Rāma's name Bālihantṛ.

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[11] Though *Vala* need not be taken in the Ṛgvēda as a demon, he is regarded as such in later works. He may perhaps have been confounded later on with Bala.

[12] *Mallāri* or *Malhārī* is in the Marātha country regarded as an incarnation of Śiva, and is also called Khaṇḍōbā.

[13] Or Valabhit, Valavṛtraghna, Valavṛtrahan, Valasūdana, Valahantṛ, and Valārāti.

[14] Or Balaniṣūdana, Balabhit and Balasūdana.

[15] Or Balindama, Balibandhana and Balihan. *Bali* or Mahābali was the son of *Virōcana* and father of *Bāṇa*. He ruled over the three worlds, established, according to the Matsya-Purāṇa, at the desire of Brahma, the four castes, and was eventually reduced by Viṣṇu to become the king of Pātāla. He is still the most popular legendary king among the whole Hindu population, especially in South-India. We find a *Mahābalipura* on the *Son* river in the North, and near Madras in the South. The people remember to this day the prosperity enjoyed under his sway. Once a year Bali is said to visit the earth, but this visit is not celebrated simultaneously throughout India. His greatest feast falls on the fullmoon in the month of Kārttiki, when the corn standing in the fields, the cow-houses, wells, and particularly the dwelling-houses, are illuminated with lamps. In Mysore popular songs are sung in his praise on the last day of the Navarātri. The Hindu people worship him also during the Pongal, when gourds (in Sanskrit *kūṣmāṇḍa*) are given to Brahmans. Bali is worshipped in Malabar on the Ōṇam festival. He does not die and is one of the seven Cirajīvins.

BEGINNING OF PEACEFUL INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE BETWEEN ARYANS AND DRAVIDIANS.

With the decrease of the Aryan immigration into India, their actual conquests ceased and the new comers, once established in the country, devised more peaceful means to perpetuate and extend their power. Colonists and missionaries visited the hitherto unapproached provinces and tried to win by their superior knowledge and civilisation the good will of the natives. Intermarriage recommended itself as the most efficient means to gain this object, though the race-pride of the conquering nation shrank from such misalliances.

In order to sanction them the example of the gods was needed, and Subrahmaṇya, the South-Indian representative of Kārttikēya, the son of Śiva, who delights to reside in wild forests and weird mountain tops is credited with having chosen a South-Indian girl called *Vaḷḷi*[16] as his wife. Vaḷḷi is a well-known female name common among the Pariahs and Paḷḷar, the Paḷḷis and other Śūdras, and corresponds to the equally-widely used man's name Malla. Vaḷḷi is also celebrated as the Amman of Vaiṣṇava gods.[17] The

[16] He is the presiding deity of many mountains, as *Tirupparaṅkuṉṟan*, *Cāmimalai* (or Pal̲ani), *Cōl̲aimalai*, &c., and is thus, among other titles, called the ruler of the Pal̲ani mountain, Pal̲ani Āṇḍī or Āṇḍavar.

Two wives are generally assigned to Subrahmaṇya. They are called Dēvasēnā (contracted in colloquial Tamil into Tēvānai) and Vaḷḷi. (Valli-Dēvasēnāsamēta-Subrahmaṇyasvāminē namaḥ.) Subrahmaṇya is therefore also called in Tamil *Vaḷḷimaṇ(av)ālan*, or husband of Vaḷḷi.

[17] The popular derivation of Triplicane (Tiruvallikkēni) i from *Alli*, அல்லி, a kind of water lily; which explanation I believe to be wrong. According to the Sthalapurāṇa of Triplicane *Nārada* goes to Kailāsa to ascertain from Paramēśvara the position of Bṛndāraṇya which lies north-east of Tirunīrmalai near Pallāvaram. The sage Bhṛgu lived there near a pond full of lotus, called Kairaviṇī. He worshipped the 5 gods of the place, especially Raṅganātha, who slept under a sandal tree. Near it Bhṛgu found a little girl whom he gave to his wife to nurse. He called her *Vēdavalli*, and married her in due time as Vēdavalli Tāyār to Raṅganāthasvāmi, &c. The ancient temple tank in Triplicane is called *Vēdavallipuṣkariṇī*.

principal goddess in Triplicane, who, as Amman presides over the Kṣētram and to whom the temple-compound belongs, is Vēdavalli. The god Pārthasārathi is only lodging there as her guest.[18] In Tiruvallūr the Amman is called Kanakavalli, in Chidambaram Paṅkajavalli, in Śrīmuṣṇam Ambujavalli, in Kumbhakōnam there are two, a Kōmalavalli and a Vijayavalli, in Mannārguḍi a Campakavalli, and in Tirumāliruñcōlai as well as in Nāgapatam there is a Sundaravalli, &c. The derivation of Vaḻḻi in these names from the Sanskrit *Valli*, creeper, appears doubtful, especially if one considers that Subrahmaṇya's wife, Vaḻḻi, was a low-caste South-Indian woman, that the Śaiva preceded the Vaiṣṇava creed, and that Śaiva temples were occasionally turned into Vaiṣṇava temples. Pārvatī, the wife of Śiva and daughter of the mountain Himālaya, is even worshipped as a Pariah woman in her disguise as Mātaṅgī. This word is derived from Mātaṅga, which signifies a wild mountaineer.[19]

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[18] The difference between *Amman* and *Ammāḷ* (both meaning mother) is that the former expression refers only to goddesses, while the latter is applied both to goddesses and mortal women.

[19] The Śyāmalādaṇḍaka ascribed to Kālidāsa contains the following ślōka concerning Mātaṅgī :—

Māṇikyavīṇām upalālayantīm
  madalasām mañjulavāgvilāsām
Mahēndranilōpalakōmalāṅgīm
  Mātaṅgakanyām manasā smarāmi.

It is perhaps not impossible that there exists a connection between *Mātaṅga* and *Mālaṅga*. The *d* and the *l* are occasionally interchanged, compare the Greek δάκρυ with the Latin *lacryma*. The Malayālis consistently pronounce an *l* instead of a *t*, *e.g.*, for *tasmāt kāraṇāt* they say *tasmāl kāraṇāl*. In Marāthi the word Mātaṅga has been contracted into Māṅga, see p. 66. Compare also the Dravidian roots *paḻa* and *paṇḍu*, old. Telugu has besides *paṇḍu* also *pāta*.

The Amarakōśa, II, Śūdravarga (X) 20, 21, contains the following ślōkas concerning the Mātaṅga and other out-castes.

Caṇḍāla-Plava-Mātaṅga-Divākirti-Janaṅgamāḥ
Niṣāda-Śvapacāv-Antēvāsi-Cāṇḍāla-Pukkasāḥ
Bhēdāḥ Kirāta-Śabara-Pulindā Mlēcchajatayaḥ.

CHAPTER III.

THE MALLAS.

The name of the Mallas appears in various forms in Sanskrit literature. As the name of a *people*, we meet it in Malaka, Malada, Malaja, Malla, Mallaka, Mallava, Māla, Mālava, Mālavarti, &c.; as the name of a *demon* in Malayaja (Rāhu), Malla (perhaps also if not connected with *mālā*, garland, in Mālyavān and Mālinī), &c.; as the name of a *human being* in Malayakētu, Malayadhvaja, Malayanarapati, Malayaprabha, Malayasiṁha, Malayagandhinī, Malayavāsinī, Mālavī, &c.; as the name of a *country* in Malaya, Malayadēśa, Malayabhūmi, Mallabhūmi, Mallarāṣṭra, Māla, Mālava, Mālavadēśa, Mālavaka, &c.; as the name of a *mountain* or *mountain-range* in Malakūṭa, Malaya, Malayaparvata, Malayabhūbhṛt, Malayācala, Malayādri, Mālyavān, &c.; as the name of a *river* in Mālavī, &c.; as the name of a *town* in Malayapura, Mallapura, Mallavāstu, Mallaprastha, &c.; as the name of a *plant* in Malayaja, Malayadruma, Malayōdbhava (sandal); Mallaja (Vēllaja, black pepper), &c., &c.

If we include in this list some variations of the sound *Malla*, we may mention the three mind-born sons of Brahma, the famous Prajāpatis *Marīci*, *Pulaha*, and *Pulastya*, who had among their progeny the most reputed Daityas or Rākṣasas, as well as the demon *Pulōman*, whom Indra killed, in order to obviate the curse pronounced against him for his having violated Pulōman's daughter *Śacī*. The name *Marīci* occurs also among the Daityas, *Maraka* among the nations, and *mallaja*, black pepper, is likewise called *marica* or *marīca*.

Maru means in Sanskrit a desert and a mountain, and the expression *Marubhū* is specially applied to Mārwār, but its inhabitants as well as the Mhārs are the representatives

of an old Dravidian stock, like their namesakes the Maṟavar, மறவர், in South-India. It is in itself very improbable, that these tribes should have obtained their name from a foreign source, and it would not be very venturesome to conjecture without any further authentic proof, that there existed in the ancient Dravidian dialect a word *mar* or *marai* for mountain, corresponding to the synonymous Tamil words *pār* and *pāṟai*. And in fact *mar* in the language of the original inhabitants of Mârwār means *hill*, and the Mārs or Mhārs are in reality *hill men*.[20]

The Mallas, as a nation, are repeatedly mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa, in various Purāṇas, the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, the Lalitavistara and elsewhere. Mallabhūmi and Mallarāṣṭra, which as well as Malayabhūmi refer to the northern parts of India, occur in the Rāmāyāṇa and Mahābhārata. The Siddhāntakaumudī mentions in a passage that refers to Pāṇini, V. 3, 114, the *Mallāḥ* instead of *Bhallāḥ*, which latter expression is found in the commentary to Dr. O. v. Böhtlingk's edition of Pāṇini. This quotation is significant as the Bṛhatsaṁhitā mentions likewise the Bhallas, who represent the modern Bhillas or Bhīls. Bhalla and Bhilla are identical with Malla and are only different pronunciations or formations of the same word.

The Mallas are specially brought to our notice by the circumstance that Buddha, the great reformer of India, preferred to die among the Mallas in Kuśinagara. The citizens, when they heard of the arrival of the dying saint, met him sorrowfully, and among the last acts of Buddha was that he appointed the Malla Subhadra as an Arhat. This connection of Buddha with the Mallas appears strange and

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[20] See Lieut.-Col. James Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan;* London, 1829, vol. I, p. 680: The *Mair* or *Mēra* is the mountaineer of Rajpootana, and the country he inhabits is styled *Mairwarra*, or "the region of hills."

strengthens the doubt whether Buddha was an Aryan at all. His name of Śākyamuni and his relationship with the Śākya race has been taken as a reason to associate his name with the Scythian tribes, who had for some time previously been invading north-western India. However this may be, Buddha's friendship with the Mallas supports his non-Aryan origin. The enmity which existed between the kings of Kōśala and the Śākya princes is of itself significant, leaving altogether out of consideration the question whether Buddha was a prince or not. Moreover the inimical position which Buddhism soon assumed towards Brahmanism, the great hold the former took on the non-Brahmanical population, which rushed to be received into its fold, makes the conjecture of Buddha's non-Aryan origin rather probable.

Another branch of the Mallas came into collision with Alexander the Great, while he was progressing towards the South along the valley of the Indus. In the fight which ensued during his attack on their city he was, as is well known, severely wounded. This happened not far from the present Multan, which word I assume to denote Mallasthāna, the place of the Mallas, not Mūlasthāna, as has been assumed hitherto. In fact Sir Alexander Burnes states in his *Travels into Bokhara* (vol. III, p. 114) that "Mooltan is styled 'Malli than,' or 'Mali tharun' the place of the Malli, to this day."

Malayakētu, the son of the mountain king Pārvataka, who figures in the drama Mudrārākṣasa, represents the northern branch of the Mallas, settled in Malayabhūmi, near the Himālaya while the Pāṇḍya kings Malayadhvaja, Malayanarapati, Malayaprabha, Malayasiṁha and others are representatives of the south.

Even to this day the name of the Mallas is preserved among the population all over India, for the Mālas (Māls),

Mala Arayar or Malai Araśar, Malacar,[21] Malayālis, Mālavas (Mālvas), Mālair (Māler or Pahārias), Maḻḻar, Mārs (Māras, Mhārs, Mahārs, Mahāras), Maris, Maṟavar, &c., as they are named in different places, are found scattered all over the country.

The word Malla also shows in its various meanings all the vicissitudes to which individuals and nations are alike exposed. When the bearers of the name were prosperous in the enjoyment of wealth and power, kings were proud to combine the term *Malla* with their own appellation in order to add further splendour to themselves, so that the word *Mallaka* assumed also the meaning of royal, as in the Mṛcchakaṭika;[22] yet when the wheel of fortune turned and the star of the Mallas had sunk beneath the horizon, the former term of honour became degraded into a byname of opprobrium and was applied to the lowest population, so that Mālavāḍu is in modern Telugu the equivalent of Pariah.

Still the recollection of former splendour is not forgotten and is cherished among the Pariahs or Mālas. The Pariahs or Mahārs of the Marātha country claim thus to have once been the rulers of Mahārāṣṭra. And this is not improbable, for not only are the Mahārs found all over the country, but philological evidence is also in their favour. An old tradition divides the Drāviḍa and Gauḍa Brahmans into

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[21] See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, pp. 433, 434 (364), note 1: "Die *Malasir* (*Malliars*, *Journal of the R.A.S.*, II, 336) im Waldgebirge Malabars, haben keine Brahmanen oder Guru, verehren als ihren Gott Mallung einen Stein. Auch die Pariar Malabar's haben in ihren Tempeln nur Steine." "Each village (of the Mala Arayar) has its priest, who, when required, calls on the Hill (*Mala*), which means the demon resident there;" see *Native Life in Travancore*, by the Rev. S. Mateer, p. 77. See note 28.

[22] Compare such names as Yuddhamalla, Jagadēkamalla, Trailōkamalla, Ahavamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c. See about the *Malla Era*, *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. VIII, p. 203 ff, and about *Mallaka*, Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. I, p. 134.

five classes. The Ślōkas which contain this statement are as follows :—

> Mahārāṣṭrāndhradrāviḍāḥ karṇāṭāścaiva gurjarāḥ
> Drāvidāḥ pañcadhā prōktā Vindhyadakṣinavāsinaḥ.
> Sārasvatāḥ kānyakubjā gauḍōtkalāśca maithilāḥ
> Gauḍāḥ pañcavidhā prōktā Vindhyāduttaravāsinaḥ.

Except the term *Mahārāṣṭra*, all the other names refer to Indian tribes. It may be presumed therefore that this is true likewise in the case of Mahārāṣṭra, and that this name should not be explained by "Great Kingdom." Mahārāṣṭra was also called Mallarāṣṭra, the country of the Mallas. The Mallas are the same as the Māras, who are better known as Mārs or Mhārs. Mhār was eventually transformed into Mahār; in fact both forms exist in modern Marāthi. Two terms identical in meaning *Mallarāṣṭra* and *Mahārāṣṭra* were thus used. The former dropped into oblivion, and with the waning fortunes of the Mahārs, their connection with the name was soon forgotten and Mahārāṣṭra was explained as meaning the "Great Kingdom" instead of the Kingdom of the Mahārs or Mallas. It is indeed curious that the word Pariah has still in Marāthi, the meaning of Mahāra, for the term *Paravārī* corresponds to Pariah, and is used in Marāthi in a general way as a courteous or conciliatory term for a Mahār.[23]

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[23] There exist other Ślōkas about this division. The *Skanda-Purāṇa* contains the abovementioned Ślōkas also in the following form :—

> Karnātāścaiva Drāviḍā Gurjarā Rāṣṭravāsinaḥ
> Āndhrāśca Drāviḍāḥ pañca Vindhyadakṣiṇavāsinaḥ.
> Sārasvatāḥ Kānyakubjā Gauḍa-Maithilakōtkalāḥ
> Pañca Gauḍā iti khyātā Vindhasyōttaravāsinaḥ.

According to Dr. John Wilson : "Maharatta is the Pālī form of Mahārāshṭra, which with the variant reading Mallarāshṭra appears in several of the Purānas. . Now, *Mahārāshṭra* may mean 'the country of the *Mahārs*,' a tribe still known in the province, though in a degraded position, and still so numerous throughout the Marāṭha country that there runs the proverb, *Jenye*

The proper names of *Mallayya* and *Malladu*, common among the Śūdra and Pariah population of Southern India, are occasionally like *Kuppayya* and *Vēmbayya* [24] given among Brahmans and other high-caste people to a boy, when the parents have previously lost two or more children. By this act of humility, displayed in giving a low name to their child, they hope to propitiate the deity and obtain for their offspring the health of a poor man's child. With that object they even throw the infant into a dunghill or *kuppa* (Tamil *kuppai*); a practice which has given rise to the name of Kuppayya.

Step by step the Dravidians receded from Northern India, though they never left it altogether. The Brahmanical supremacy deprived them of their independence, yet not all submitted to Aryan customs and manners. Scattered remains of the Mallas exist, as we have seen, to this day in North-India.

The immense chain of the Vindhya mountains acted as a protecting barrier, otherwise the Dravidians in the south,

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gānva tenye Mahāra vāḍā. 'Wherever there is a village there is the Mahār ward.' The Mahārs are mentioned by the cognomen which they still bear that of Parwārī (Πωρουαροι) by Ptolemy, in the second century of the Christian era; and in his days they were evidently a people of distinct geographical recognition." See Dr. John Wilson's *Notes on the Constituent Elements.. of the Marāthī Language*, p. xxiii in the second edition of the *Dictionary Marāṭhi and English*, compiled by J. T. Molesworth, Bombay, 1857.—Consult too Dr. John Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol. II, p. 48: "The Mahārs, who form one of its (Mahārāshṭra's) old degraded tribes, and are everywhere found in the province say, that Mahārāshṭra means the country of the Mahārs." Compare *Notes on Castes in the Dekhan*, by W. F. Sinclair, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II (1874), p. 130. See also Col. Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 264: "We have a tribe called Māl or Mār, scattered over Sirgūja, Palāmau, Belounja, &c."

In the *Vishṇupurāṇa* of H. H. Wilson, edited by Fitzedward Hall, vol. II, p. 165, Mallarāṣṭra is called *Vallirāṣṭra*, and it is conjectured that *Mallarāṣṭra* may be identical with the Mahārāṣṭra (the Mahratta country) of the Purāṇas.

[24] *Vēmbayya* is called after *Vēmbu*, the Margōsa tree, the representative of bitterness. Death should regard in consequence the child as too bitter and too worthless to carry it off.

unlike their brothers in the north, would not have remained so unmolested. In fact the Vindhya mountains were by degrees recognized as constituting the natural frontier between the Aryanised nations of the north and the Dravidians of the south.

Aryan colonisation progressed slowly in the south. The first missionaries appear to have been only visitors and sojourners not permanent settlers in the country, whence they retraced their steps homewards.

The holy Agastya, according to one tradition[25] a grandson of Brahma, a son of Pulastya, a brother of Viśravas and an uncle of the Rākṣasa king, Rāvaṇa, is said to have remained in the South. Many miraculous deeds are ascribed to this diminutive sage. He is said to have been instrumental in the destruction of the powerful Nahuṣa, to have consumed and digested the Rākṣasa Vātāpi, to have drunk the waters of the ocean, and to have forced the Vindhya mountains to prostrate themselves before him. This last feat was intended to symbolize the fact that he having settled down for good in Drāviḍa, became the originator of Brahmanical colonisation. For he exacted from the insurmountable Vindhya, who was lying at his feet, the promise not to rise again until he had returned and recrossed, and as Agastya did not come back, the Vindhya could not lift its head again, and since then the mountain became passable for future immi-

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[25] According to another tradition he was born together with *Vasiṣṭha* in a waterjar (therefore called *Kumbhasambhava*, *Kumbhayōni* and *Ghaṭōdbhava*) as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa (therefore *Maitrāvāruṇi*) and of the Apsaras *Urvaśī*. In the Svāyambhuva Manvantara the name of Agastya, as the son of Pulastya and Prīti, is *Dattōli*. According to the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa Agastya was the son of Pulastya and of Havirbhū and was called in a previous birth *Dahrāgni* or *Jaṭharāgni*. (See *Vishṇupur.*, vol. I, p. 154.) He is also called *Pitābdhi* as Ocean-drinker and *Vātāpidviṣ*, as destroyer of Vātāpi. His abode is fixed on the mountain Kuñjara. Many hymns of the Ṛgvēda are ascribed to him. Lassen (vol. II, p. 23) has pointed out the incongruity of the reports respecting the time when he lived, as he is mentioned both as a contemporary of Anantaguṇa and of Kīrtipūṣaṇa Pāṇḍya.

grants. Agastya's residence is said to have been the mountain Malayam or Potiyam, not far distant from Cape Comorin; in the firmament he shines as the star Canopus. To him is ascribed the civilisation of South-India, in fact the most famous ancient Tamil works in nearly every branch of science, such as divinity, astronomy, grammar, and medicine are attributed to him. In consequence he is specially called the Tamil sage (தமிழ் முனி).

Explanation of the terms Dravida, Tamil and Aravam.

Sanskrit is called in South-India the northern language or *vaṭa moḻi*, வட மொழி, while the Dravidian goes by the name of the southern language, or *ten moḻi* தென் மொழி. Previous researches have established the fact that the words Draviḍa and Tamil are identical in meaning, that both resemble each other in form, and that Tamil seems to be a derivative from Draviḍa. Yet the origin of the word Draviḍa has hitherto not been explained. Though Draviḍa is generally restricted to denote Tamil: *Draviḍa, Dramiḍa* or *Dramila* is also applied to denote ancient Malayālam; in fact it is properly speaking applicable to all the Dravidian languages. The word Dramila occurs also in Sanskrit literature. I derive Dramila from *Tirumala* and explain it to signify the *sacred Mala* language, as Sanskrit is κατ' ἐξοχήν the refined Aryan language.

It is immaterial to us whether *Tiru* is an original Dravidian word, or a derivation from the Sanskrit *Śrī*, prosperity. Some of the best Tamil scholars of the past as well as of the present day have declared in favour of *tiru* being a pure Dravidian word, and this has all along been my opinion also. *Tiru* was probably in course of time changed to *tira* or *tara*, then contracted to *tra* or *dra*, and finally to *ta* (*da*), both letters *t* and *d* being identical. The Vēda is called in Tamil *Tiruvāy*, the sacred word, and its Tamil adaptation specially

used by Vaiṣṇavas is the well-known *Tiruvāy Moḻi.* Tiruvāy was eventually changed to *Taravāy*, which is now generally used in the sense of *Vēda-reading.* The word *Ōttu* does thus in Malayālam signify Vēda and Vēda-reading. The *tiru* of *Tiruvaḻḻaṅkōḍu* has been similarly changed to *tra* in Travancore, both alterations—Draviḍa and Travancore—being no doubt due to the same Aryan influence. From Dramala to Dramila, Damila and Tamil is a short step, unless *Tamil* is directly derived from Tirumala. Dramila, Dramiḍa and Draviḍa are Aryan corruptions of Tirumala and found re-admission into the South-Indian languages as foreign expressions, whose signification was forgotten and defied explanation. I recognize the name Tirumala also in the Tāmala or Dāmala of *Dāmalavarubhayam* near *Pāṇḍamaṅgalam* in the Trichinopoly district. Pāṇḍamaṅgalam is regarded as the old capital of the former kings, among whom the name *Tirumala* did not unfrequently occur. *Ubhayam* (உபயம்) is anything offered or devoted to religious purposes, and *Dāmalavarubhayam* denotes therefore the offering of the Tirumala people, *var* being used as the affix of the Tamil pronoun of the third person plural. *Tirumalarāja* is in colloquial Telugu often called *Tiramalarāyalu*, as *Tirupati* becomes Tirapati. Like *Dāmalavarubhayam* might be mentioned *Dāmalaceruvu* in North-Arcot, *Dāmal* in Chingleput, *Damalapādi* in Tanjore and others. I have been informed on good authority that the last place is to this day also known as Tirumalapādi. Yet, my derivation of Tirumala does not require the support of the etymology of these names.

Another but rarer form of Dramila is *Drimila*, which is derived from *Tirumila*, as Tripati from *Tirupati*, Trikōvil for *Tirukōvil*, or Trikāl for *Tirukāl.* The fact of the term *Tamil* being the ultimate derivative from Tirumala (Tramala) and denoting a special Dravidian dialect will perhaps serve in future researches as an historical clue for fixing the period when the various vernaculars of Southern India became sepa-

rate and distinct languages. If the *Limyrikē* (*Λιμυρική*) of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 8 and 85) is the *Dimirica* repeatedly mentioned in the Cosmography of the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, as Bishop Caldwell has clearly pointed out by identifying it with Damirice or the Tamil country (see p. 14 of the Introduction to the second edition of the *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*), the work of Ptolemy contains the earliest mention of the word *Tamil.*

All these permutations prove the continual interchange of *m* with the other labial consonants, and of *l* into the *d* and *r* sounds.[26]

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[26] With respect to the above-mentioned conjectures a few observations are perhaps necessary.

The change of *a* into *i* and *vice versâ* is not rare, as in *mala* and *mila*, *Damirica* and *Dimirica*, *tiṟa*, opon, and *taṟa*, &c., &c. *Tiruvāy* and its slang alteration into *Taravāy* are both Tamil words, though the latter common form has been introduced into Telugu by Telugu Brahmans—especially by Vaiṣṇava Telugu Brahmans—who live in the Tamil country, and has thus found its way even into modern Telugu dictionaries. The term *Taravay* for Vēdādhyāyana or Vēdōpakrama is neither found in Kanarese and Malayālam, nor in pure Telugu. The most important lesson which Brahman boys have to learn at and after their *Upanayanam* or investiture with the holy thread are Vēda mantras. Children generally alter words so as to suit their pronunciation, and Tamil boys most probably invented *Taravāy* for *Tiruvāy* as they say *taṟa*, open, instead of *tiṟa*. This corrupted form found eventually access into common Tamil, for up to this moment Taravāy is only considered a slang term. The origin of the word once forgotten, *tara* of *taravāy*, was connected with the word *taram* in the meaning of *time* (once, twice, &c.), and as every lesson in order to be known must be repeated, so also the reciting of the Vēda after so many times or *taram*. It seems to be overlooked by those, who prefer this explanation, that the term *Taravāy* is only applied to the repetition of the Vēda and not to any other repetition, that if *tara* had been taken in the sense of "*time*," it ought to be at the end of the word, and that the syllable *vāy* gives no sense in *taravāy* unless it is accepted as meaning *Vēda* or holy word. *Taravāy*, *taruvāy*, in *taravāta* and *taruvāta*, occur in Telugu in the meaning of *afterwards*, as do in Kanarese *taravāya* and *taruvāya* ; but these words have nothing in common with the above-mentioned Tamil *Taravāy*. The elision of an *r* is also not unfrequent, as *trāguṭa*, to drink, in Telugu becomes generally *tāguṭa*. Already Bishop Caldwell was struck with the strange formation of the word Dravida, for he says: "The compound *dr* is quite un-Dravidian. It would be *tira* in Tamil ; but even if we suppose some such word as Tiraviḍa or Tiramiḍa to have been converted into Dravida by the Sanskrit-speaking people, we get no nearer to

The Telugu, Kanarese and other cognate northern races, when they had forgotten their claim to the name of Dravidians, called the Tamil language *Aravam*. This word *Aravam* is most likely a corruption of Dravidam. Draviḍam or Dramilam became in its turn Daramiḍam (Daramilam), Araviḍam (Aravilam), and finally Aravam.[27] However peculiar these changes may appear to the uninitiated, to the scientific philologist they can afford no special difficulty. Even in Sanskrit we occasionally observe an initial *d* dropped, *e.g.*, in *aśru*, tear, which is δάκρυ in Greek, *thräne* in German, and *lacryma* in Latin; while the elision of

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an explanation of the original meaning of the word." See Introduction to *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, p. 13.

The name *Tirumala* becomes in colloquial Telugu also *Tiramala*, *Tirmala* and *Timma*. This last word must be distinguished from *Timma* for *timmaḍu* or *timmanna*, monkey. Similarly does *tāmbūlamu*, betel, become tamalamu (or tammalamu) and *tāmma*; and *tāmara*, lotus, *tammi*.

In Tamil the verb *ōtu* (ஓது) means to recite the Vēda, while *ōttu* (ஓத்து) signifies the Vēda itself. Both words are Tadbhavams formed from the Sanskrit word *Vēda*.

[27] The Tamil form *Tiraviḍam* for *Draviḍam* appears to prove that the origin of the word *Draviḍa* had been forgotten, when it was re-introduced into Tamil. As the Telugu and Kanarese languages do not insert an *i* between two consonants in the same manner as Tamil does, the derivation of *Aravam* from *Dravidam* gains in probability. In Kanarese the Tamil people are besides called *Tigaḷar*, which I am inclined to consider also as a corruption for Trimala. The *r* in the first syllable was dropped, and the labial in the second has been changed into a guttural *g*, as is not unfrequent; compare, *e.g.*, Kuḍaman and Kuḍavan with Kuḍagan. *Tigala* and *Arava* have in this case the same meaning. I am aware that the Rev. Mr. Kittel, whose opinion carries much weight, has declared that the original form of *Tigaḻar* (*Tiguḻar*) was *Tiguṟar*.

The derivations of *Aravam* hitherto proposed appear to me to be inappropriate. Dr. Gundert thought it could be connected with *aṟam*, virtue, and *aṟavan* would have the meaning of a moralist. Others preferred the Tamil word *aṟivu*, knowledge, and *aṟivan* or *aṟavan* represented thus the Tamulian as the intelligent person of the South, others derived it from an obscure Tamil district *Aruvā*. The defect of these etymologies is the fact that the Tamil people ignore the word *aravam*, so far as their name is concerned. The Telugu pandits are in favor of *arava* meaning *a-rava*, without sound, for the Tamil language does not possess aspirates, or is according to others rather rough; while some Kanarese pandits proposed as its root the Kanarese word *araru*, half, or deficient, as the ancient Kanarese people are said to have

medial consonants is not at all unusual in the Indian vernaculars, *Bēstāramu*, Thursday, in Telugu, *e.g.*, for Bṛhaspativāra, *jannidamu* for yajñōpavīta, *ānati* for ājñapti.

The importance I attach to the derivation of Dravidian from Tirumala in the specified sense can be duly appreciated only when one considers that it establishes at once the prominent position the Malas (Mallas) or Dravidians occupied in the whole of India. It may perhaps be interesting to quote from the eloquent preface of Hodgson on the Kocch, Bōdo, and Dhimāl Tribes the following sentences, in which the term Tamulian is employed as equivalent to Dravidian. "The "Tamulian race, confined to India and never distinguished "by mental culture, offers, it must be confessed, a far less "gorgeous subject for inquiry than the Arian. But, as the "moral and physical condition of many of these scattered "members of the Tamulian body is still nearly as little "known as is the assumed pristine entirety and unity "of that body, it is clear that this subject had two parts, "each of which may be easily shown to be of high "interest, not merely to the philosopher but to the states-"man. The Tamulians are now, for the most part, British "subjects: they are counted by millions, extending from "the snows to the Cape (Comorin); and, lastly, they are as "much superior to the Arian Hindus in freedom from dis-"qualifying prejudices as they are inferior to them in know-"ledge and all its train of appliances. Let then the student "of the progress of society, of the fate and fortunes of the "human race, instead of poring over a mere sketch of the past,

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regarded Tamil to be a deficient language. Bishop Caldwell has treated at some length on this subject in his Introduction, pp. 18–20.

The initial consonant is often dropped in Dravidian languages, *e.g.*, in Tamil *Avai*, assembly, for *cavai*; *alliyam*, village of herdsmen, for *valliyam*; *a̱ḻai*, rat hole, for *vaḻai* and *paḻai*; *amar*, war, from Sanskrit *samara*; *alam*, plough, from Sanskrit *hala*; *ita*, agreeable, from Sanskrit *hita*; in Telugu *esa*, haste, for *vesa*; *ella*, white, for *vella*; *ēyuṭa*, to throw, for *vēyuṭa*; *ēnu*, I, for *nēnu*; *īvu*, thou, for *nīvu*; *ēmu*, we, for *mēmu*, &c., &c.

"address himself to the task of preparing full and faithful "portraits of what is before his eyes; and let the statesman "profit by the labours of the student; for these primitive races "are the ancient inheritors of the whole soil, from all the rich "and open parts of which they were wrongfully expelled."

As points of minor interest I may as well here mention that the words Tirumāl and Perumāl are also derived from Mala (Malla). Both terms were originally the titles given by the Mallas to their great chiefs and kings. Each Perumāl was at first elected to rule for a period of twelve years, and was chosen from outside the country to govern Malanāḍu or Malayāḷam. As it often happens elsewhere with royal names, these were in later times applied as honorific appellations to the specially revered god, in this instance to Viṣṇu. The terms *sacred Mala* or the *Great Mala* being once connected with the deity, lost their original meaning, which was in course of time entirely forgotten. This circumstance explains their peculiar derivations so often found in Tamil dictionaries, and the strange attempts of grammarians to explain their startling formations. The name of Perumāl, the great Mala, is still a royal title in Malabar.[28]

CHAPTER IV.

THE PARIAH (PĀRATA, PAHĀRIA), BRAHUI, BĀR (BHĀR), MĀR (MHĀR), &c.

Before I turn to the Mallas known as Pallas, I shall, after a few remarks, discuss the position of the Pariahs

[28] The *māl* in Tirumāl is generally derived from *māl*, illusion, while the same *māl* in Perumāl is explained as a change for *mān* in the synonymous *Perumān*. The word Tirumāl supplies the best evidence of the radical nature of the *l* in Perumāl.

The indigenous title of the South-Indian Cēra, Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya king was *Perumāl*. *Mallan* was the name of a Perumāl who built Mallūr in

and kindred races. The *Pallar* are described in Dr. Winslow's Tamil and English Dictionary as "a low dependent caste employed in husbandry, &c., under their feudal lords, a peasant tribe dwelling in the south, supposed to be a change of Mallar, மள்ளர்." Though the Pallar, like the Pallis and other tribes regard themselves as the descendants of the Pallavas once so powerful, they themselves neither produce nor possess sufficiently reliable historical evidence in support of their claims, which nevertheless may be perfectly well-founded. I have often but in vain tried to obtain some authentic information from the various castes in corroboration of their assertions, but I have only received vague and unreliable statements.

DERIVATION OF THE WORD PARIAH.

If the term *Pariah* is considered to signify every outcaste from every caste, then the Pariahs, as such, do not come within the scope of this discussion; for though the greater part of them belong no doubt to the original or rather aboriginal Dravidian population, from which they have in later times been severed by hereditary social rules, and though they in their turn acknowledge among themselves caste distinctions, yet as every outcaste becomes to a certain extent a Pariah, the term Pariah does not represent now a strictly ethnological sub-division.

On the other hand it must be admitted that irrespective of this foreign element which has been added to the Pariah community, the Pariahs represent a distinctly separate class of the population, and as such we have to deal with them here. The general name by which the Marāṭha Pariahs is known is *Paravārī*.

Pōlanāḍu. *Mallan* is also called a rural deity which is set up on the border or on the ridges of rice-fields. Compare Dr. Gundert's *Malayālam Dictionary*, p. 801, and note 21 on p. 21.

That their name, in spite of its usual derivation from *pa̤ra* or *pa̤rai*, drum, should rather be connected with the name of the original Dravidian population, seems to me to admit of no question. The supposition that the Pariahs are the drummer-caste and have obtained their name from that instrument appears to rest on a weak foundation. It is most probably an afterthought, the more easily explicable since the lower classes delighted in the noise of the drum, and the name of the drum-beating class was transferred to the instrument by which the Pariah made his presence known. The lute of the Caṇḍāla (the *caṇḍāla-vallakī*, *caṇḍālikā*, *cāṇḍālikā*, *kaṇḍōlī* or *kaṇḍōla-vīṇā*) is similarly named after the Caṇḍāla, and not the Caṇḍāla after the lute. Moreover, the word *pa̤ra* or *pa̤rai* is, except in Malayālam and Tamil, not found in the other Dravidian languages in the sense of drum and at the same time as the name of the Pariahs; for the Pariah is called *Holeya* in Kanarese in spite of *pa̤re* signifying a drum, and in Telugu he is known as *Mālavāḍu*, which word originally signifies *mountaineer* (see pp. 21 and 56). If the Pariahs were really the caste of drummers, they would most probably be called so, wherever they are found in India.

I regard the Pariah as the representative of the ancient Dravidian population, and as having been condemned to supply his name to the lowest layers of the population, as the ancient Śūdras after their subjugation gave their name to the Śūdra caste. It will be subsequently shown that the *Caṇḍālas* are among the Gauḍians, what the *Pariahs* are among the Dravidians. This connection is even indicated by the name of the Caṇḍālas, which resembles those of the Kandaloi, Khands and Gonds.

I think that the word *Pariah*, the *Paravārī* of the Marātha country, is intimately connected with the names of the Pāratas, Pāradas, Paravar, Pardhis, Parheyas, Pahārias or Māler, Bārs (Bhārs), Brahuis, Mārs (Mhārs), &c., &c., and that it designated originally a *mountaineer*, from the Dravidian root

paṟa, preserved in the Malayālam *paṟa*, in the Tamil *pār* and *pāṟai*, and the Telugu *pāru*. The formation of the word *Pahāria* corresponds probably with that of *Mahāra*, and as Mahāra or Mahār is derived from Mhār and Mār, as *Bahar* is from Bhār and Bār, so may also *Pahār* be regarded as a derivative from Phār and Pār.[29]

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[29] Bishop Caldwell remarks on p. 549 on this subject: "It has been said "that the name Pareiya, or Pariah, is synonymous with that of the Pahārias "(from *pāhār*, a hill), a race of mountaineers, properly called Mālers, "inhabiting the Rājmahāl Hills, in Bengal; and hence it is argued that the "Pareiyas may be considered, like the Pahārias, as a race of non-Aryan, non-"Dravidian aborigines. It is an error, however, to suppose that there is "any connection between those two names. The word Pariah, properly "Paṟeiya, denotes not a mountaineer, but a drummer, a word regularly "derived from *paṟei*, a drum, especially the great drum used at funerals. "The name Pareiya is, in fact, the name of a hereditary occupation, the "Pareiyas being the class of people who are generally employed at festivals, "and especially at funerals, as drummers."

The improbability of this derivation, though advocated by such a great authority as the highly esteemed and learned Bishop, has been pointed out by me. Moreover, it may be remarked that Pariah drummers are not employed at the festivals of Brahmans.

As the name of the Pariah is thus by high authorities derived from *paṟai*, drum, it is here perhaps not out of place to mention some of the various kinds of drums used by the natives of Southern India. The drums vary as to their size, construction, the material they are made of, and the manner in which they are carried. A *Ḍamāra* (Sanskrit *Ḍamaru*) is carried by a bull, a *Ḍhaṅka* (Sanskrit *Ḍhakkā*) on a horse, a *Nagārā* (of Semitic origin, in Arabic, *e.g.*, نقارة; Tamil *Nakarā*) by an elephant or camel, and a *Bhēri* (Sanskrit *Bhēri* (ī)) on a cart. Other kinds of drums are carried by men, as the *Tappaṭṭai*, a small drum, which hangs from the left shoulder and is beaten under the left arm from below with a stick in the right hand, and from above with a small stick in the left hand. The *Tāsā*, a small semi-globular shaped drum, is worn in front round the neck below the chest and beaten with two small sticks. The *Ḍōl* (Sanskrit *Ḍhōla*) is a big drum which is also carried over the neck, but is beaten only with one stick in the right hand and with the other hand. The *Paṟai*, which has the euphemistic name of *Alaṅkāram*, is not carried, when beaten, but lies on the ground between the feet of the drummer and is used at festivals, weddings, and funerals. It is beaten only by a particular class of Pariah the *Veṭṭiyān*, who burns corpses and digs graves. It is therefore neither beaten by all Pariahs nor used in common life. The *Tappaṭṭai* and *Tāsā* are in fashion among the Pariahs and other low classes, though Muhammedans and Śūdras practise on them occasionally. The beaters of the other drums are mostly Śūdras. The *Kōtas* and the *Todas* on the Nīlagiri also have the *Tappaṭṭai* and Tāsā. The term *paṟai* is in Tamil now used as the general term for drum. I believe that most of the

The Brahuis.

On the northern frontier of India near the Bolan Pass not far from the seats of the ancient Bhalānas, who are mentioned by the bards of the Ṛg-vēda, begins the long chain of the *Brahui* mountains. This mountain range extends continuously from the vicinity of the Bolan pass to Cape Monze on the Persian Gulf, and is to this day the home of the Dravidian Brahuis, who must be regarded as the western borderers of Dravidian India. The origin

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above-mentioned names of the drums are merely imitations of the sounds these instruments make. H. H. Wilson introduced by mistake the "*Palaya* or *Paraya*" in his translation of the second edict of Aśōka. The *Mālalu* or Telugu Pariahs are also called *Mannepuvāṇḍlu* or Highlanders; see *Ind. Antiq*., vol. VIII, p. 218.

Compare Fr. Buchanan's *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, edited by Montgomery Martin, vol. II, pp. 122, 123: "The mountain tribes are, I believe, the descendants of the original inhabitants of the country, very little, if at all, mixed with foreign colonies. Their features and complexion resemble those of all the rude tribes, that I have seen on the hills from the Ganges to Malabar, that is on the Vindhya mountains. Their noses are seldom arched and are rather thick at the points.. Their faces are oval..Their lips are full..Their eyes..are exactly like those of Europeans." See Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, pp. 454-458 (1st ed., pp. 380-384): "Die Pahāria nennen sich selbst Maler oder Bergbewohner,..sie haben dieselben Züge und die Hautfarbe, wie alle die rohen Stämme vom Ganges nach Malabar . . es soll die Sprache der Pahāria reich an Worten sein, die dem Tamil and Telinga zugleich angehören." On p. 1028 Lassen remarks in note 5: "Est is zu bemerken, dass *Pārada* zwar auch Bergbewohner bedeutet haben wird."—I believe that the *Parjas* of Jeypore should be included among these people, though Mr. D. F. Carmichael prefers to regard this name as a corruption by metathesis from the Sanskrit word *Prajas*, subjects. See *Manual of the District of Vizagapatam*, p. 87; Madras Census Report of 1871, vol. I, pp. 223–225.—One of the *Koli* tribes on the Mahi Kanta hills is called *Pariah*. Two Rājput tribes of Mallāni are known by the name of *Paria* and *Pariāria*.

The fishermen in Tinnevelly are called *Paravar* (or *Paratar* and *Paratavar*). According to Mr. Simon Casie Chetty in his "Remarks on the Origin and History of the Parawas" in vol. IV of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 130-134: "It is the general belief among the Parawas that their "original country was Ayudhya, or Oude; and it appears that previously to "the war of the Mahābhārat, they inhabited the territory bordering on "the river Yamuna, or Jumna... In that section of the Mahābhārat entitled "*Adipurva*, it is said, that the king of the Parawas who resided on the banks "of the Jumna, having found an infant girl in the belly of a fish adopted "her as his own daughter, giving her the name of *Machchakīndī*, and that

of the names of the Baluches [30] and of the Brahuis is unknown, but I believe that they are in some way related to, if not indeed identical with, each other. I recognise in the name of the Pāratas [31] and Pāradas who dwelt in North-eastern Baluchistan,—which country coincides with the Paradēnē of Ptolemy,[32]—the origin of the modern word Brahui. Both the Sanskrit as well as the Dravidian languages possess the two liquids *r* and *l*, yet the former letter seems to have

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"when she grew up, she was employed (as was customary with the females "of the Parawa tribe) to ferry passengers over the river. On a certain day, "the sage *Pārāsara* having chanced to meet her at the ferry, she became "with child by him, and was subsequently delivered of a son, the famous "Vyāsa, who composed the Purānas. Her great personal charms afterwards "induced king *Santanu*, of the lunar race, to admit her to his royal bed, and "by him she became the mother of *Vachitravirya*, the grandsire of the "*Pāndavas* and *Kauravas*.. Hence the Parawas boast of being allied to the "lunar race, and call themselves accordingly, besides displaying at their "wedding feasts the banners and emblems peculiar to it."

This is the story of *Satyavatī* (*Matsyagandhī*), the mother of Vyāsa by Parāśara, and of Vicitravīrya and Citrāṅgada by Śāntanu, which is told in the *Ādiparva* in the 63rd and 100th chapters and elsewhere, as also in the Harivaṁśa, XVIII, 38–45. Compare also J. Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 60–62.

It is peculiar that the *Pallevāṇḍlu* in the Telugu country who correspond to the Pal̤lis in the South are mostly fishermen, though the same term *pallevāṇḍlu* applies also to *villagers*. In North India a class of fishermen is called *Malla*. The name denotes the tribe and not the occupation.

[30] The modern Baluches say that they came from Aleppo in Syria. Little is known about the origin of their name. It resembles that of the Ballas and Bhalānas, though it is unsafe to make any conjecture in this respect.

[31] See Bṛhatsaṁhitā, x, 5, 7; xiii, 9; xiv, 21, &c. Varāhamihira mentions the Pāratas together with the Rāmaṭas, and with other nations on the northern frontier of India, *e.g.*, Śaka-Yavana-Darada-Pārata-Kāmbōjāḥ. The Pāradas occur in Manu (x. 44), in the Ramāyaṇa, and repeatedly in the Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa and Viṣṇupurāṇa.

It has been also proposed to explain *Pārada* as meaning a people living across the river, in this case beyond the Indus. Such a name could hardly have been assumed by the *Pāradas* themselves, especially if they had never crossed the Indus.

[32] When describing Gedrosia Ptolemy VI, 21, 4, says: Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τῆς χώρας κατέχουσιν Ἰρβιτῶν κῶμαι, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὴν Καρμανίαν Παρσίδαι(ἢ Παρσίραι), τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὴν Ἀραχωσίαν Μουσαρναῖοι, ἡ δὲ μέση τῆς χώρας πᾶσα καλεῖται Παραδηνή, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτὴν Παρισιηνή, μεθ' ἣν τὰ πρὸς τῷ Ἰνδῷ κατέχουσι Ῥάμναι. Besides *Paradēnē* may be mentioned as connected by

been preferred in more ancient times, as is seen, in the Vedic words *aram*, enough, and *rarāṭa*, forehead, instead of the later *alam* and *lalāṭa*. The same peculiarity has been observed in ancient Iranian, and no valid objection can be raised against connecting the word *Parthva* of the cuneiform inscriptions (the classical *Parthiva*) with Pahlav. The Parthians were Scythians or Turanians and so were the Pallas (Mallas) of India and their neighbours on the northern frontier of India.

The power of the Parthians becoming supreme in Persia, the name became identified with Persia, and after the disappearance of the Parthian or Pahlavi kings the words *Pahlavi* assumed in course of time the meaning of *ancient Persian* and even of *ancient*. It is a curious coincidence that in the Dravidian languages also a word resembling *Palla* in form means *old*, in Tamil and Malayālam *paḻa*, in Kanarese *paḻe* or *haḻe*, in Tulu *para*, etc. Under these circumstances I regard the *Bra* in Brahui as a contraction of *Bara*, and obtain thus in *Barahui* a name whose resemblance to that of the ancient *Barrhai* the modern Bhārs, as well as to that of

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similarity of name and vicinity of geographical position the districts *Parsia*, *Parsiana* and *Parsiene*, the tribes of the *Parnoi* (Arsaces and Tiradates are said to have been Parnians), *Parūtai*, *Parsidai* or *Parsirai* and *Parsyētai* and the mountain range of the *Paropamisos*.

According to the command of the king Sagara, the *Yavanas* shaved their heads entirely, the *Śakas* shaved the upper half of their heads, the *Pāradas* wore their hair long, and the *Pahlavas* let their beards grow. (See Harivaṁśa, XIV. 15–17).

Sagaraḥ svām pratijñām ca gurōr vākyam niśamya ca
dharmam jaghāna tēṣām vai vēśānyatvam cakāra ha. 15
Arddham Śakānām śirasō muṇḍayitvā vyasarjayat
Yavanānām śiraḥ sarvam Kāmbōjānām tathaiva ca, 16
Pāradā muktaklēśāścā Pahlavāḥ śmaśrudhāriṇaḥ
nissvādhāya vaṣaṭkārāḥ kṛtāḥ tēna mahātmanā. 17

Compare also *Vishṇu Purāṇa* of H. H. Wilson, edited by F. Hall, vol. III, p. 294.

Bishop Caldwell mentions that the practice of wearing long hair is characteristic of the Dravidians. (See *Dravidian Grammar*, 2nd edit., Introduction, p. 114.) Beards are also worn by many Dravidian races.

the Pāratas and Paravar, and their kindred the Marātha *Paravāri* and Dravidian Parheyas of Pālamau is striking. It is also not impossible that the country Paraśa, which corresponds to Northern Baluchistan and not to Persia, and is mentioned in Hiven-Tsiang's travels, contains the same name. The interchange of *r* and *l* is equally apparent in the name of the Māras or Mālas of Pālamau, who derive their origin from Mālva. The connecting link between the Brahuis and the ancient Dravidians through the Bhārs, Parheyas, Mārs and Mālas, &c., seems to be thus established.[33]

THE BĀRS OR BHĀRS.

After the Brahuis the aboriginal Indian race of the Bārs or Bhārs claims our attention. The earliest mention of them is found in Ptolemy VII, 2, 20, where they are called

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[33] The late Dr. Trumpp was fully persuaded of the Dravidian character of the Brahui language. With respect to the explanation of the name most authorities seem to admit that the first syllable *Bra* is originally dissyllabic. The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* contains in vol. XIX, pp. 59-135 "An Essay on the Brāhūi Grammar" after the German of the late Dr. Trumpp, of Munich University, by Dr. Theodore Duka, M.R.A.S., Surgeon-Major, Bengal Army. On p. 64 we read: "The national nsme, "Bráhúi is pronounced in several ways. Nicolson and Maulawi Alla Bux "spell it Biruhi (that is Bíroohi or Birouhi), but we must not forget that "Birúhi (बिरूही) is a Sindhi word, and it is therefore difficult to say how "the people in question call themselves. In Nicolson's Reader the word "occurs twice written براهوى, which cannot be pronounced otherwise than "Bráhúí or Birāhúi, and this should, therefore, be adopted as the proper "pronunciation of the word."

This statement is not quite correct; it can as well be pronounced *Barahui*, for برا, large, is pronounced *barā*, and برابر, abreast, *barābar*, &c.

According to Mr. C. Masson *Brahui* is a corruption of Ba-roh-i.

The word Brahui appears to indicate a *highlander*, for a tribe of the Baluchis is called *Nhārui*, not a hill man, *i.e.*, a dweller in the plain. The Nhāruis "may be considered to hold the same place with reference to the Brahuis that 'lowlanders' do to 'highlanders'." See *The Country of Balochistan*, by A. W. Hughes, p. 29.

My derivation appears thus to have a good foundation.

See Dr. Fr. Buchanan's *Eastern India*, edited by M. Martin, vol. II, p. 126: "The northern tribe consider their southern neighbours as brethren, and call them Maler, the name which they give themselves; but the southern tribe, shocked at the impurity of the others, deny this consanguinity, and

Barrhai. They do not appear to be specially quoted in Sanskrit literature, unless the wild mountaineer tribe of the *Bharatas*, who occur in the dictionaries along with the *Śabaras*, is considered identical with them. Sir Henry M. Elliot thought that the Bhārs might perhaps be the Bharatas, whose descent is traced to Jayadhvaja. According to the Harivaṁśa the Bharatas are very numerous. The Bhārs pronounce their name very harshly, and it is by no means impossible that the well-known Aryan word barbarian, *Barbara* or *Varvara* in Sanskrit, owes to a certain extent its origin to them.[34] The Bhār tribe is also known as *Rājbhār*, *Bharat* and *Bhārpatra*.[35] There is some contention between the Bhār and the Rājbhār as to superiority, but this is a difficult point to decide; some regard the Rājbhārs as

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most usually call the northern tribe Chet, while they assume to themselves the denomination of Mal or Mar, which however is probably a word of the same derivation with Maler." Compare also note 23 on p. 22, and *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, by Colonel E. T. Dalton, p. 264 : "We have a tribe called Māl or Mār..They declare, they came originally from Mālwā. ..Mālwā is the chief seat of the Bhīl race, who are considered aborigines of that district. Mālavas and Bhils may be identical, and our Pahārias and Bhīls cognates."

[34] See Genl. Sir A. Cunningham in his *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XVII, p. 140 : "We know at least that the Aryans ridiculed the aborigines on account of their *burr*, and gave them the nick name of *barbaras*, or barbarians, from which we may conclude that any words containing the burred *r* must be indigenous."

The word *barbar* is spelt in Hindustāni *baṛbaṛ*, ﺑﮍﺑﮍ. Compare "Notes on the Bhars and other Early Inhabitants of Bundelkhand," by Vincent A. Smith in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* [1877], vol. XLVI, pp. 227–236, where in the first note on p. 227 we read : "The name is usually spelt 'Bhar,' but the spelling 'Bharr' would more accurately represent the pronunciation."

[35] See Sir Henry M. Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary of Indian Terms*, vol. I, pp. 33 and 34 : "Common tradition assigns to them the . . whole tract from Gorakhpūr to Bundelkhand and Saugor, and the large Pargannah of Bhadoí, in Benares (formerly Bhardaí) is called after their name. Many old stone forts, embankments, and subterraneous caverns in Gorakhpūr, Azimgarh, Jaunpūr, Mirzapūr, and Allahabad, which are ascribed to them, would seem to indicate no inconsiderable advance in civilization. The wild Bhīls of Marwar are called Bhaunrīs, but I know not whether there is any connexion between them and the Bhars. The Bhoyas and Bhuttias of Agorī and

descended from the old Bhār nobility, who themselves claim to have been formerly Kṣatriyas. They do not eat swine's flesh as the Bhārs do, and this abstention is regarded as an indication of greater respectability. All these races are now very much mixed. The Bhārs are often mentioned together with the Cherus.

We possess very little information about the ancient history of the Bhārs. Legend associates their name with the earliest Aryan heroes, *e.g.*, with *Rāma* and his sons, but the Bhārs suddenly disappear from the scene, and, so far as history is concerned, reappear just previously to the Mahommedan invasion of India, at which period they certainly possessed a vast territory, and were indeed the real owners of the soil.

In fact the Bhārs must have once ruled over a great area of country stretching from Oudh in the west to Behar in the east and Chota Nagpur, Bundelkund and Sagar in the south. Their name still survives in Bahar, Bahraich (Bharaich), Bāra, Baragaon, Bāra Banki, Barhapara and Barwan in Oudh, in Bareilly, Barhaj, Barhar (or Bharhar) in the North-Western Provinces, in Bar, Barabar, Baraghi and Barhiya in Behar, in Barva in Chota Nagpur, and in many other places.[36] *Bāra* in Oudh is said to have been founded

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Singrauli, who are generally classed as Ahīrs, may probably bear some relation to the Bhars, though no traces can now be had of their descent. The Cherūs also are sometimes said to be a branch of the Bhars. . . It is strange that no trace of Bhars is to be found in the Puranas, unless we may consider that there is an obscure indication of them in the 'Brahma Purana,' where it is said that among the descendants of Jayadhvaja are the Bharatas, who, it is added, 'are not commonly specified *from their great number*,' or they may, perhaps, be the Bhargas, of the Mahabharata, subdued by Bhim Sen on his Eastern expedition. The Bhars consider themselves superior to Rājbhars, notwithstanding the prenomen of Rāj, but this claim to superiority is not conceded by the Rajbhars. They do not eat or drink with each other."

See *Harivaṁśa* XXXIII, 53 : Bharatāścā sutā jātā bahutvānnānukīrttitāḥ.

[36] See *The Bhars of Audh and Banáras*, by Patrick Carnegy, Commissioner of Rāi Barelī, Oudh, printed in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. 45, p. 303 : " The parganas of Bhardoi, Bharosā, Bahrāich, and Bharolī and the

by a Bhār Rāja called Bāra, while the foundation of *Bāra Banki* is associated with Jas, another Bhār Rāja. The Liṅga on the top of the *Bārabār* hill near Gayā was according to local tradition placed there by a Bār Rāja, whose combats with Kṛṣṇa are even now remembered by the people.[37] This is most probably an allusion to the Asura *Bāṇa*, the son of Bali. The *Bārhapāra* pargana is still populated with aboriginal Bhārs. The pargana *Bhādohi* or *Bhārdohi* is called after them, and the name of the town of *Bharaich* is also derived from their name.[38]

Traces of the former supremacy of the Bhārs are found scattered all over the country. Most of the stone erections, fortifications, as well as the embankments, and the subterranean caves in Gorakhpur, Azimgarh, Janpur, Benares, Mirzapur, and Allahabad are ascribed to them. Such forts generally go now by the name of *Bhār-dīh*. The grand ruins known as those of Pampāpurā in the neighbourhood of the modern

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town of Bhartipur (near the Bhar capital, Kusbhawanpur *alias* Sulṭānpūr), are all believed to derive their names from the Bhars. . Sleeman also mentions a large district of nearly a thousand villages near Mahamdi, which even in his day was known as Bharwāṛa, now occupied by Ahban Rājpūts." Compare *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. 46, pp. 227 and 228 : "The former presence of the Bhars in the Hamīrpur District is attested by the traditions, which will be presently described, and by local names in every pargana. A few examples of such names out of many may be of interest; thus the old name of the town of Sumerpur (in Parg. Sumerpur) is Bharuā, and in the parganas of Maudhā, Panwārī-Jaitpur, Jalālpur, and Raṭh, respectively, we find localities named Bharsawān, Bharwārā, Bharkharī or Barkharī, and Bhaṇṛaurā Kerā, and in several of these cases the evidence of the name is confirmed by that of tradition." With respect to *Baragaon* Genl. Sir A. Cunningham (*Archæological Survey of India*, vol. I, p. 28) says: "By the Brahmans these ruins (of Baragaon) are said to be the ruins of Kundilpur . . I doubt the truth of this Brahmanical tradition, more especially as I can show beyond all doubt that the remains at Baragaon are the ruins of Nâlanda, the most famous seat of Buddhist learning in all India."

[37] About *Barabar* compare *Arch. Survey of India*, vol. I, pp. 40–53. Sir A. Cunningham derives the name from "*bara* and *awara*, or *Barawara*, the great enclosure (see p. 43)," as there was an enclosure on the Siddhēśvara hill. See *ibidem*, vol. VIII, pp. 35–37.

[38] Genl. Sir A. Cunningham identifies the *Bardaotis* of Ptolemy with Bharhut. See *Arch. Survey of India*, IX, pp. 2–4 and XXI, p. 92. Compare also *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XVI, pp. 401–416.

Mirzapur probably owed their origin to the Bhārs. Mr. C. A. Elliot states that "almost every town whose name does not "end in *pūr*, or *ābād*, or *mow*, or is not distinctly derivable "from a proper name, is claimed by tradition, in the east of "Oudh, as a Bhar town. The district of Bharaich . . . is their "oldest abode, and the name of the town Bharaich is said "to be derived from them." Traces of the Bhārs abound according to Mr. Duthoit, late Superintendent of the Maharaja of Benares, "on all sides in the form of old tanks and village forts. One cannot go for three miles in any direction without coming upon some of the latter." Not very long ago the Bhārs were the lords of the soil in the districts of Benares and Oudh, and according to the still prevailing tradition in Azimgarh, the Rājbhārs occupied the country in the time of Rāma. The structures left by the Bhārs prove that they were equally proficient in the arts of peace and of war. The remains ascribed to them are especially numerous in the Benares district.[39]

Benares or Vārānasī (Bārānasī) lies on the banks of the *Barna* (or *Varaṇā*), where it flows into the Ganges. I am of opinion that *Bārānasī* owes its name to the Bārs or Bhārs. I assign likewise the name of *Behar* or Bahar to the same origin, especially as the Bhārs were once the rulers in this district, and as the usual derivation from *Vihāra*, a Buddhist temple, seems to me very problematic, the more so

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39 Compare Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, pp. 357–375 on the Bhar tribe, and the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XII, p. 89: "It is said that Nagar Khās and Pokhra, and the land generally around "the Chando Tāl, were originally in the possession of the Bhars, who may "possibly, therefore, have founded some of the ancient sites in that "neighbourhood." Read also *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLV, p. 305, about the *Bharādīs* (or Bhar-ābādīs).

On the other hand, Mr. Smith, *ididem*, vol. XLVI, p. 234, remarks: "The Bhars of Bundelkhand, so far as we know them, seem to have "possessed little of the arts of civilization, and to have consequently left "behind them almost nothing of architectural or artistic interest."

as Behar was not the only district in India which was covered with such religious buildings. Not far north from the old town of Behar lies to this day the district and village of *Bar. Bahar* is also the name of a small place in Oudh. It might perhaps be advisable to discontinue deriving the names of Indian localities from Sanskrit words, as has been usually done hitherto, unless where such derivations are well supported. General Sir A. Cunningham thinks that too much stress has been laid upon the popular traditions which ascribe nearly all the ancient remains to the Bhārs.[40] But, impossible though it may be to prove the authenticity of the legends, it can hardly be doubted that a good deal of truth does underlie them.

In the explanation of the local names a great difficulty arises because many words of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and

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[40] See Gen. Sir A. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 67 : "It has been the fashion to refer all the remains of antiquity in Eastern Oudh to the barbarous race of aboriginal Bhars."

Instead of proving the incorrectness of such statements, that may be, and indeed are, wrong in some cases, Sir Alex. Cunningham substitutes another etymology, to which also many *real* objections can be made. He is in favor of substituting for the name of the *Bhar* people that of the baṟ (banian) tree, which is in Sanskrit *Vaṭa*. Speaking of the native *burr* as mentioned on p. 38, in note 34, he continues on p. 140 of vol. XVII : "To "this class I would refer the name of the banian tree, *bat*, which is "invariably pronounced *bar* or *war*, with a burring *r*. Hence, as *da* means "water in several of the aboriginal dialects, we have *Wardā*, or the 'Banian "tree river.' That this is the true derivation of the name seems nearly "certain from the plentifulness of the banian tree in the Wardā district, "where we also find the names of *War-ora*, *Warar*, *Wargaon*, *Warhona*, "*Warha*, *Wargai*, *Warjhari*, *Warkuli*, *Warnera*, and *Waḍnera*, and *Baḍnera*, "several times repeated ; and even the name of Berār itself is said to be "properly *Waṟ Hār* or *Baṟhār*, the country of the *baṟ*, 'a banian tree.'"

Some of these etymologies appear very doubtful, especially those of *Wargaon* and *Berar*. I should perhaps remark that the places given by Sir Alex. Cunningham differ from those quoted by me on p. 39. It is also peculiar that most of the localities above mentioned are written with an initial *W*. Compare also the notices about the Banian (*Bar*) forests in the *Haveli* pargana in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XVIII, pp. 52–54, and vol. XXII, pp. 13–15.

other origin are very similar to the tribal name of the Bhārs.[41]

These people formed no doubt a considerable portion of the old population of Northern India. Though the Aryan power was for some time paramount in this part of Bharatavarṣa, and our historical accounts about the Bhārs begin at a considerably later period—in fact after the Buddhist reformation—we are as yet unable to define the time of the supremacy of the Bhārs. I am of opinion that the Aryan invaders subdued the Bhārs, and kept them in the background till they in their turn were vanquished by other intruders. The non-Aryan population continued to occupy the ground as previously in the capacity of landowners, farmers and serfs. The Buddhist re-action brought them again to the front. Some of them who were landholders or farmers were called Bhūmiyas, from *Bhūmi*, land, and are now known by this name.[42]

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[41] E.g., *bār*, *bhār*, *bhārā*, burden; *bār*, signifies also in Hindustāni according to the various words from which it is derived, time, water, prohibition, &c.; *bārā*, boy, *bārah*, twelve, *bar*, excellent, *barr*, wasp, *barā* and *baṛā*, large, *baṛ*, Indian figtree, &c.

[42] See General Sir A. Cunningham in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XI, pp. 130-131: "There is a ruined fort on the hill above the village "(Bhuili). The derivation of the name is not known, but I suspect it to be "connected with the great tribe of *Bhuïas*, and that it may be only a "slightly altered form of *Bhuïāla*. The Bhuïas are by far the most numer-"ous class in the Chunār and Sahsarām districts. They are evidently the "aborigines or old inhabitants of the country. Buchanan writes the name "Bhungihār, but I believe that the proper appellation is simply *Bhūmia*, or "men of the earth, or *autochthones*, a title given to them by the Brahmans. "They generally call themselves *Musahar*."

See the *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, edited by Montgomery Martin; London, 1883, vol. I, p. 168: "The "Bhar have been fully mentioned in my account of Puraniya, in the north-"western parts of which, and in the adjacent parts of Tirahut and Nepal "they were at one time the governing tribe;" further, pp. 176, 177, 178: "In this district the most numerous of these tribes is called *Musahar*, and they, "probably like the *Bhungiyas*, are the remains of the armies of Jarasandha. "In some parts, Musahars and Bhungihars are reckoned two names for "the same tribe, which is probably a just opinion (176). The *Rajwars* are a

As many changed or disowned their tribal name, the seeming disappearance of the Bhārs can be explained to a great extent. They were also largely absorbed by other

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"pretty numerous tribe (177). They pretend that their common ancestor was "a certain Rishi, who had two sons. From the eldest are descended the "Rajwars, who became soldiers and obtained their noble title; from the "younger are descended the Musahars, who have obtained their name from "eating rats which the Rajwars reject... They differ in scarcely any of their "customs from the Musahars....The *Rajwar* and *Bhungiyas* are allowed to be "higher than the Musahars....They all speak a very impure dialect of the "Hindi..The Musahars live chiefly in little ronnd huts, like bee-hives; "but the huts of the Bhungiyas and Rajwars are of the usual form. The "Bhungiyas and Rajwars have chief men called Majhis, like those of the "hill tribes in Bhagalpur." (178); vol. II, p. 119.

About the Musahar read: "The Musheras of Central and Upper India," by John C. Nesfield, in the *Calcutta Review* of January 1888, pp. 1–53. On p. 2, Mr. Nesfield says: "In Buchanan's *Eastern India* they are "described as a people 'who have derived their name from eating rats.' "In an old folk-tale, which has recently come to my knowledge, the name "is made to signify flesh-seeker or hunter (being derived from *masu*, flesh, "and *hēra*, seeker)."

Compare Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 81, 82, 92, 130, 148—

"The *Kocchis* then gave a line of princes to Kamrup; at this time a part "of Upper Asam was under a mysterious dynasty, called the Bhara Bhuya, "of which no one has ever been able to make anything (81) ..All the works "still existing in the deserted forests of the northern bank of the Brahma- "putra are attributed to the Bhara Bhungyas or Bhuyas (82). (Buchanan, "vol. II, p. 612, mentions already the legend of the 12 persons of *Bārah* "*Bhuiyas*.)..The *Kocch* appear to me equally out of their element among the "Lohitic tribes..In short I consider they belong to the *Dravidian* stock, and "are probably a branch of the great Bhuiya family, and we thus obtain a clue "to the tradition of the Bhara Bhuiyas, to whose period of rule so many great "works in Asam are ascribed(92).

According to Colonel Dalton, p. 327, the Rājwārs in Sirgūja "are skilled "in a dance called *Chailo*, which I believe to be of Dravidian origin." See the two articles "On the Bārah Bhūyas of Eastern Bengal," by Dr. James Wise, in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. LXIII, pp. 197–214, and vol. LXIV, pp. 181–83. Dr. Wise relates the history of five Bhūyas, *i.e.*, of Fazl Ghāzī of Bhowāl, Chand Rāi and Kedar Rāi of Bikrampūr, Lakhan Mānik of Bhaluah, Kandarpa Nārāyana Rāi of Chandradīp, and Īsā Khān, Masnad-i-Ali of Khizrpūr.

Compare further *Note on Mahāsthān near Bagurā* (*Bogra*), *Eastern Bengal*, by C. J. O'Donnell, *ibidem*, LXIV, pp. 183–186. On page 183 we read: "With regard to Mahāsthān he (the District Deputy Collector) seems more "correct. He identifies it with *Bārendra*, the capital of the Bārendra "Hindus. In favour of this view the only arguments are strong, though

castes and communities, but a sufficient number of them still exists.[43]

Many Rājputs have Bhār blood in their veins, and Dr. Francis Buchanan went so far as to state that the *Parihāra* Rajputs of Shahabad are descended from the Bhārs.[44]

"simple. The whole country between the Ganges, the Mahānandā, Kāmrūp, "and the Karatoyā, was undoubtedly the old Barendra Desha. To the "present day, much of it is called 'Barind.'.. All round it, however, there "are shrines, holy wells and embankments connected with the name of "Bhīma, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers .. Bhīma is said to have made a large "fortified town south of Mahāsthān, which is marked by great earthworks "altogether about eight miles long, and still in places as much as twenty "feet high. The whole country between them and Mahāsthān is in places "covered with bricks... It may be mentioned in connection with Mahasthān "that there is a legend that on a certain occasion twelve persons of very "high distinction and mostly named Pāla came from the west, to perform "a religious ceremony on the Karatoyā river, but arriving too late, settled "down on its banks till the next occurrence of the holy season, the Nārāyaṇī, "which depends on certain conjunctions of the planets, and was then twelve "years distant. They are said to have built numerous places and temples, "dug tanks, and performed other pious acts. They are said to have been "of the Bhuinhār or Bhāman Zamindār tribe, which is, at the present day, "represented by the Rājās of Banāras and Bhettia." See also *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 115.

43 The Census of 1881 counts 382,779 Bhars, of whom 20,870 live in Bengal, 1,639 in the Central Provinces, and 360,270 in the North-Western Provinces.

44 See Dr. Buchanan's report in Montgomery Martin's vol. II, p. 463: "In the account of Shahabad I have mentioned, that those pretending to be such (*Parihar Rajputs*) were in fact *Bhars* or Bhawars, and the same might be supposed to be the case here (in Gorukhpoor), where the Bhars were once lords of the country; but the Bhars here do not pretend to have any kindred with the Parihars, and the latter are not only allowed to be a pure but a high tribe;" and vol. I, 493: "The tribe of palanquin-bearers, including *Parihar Rajputs*, *Rajbangsi Bhars*, and *Rajbars* amounts to about 500 families."

Compare P. Carnegy in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLV, p. 300–2. "Many years of the official life of the writer have been devoted to duties "which involved the examination of the genealogies of some of our oldest "and best native families, and the results of his inquiries have led him to "the following conclusions: (1) that not a single member of the landed "gentry or local priesthood can trace back to an ancestor who held an acre "of land, or who administered a spiritual function within the area under "inquiry during the Bhar supremacy; (2) that scarcely any of them can "trace back to an ancestor who came into Audh at the Muhammadan advent,

The Bhārs like other tribes have embraced the different creeds, which from time immemorial prevailed in India;

"when the Bhars, who were then in universal possession of the land, were "overthrown; and (3) that the great mass of the landowners of to-day can "trace no further back than to an ancestor whose origin is easily discovered "to be both indigenous and spurious. .. I have found the opinion so gener- "ally entertained that there was a Rājpūt conquest and colonization of "Audh, that it requires a distinct answer...I have not discovered the exist- "ence of any such central tradition of conquest by Rājpūts from without.. "I can refer to the histories of many Rājpūt clans,..but none of them declare "..the arrival of an army of clansmen, and colonization by the victors with "their families and kin. The very fact of the singular connections to which "so many of the clans trace their descent is opposed to the idea of a con- "quest by arms. An orthodox Hindu, the conqueror of a low-born race, "would not have founded a family by an alliance which his religion sternly "rebuked...It is finally noticeable that the Audh clans who claim an extra- "provincial origin, trace their descent to single Chatrīs, and not to troops "of Rājpūt invaders. Such are the Bais of Baiswāṛā,..and the Rājkumārs. "..With these two exceptions none of the clansmen of eastern Audh claim a "western origin. In regard to the *third* class, it is always invidious to "enter into details of *pedigrees*, but a few amongst very many available "instances may be given. The Kanpūriā is one of our most important "clans; so is the Bandelgot. In twenty generations according to the "members, both these pedigrees are lost in obscurity; but what the world "says is this, that they are the offspring of mal-alliances between two "Brahman brothers, and women of the Ahīr and Dhārkar tribe. The "Ameṭhia is not an unimportant clan. They call themselves Chamār-gor "Rājpūts, and their generations are not longer than the other named. "What the world says of this, is that a Chamār-gor is the offspring of a "Chamār father and a Gor-Brahman woman. Moreover within the memory "of man, an Ameṭhia Chief has, according to Sleeman, taken to wife the "grand-daughter of an ex-Pāsī Chowkildar and raised up orthodox seed "unto himself. The Raotars are another numerous clan with but half the "number of generations, and with precisely a similar parentage as the Kan- "pūriās (Brahman-Ahīr). Their name is taken from Rawat, an Ahīr chief. "The Pulwars are influential and numerous, and of these it is said that they "are descended from a common ancestor, who had four wives, of whom "one only was of his own status, the others being a *Bharin*, an *Ahīrin*, and "another low caste woman. Here we have a Hindu-Bhar origin freely "admitted. The Bhalesaltan clan, also, is comparatively modern, and of "equivocal Ahīr origin. There are numerous families of Bais, too, who are "in no way related to the Tilokchandī Bais of Baiswāṛā. The former are "modern and equivocal, the term Bais being, it may be mentioned, the most "ready gate by which enlistment into the fraternity of Rājpūts could for- "merly be achieved....Finally, all those landowning families, who can only "urge an indigenous origin, must, whether they admit it or not, recognise "the fact that they are descendants of Bhars, for every acre of land was

but Buddhism and Jainism were naturally more popular than any other foreign religion.[45]

A considerable number of Bhārs fills the post of village policemen, while others are ploughmen, but the vast majority of this race are now in a miserable condition.

In spite of the abilities they exhibit when suitably employed, and in spite of the reputation of their ancestors which has survived to this day, the descendants of the ancient rulers of the land have now lost nearly everything and are reduced to the most abject condition.

The Mārs, Mhārs, Mahārs, Mhairs or Mers.

While speaking about the Mallas I availed myself, on pp. 21 and 22, of the opportunity of introducing the Mahārs or Mhārs, whom I recognised as the people who had given their name to *Mahārāṣṭra*. But it was not to that country alone that the Mahārs were confined, for they have always been occupants of Rājputāna. The provinces which now go by the name of (Ajmere) Mhairwāra and (Jodhpur) Mārwār are their ancient home. "The *Mair* or *Mera* is," according to Colonel Tod, "the mountaineer of Rajpootana, and the country he "inhabits is styled *Mairwarra* or the region of hills." These hillmen by and bye populated the plain and are also found there.[46] They remained masters of the soil until they were ousted later on by victorious invaders. As chiefs and warriors, like other aboriginal tribes, they have a claim to be

"owned, and the country was throughout peopled by these alone and by "no others."—Compare also the article "On the Bhar Kings of Eastern Oudh," by W. C. Benett, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, 1872, pp. 265 and 266.

[45] Compare *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLV, p. 303.

[46] See *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod, vol. I, 680.—The name of *Mārwār* is generally connected with Sanskrit *maru*, desert, mountain, rock. I believe this derivation to be wrong, though it gives a pretty good explanation of the diversified nature of the country, which is hilly in one part and arid in the other.

called Rājputs, for the name of Rājput or Rājaputra confers only a social, and not an ethnological distinction. The term Rājput is generally applied to an Aryan Kṣatriya, though everybody knows that the victors intermarried freely with the vanquished non-Aryans, who were never totally annihilated, and that the Mārs and other non-Aryan tribes claim relationship with the Rājputs.

No real ethnological difference between a Mār (Ṁhār, Mahār) and a Mhair (Mer) has been found to exist. It has been previously mentioned that, according to Colonel Dalton, "Mār or Māla is a very uncertain name applied "to or assumed by different people in different parts of India, "but it may be that there is some affinity between all the "tribes who bear it."[47]

Many Mārs (Mhārs) have clung to their hills as strongholds; some have comfortably settled down as cultivators, while by far the greater part are exposed in consequence of their indigence to severe oppression, and are treated like Pariahs. In fact, the history of the Mār (Mhār) resembles that of the Bhār and the Pariah, and, like the latter, he has also retained in the Dekhan a small amount of influence. For, according to Mr. R. N. Gooddine, "he is the "watchman and guardian of the village and the living chro-"nicle of its concerns. His situation or his curiosity makes "him acquainted with everybody's affairs, and his evidence "is required in every dispute. Should two cultivators quarrel "respecting the boundaries of their fields, the Mhār's evidence "ought to decide it, and should a similar quarrel happen "between two villages, the Mhārs are always the chief actors

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[47] See Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I, 681; Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. I, 97: "All the inhabitants of Mhairwārā bear the common title of Mairs or hillmen, which, however, must be regarded rather as a geographical than as a social or religious distinction:" and VII, 514, "Most of these (the Mīnas and Mhairs) claim irregular descent by half-blood from Rājputs, while some of them are closely connected with the Bhīls."

"in it, and to their decision alone it is sometimes referred. "The Mhār is emphatically called the *village-eye*."[48]

The Maṛavar.

The *Maṛavar* in Madura and Tinnevelly likewise claim the position of Rājputs, and if we regard them as a warrior tribe, they are entitled to this distinction. They are also most probably in some way connected with the Mārs of the north. The Maṛavar have to a great extent preserved their freedom and independence. They are brave, warlike, and self-willed like most semi-barbarous races, but they have latterly taken to more peaceful pursuits than they used to follow formerly. They were once very numerous, but are now greatly reduced in numbers. Their chief is the *Sētupati* of *Ramnād*, one of the oldest and most respected princes in Southern India, and who is still highly honored by,

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[48] See this extract from Mr. R. N. Gooddine's Report on the "Village Communities of the Dekhan," in vol. II, pp. 207-208 of Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, as well as Sherring's further remarks.

Mr. W. F. Sinclair says (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, 1874, pp. 130, 131): "The *Mahārs* or *Dheḍs* are the most important caste of Parwārīs. Whether they are the aborigines of the country or not, there does not seem to be any way of deciding; but it seems to me that the term Mahārāshṭra, generally translated 'country of the Marāṭhās,' is at least as likely to mean 'country of the Mahārs;' and I throw this out for more learned Sanskritists to decide upon. However, they are a very important people in it now, nor must it be supposed that their position, though socially low, is without its rights and dignities . . . The Mahār, as I have mentioned, is not only the guardian of boundaries, but also of the public peace and health, as watchman and scavenger; of communications, for he should guide travellers and make petty road repairs; and of the public treasure and correspondence, for it is his duty to carry the revenue to the treasury, and convey all messages on account of Government. It will be seen that he has no sinecure (and) . it is obvious that he is not one 'of the Queen's bad bargains.' These duties belong to the Mahār as *yeskar*, or village watchman . . . But the *Tarāl* or gate-ward, an officer found in a good many villages, is generally also a Mahār by caste. The term *Dheḍ* is simply Hindustanī for a Mahār and is found as we go northward." Compare "Two Lectures on the Aboriginal Race of India," by Lieut.-General Briggs, *Royal Asiatic Soc. Journal*, XIII, pp. 275–309, specially p. 281. See my remarks about the origin of the term *Mahārāṣṭra* on pp. 22 and 23.

and exacts honors from, the surrounding chiefs and princes. The active life which the Maṛavan leads in the open air has imparted to him great bodily strength. He can be easily distinguished from other natives by his good figure and generally erect and proud bearing.[49]

The Pariah, Pahāria, Parheya, the Brahui, Bār or Bhār and the Mār, Mhār or Mahār of our day should, as I hope to have proved, be regarded as the descendants of the original Dravidian population. I am of opinion that all these tribes, whose names contain the letter *r*, are the representatives of the first and oldest stratum of the Dravidian race, and that the descendants of the *Malla* or *Palla* are those of the second stage, from which the other part of the present Dravidian population has been gradually evolved.

Religious and Social Privileges enjoyed by Pariahs.

In Mysore the *Holiya* or *Holeya* (ಹೊಲಿಯ, ಹೊಲೆಯ takes the place of the Pariah. The word Holiya may be another form for Pulaiya, unless we assume that the *l* in Holiya is a change from *r* and connect the word Holiya with Paṛaiya.

However despised a position the Pariah and the Holiya occupy in the places where they live, they have preserved and still cherish, as the Mhār and Bhār do, the memory of former greatness and regard themselves as the original owners of the soil. Political revolutions, about which we now know nothing, have most probably been the cause of

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[49] Maṛavan also means originally *mountaineer*, but Mr. Nelson in his *Manual of Madura*, has quoted (II, p. 39) a legend, according to which the Maravar sided with Rāma against Rāvaṇa, and Rāma thanked them and "exclaimed in good Tamil, *Maravēn* or 'I will never forget'; and that they "have ever since been called Maravans. With more probability the name "may be connected with the word *maram*, மறம், which means killing, "ferocity, bravery and the like." See Nelson's *Manual*, II, p. 38–42, on the Maravar.

their subversion by other kindred Dravidian tribes. Yet, considering the unstable nature of the Indian states, the continual disturbances and fighting which give to Indian history such an unpleasant and unsatisfactory appearance, there seems nothing peculiar in the claims advanced by those Pariahs, who are in reality the descendants of the original inhabitants. The Pariah calls himself to this day the elder brother of the Brahman, claiming in this manner precedence of the Brahman. The Brahmans on the other hand ascribe the origin of the Pariahs, Caṇḍālas, and other low castes to the connection of Brahman women with low caste men, or to the curse which sages, like Viśvāmitra, were so fond of uttering against their own flesh and blood, or against any one who was unfortunate enough to come across them at an inauspicious moment. The legend of the curse of Viśvāmitra's sons is interesting, as it ascribes to them the origin of some wild tribes like the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, and Pulindas.[50]

The Pariahs have according to the *Ñānaveṭṭi* eighteen titles like the Veḷḷāḷar and possess also the same insignia.[51]

The chief goddess of the Pariahs is called *Āttāḷ* or *Ammāḷ*, mother, and represents Pārvatī as mother of the earth, while

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[50] The elder fifty of the hundred sons of *Viśvāmitra* offended their father, and being cursed by him, became outcastes and the forefathers of all the wild tribes.

According to an old tradition, found in the Purāṇas and retold in the *Kulasaṅkaramālā* of Vēṅkaṭacalācāryar of Rāyapuram and in the Kanarese *Sōmēśvaraśataka*, Vasiṣṭha was the son of Urvaśī, the famous divine prostitute, and the husband of a Caṇḍāla woman of the Cakkili caste, who was in reality *Arundhatī*, reborn as a Caṇḍālī. As such she bore him one hundred sons, ninety-six of whom disobeyed their father and reverted to the Pañcama (fifth) or Pariah caste, while the four others remained Brahmans.—*Agastya* was, as already intimated on p. 24, n. 25, in this birth the brother of Vasiṣṭha.

[51] Among these insignia are mentioned the following: white, earth-circle umbrellas; lion, swan, green and white, monkey (*Hanuman*), cuckoo, plough-handle, wheel and lion faced flags; a trumpet; closely carried torches (*aruku*) and day torches; victorious bells, two white chowries, white elephant; white horse; ivory palanquins; cuscus fan, flute; white petticoat, two poles with cloth across the street (*makaratōraṇa*), golden pot, &c.

as *Piḍari* she resembles through her evil inclinations Kālī. Different personifications of Pārvatī and Kālī are variously named, as Vēḻāttāḷ (Ēḻāttāḷ), Nāgāttāḷ, Ēgāttāḷ, Cēmāttāḷ, Māriyāttāḷ or Mariyamman, Aṅgāḷamman, Ellamman, Puṅganamman (Puṅgāttāḷ), &c. Temples are found everywhere in South India, and she is generally the village goddess. *Māriyamman*, the goddess who inflicts and removes small-pox and other diseases, is found among the Gauda-Dravidians of the whole of India.

The feasts of these goddesses extend over a week and last occasionally sixteen days. During the whole of this time a Pariah is kept clothed and fed in the temple as the accepted bridegroom of the goddess. High across the streets festoons of margosa leaves are hung, and on the last day, while pots filled with water are carried by the people and the idol is taken in procession round the streets of the village, tom-toms are beaten in honor of the Pariah bridegroom, and after he has fasted and bathed, he gets a new cloth dyed with saffron, and the priest fastens a quarter anna piece to the right hand of the goddess and another to that of the Pariah. This ceremony is called *kāppu*, காப்பு.

The name Vēlāttāḷ is commonly explained as mother of Subrahmaṇya, from Vēḻ and Āttāḷ. Nāgāttāḷ is regarded to signify the same from Nāgan (Subrahmaṇya) and Āttāḷ. Some Tamil scholars however do not favor this explanation. When revered in these forms Pārvatī or Kanyākumārī is regarded as a Pariah woman or Mātangī.

The Pariahs enjoy even now, in many places, privileges, the origin of which cannot be explained except by admitting the existence of substantial reasons, which have long been forgotten. A Pariah ties to this day the tāli round the neck of Ēgāttāḷ, the tutelary goddess of Black Town in Madras. The Pariah, who acts as the bridegroom, arrives at the temple about ten days before the feast commences and is treated as described above. At *Perambūr*, near Madras, the same deity

is called *Cēmāttāḷ*, mother of safety. In Mysore a Holiya is generally the priest of the village goddess, and the Kulvādi or Pariah headman of the village community is regarded as the real proprietor of the village. At Mēlkōṭa a Holiya presents to Celvapiḷḷai, or utsava-idol, which is thus called as it is carried in procession at the festival, a branch of the Cami or Vahni tree to be used as an arrow for his bow at the hunting festival (*pārivēṭṭai*), and while the idol is moving in procession, a Pariah huntsman lets a hare run across the road in front of the car that the god may shoot at it; this done, the idol returns in grand procession to the temple. The Pariah receives as a reward (*pāritōṣikam*) a garland, the flowers of which are distributed among the heads of the large conflux of Pariahs. This hunting festival is in Malayālam called *paḷḷiveṭṭa*, or royal hunt. It is just possible that *pāri* and *paḷḷi* are identical words. The Holiyas pull the car at Mēlkōṭa and are not debarred from approaching it. They pull also the ropes of the cars at Kāñcipuram, Kumbhakōnam, Śrīvalliputtūr, and other places. In fact they do so wherever there are big temples. To obviate any unpleasantness arising on such occasions, it is laid down, as a rule, that the touch of Pariahs and outcastes who come to revere the deity does not pollute.

Dēvālayasamīpasthān dēvasēvārtham āgatān
Caṇḍālān patitān vāpi spṛṣṭvā na snānam ācarēt.[52]

The Holiyas are permitted in Mēlkōṭa to enter the Tirunārāyaṇa temple on three days of the year. The Brahmans ascribe this privilege to the circumstance that a poor but pious Pariah had observed that a cow approached every day a white ant's hole and let her milk drop into it. He searched and discovered that the image of Celvapiḷḷai was concealed in it. In consequence, the Pariah took compassion on the cow

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[52] One need not bathe if one touches Caṇḍālas or outcastes, who stand near the temple and have come to worship God.

and supplied her daily with fodder. The great Vaiṣṇava reformer, Bhagavat Rāmānujācārya, had at the same time been dreaming of this Celvapiḷḷai image, and the Pariah showed it to him. As a reward for this act of piety, Rāmānujācārya allowed the Pariahs to enter the temple in future for three days of the year. Others say that this favor was granted because the Pariahs had protected him in their paṛaicēri, when he was pursued. Very likely, the privilege is of older origin. A similar custom prevails in *Kadiri*.[53]

It is most peculiar that the origin of the famous Jagannātha temple is also closely connected with the low-caste Pariahs. A *Śavara* mountaineer, called *Bāsu*, worshipped in secret the blue stone image of Jagannātha, to obtain which the powerful king of Mālva, Indradyumna, had despatched Brahmans to all quarters of the world. One of them penetrated at last into the wilderness where Bāsu lived. Bāsu detained the Brahman, made him marry his daughter, and led him after some time blindfolded to the place where the image of Jagannātha was lying concealed. The Brahman

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[53] Compare "Archæological Notes," by M. J. Walhouse in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, 1874, p. 191 : "It is well known that the servile castes in Southern India once held far higher positions, and were indeed masters of the land on the arrival of the Brahmanical caste. Many curious vestiges of their ancient power still survive in the shape of certain privileges, which are jealously cherished, and, their origin being forgotten, are much misunderstood. These privileges are remarkable instances of survivals from an extinct order of society—shadows of long-departed supremacy, bearing witness to a period when the present haughty high-caste races were suppliants before the ancestors of degraded classes whose touch is now regarded as pollution. At Mēlkotta, the chief seat of the followers of Rāmanuja Achārya, and at the Brāhmaṇ temple at Bailur, the Holeyars or Pareyars have the right of entering the temple on three days in the year, specially set apart for them. At the 'bull-games' at Dindigal, in the Madura district, which have some resemblance to Spanish bull-fights, and are very solemn celebrations, the Kallār, or robber caste, can alone officiate as priests and consult the presiding deity On this occasion they hold quite a Saturnalia of lordship and arrogance over the Brāhmaṇs. In the great festival of Śiva at Trivalūr, in Tanjore the head-man of the Pareyars is mounted on the elephant with the god, and carries his *chauri*. In Madras, at the annual festival of the goddess of the Black Town, when a *tâli* is tied round the neck of the idol *in the*

worshipped the god, and, after the lapse of some time, was able to communicate his discovery to the king. As the king was very proud of his power, the god Jagannātha, in order to punish his pride, did allow him to build the temple, but did not manifest himself personally to Indradyumna. This favor was granted him after prolonged delay, and it was only with the help of the Śavara Bāsu that the image could finally be obtained and removed. Until very recently, pilgrims of all castes and outcastes frequented Puri and partook together of their meals, as the presence of Jagannātha is said to destroy all distinctions of caste, race, and faith; but now out-castes are no longer allowed to enter the sanctuary and to join in the eating of holy food, though the food prepared and sanctified at Puri can be eaten by Brahmans anywhere, even in the presence of the lowest people. The descendants of Bāsu are thus debarred from worshipping personally their own divinity.

Many Pariahs have attained high renown as poets and saints. Take for example, *Tiruvaḷḷuva Nāyanār*, the author

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name of the entire community, a Pareyar is chosen to represent the bridegroom. In Madras, too, the mercantile caste, and in Vizagapatam the Brāhmaṇs, had to go through the form of asking the consent of the lowest castes to their marriages, though the custom has not died out." See Mr. J. D. B. Gribble's *Manual of Cuddapah*, p. 241.

See *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* by Bishop Caldwell, second edition, p. 548: "Thus, at the annual festival of Ēgāttāḷ, the only mother—a form of Kālī, and the tutelary goddess of the 'Black Town' of Madras—when a *tāli*, or bridal necklace (answering to our wedding ring), was tied round the neck of the idol in the name of the entire community, a Pareiya used to be chosen to represent the people as the goddess' bridegroom."

I am indebted to the Rev. H. Jensen of the Danish Lutheran Mission for my statement concerning the continuation of the service of a Pariah at the Ēgāṭṭāḷ temple in Black Town.

Major J. S. F. Mackenzie has contributed on p. 36 of volume VIII of the *Indian Antiquary* an article on the "Customs of the Comti Caste." Most of the statements that note contains I have repeatedly heard in Madras, and I myself possess some documents confirming them. I quote this subject here merely as it ought not to be entirely omitted, and as it affords strong evidence of the great influence and authority once enjoyed by the now-despised Pariahs—an influence which apparently is exercised even at the present time.

of the Kuṟal and his so-called sister, the famous poetess, *Avvai*, the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvār *Tiruppāṇ*, the author of the work beginning with *Amalan Ādipirān*, who was brought up by Pariahs, and the Śaiva saint *Nandan*, who was a Pariah. A Kurumba robber, *Tirumaṅgaimannan*, became afterwards a celebrated Vaiṣṇava Āḻvār.

These and many other instances can be adduced to prove the once flourishing condition of the now despised lowest classes.

Wrong Derivation of the term Holeya and Pulaya.

The Telugu Pariahs are called Mālavāṇḍlu, its corresponding term in Tamil *Mālar* is often used in the sense of Pulaiyar and equivalent to Paraiyar. The word Māla, in the sense of mountaineer or barbarian, occurs in Sanskrit. As the word *holeya* is derived from *hole*, ಹೊಲೆ, pollution, and the South-Indian *Pulayan* from *pula*, പുല, pollution, so also is Malaya occasionally derived from the Sanskrit *mala*, taint. All these derivations rest on no substantial philological grounds. They have been suggested by the accidental resemblance existing between the Sanskrit words *mala*, taint, and *pala*, flesh, and the Dravidian *pula* (*hole*), pollution, and their derivatives on the one side and the names of the *Mallas* or *Pallas* on the other side, and are used to revile and as an excuse for despising the low defenceless and ill-treated population.[54]

This tendency to revile strangers, enemies or slaves is, however, not confined to any particular country. *The Tatars*, when they first invaded Europe, were called Tartars, because they were supposed to have come from *Tartarus* or hell.

I further believe that all such Sanskrit words as *malla*, *māla*, *malaya*, *palli*, *&c.*, which are connected with the name

[54] Mr. Lewis Rice in his *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I, p. 312, ventures another derivation : "the Holayar, whose name may be derived from *hola*, a field."

of the Mallas and Pallas, to have been introduced into that language from Dravidian.

CASTE DISTINCTIONS AMONG PARIAHS; RIGHT AND LEFT HAND CASTES.

The Pariah caste is divided into 18 classes[55] like the Veḻḻāḻar, as has been already intimated. The first class of the Pariahs is called the Vaḻḻuvappaṟai. The highest caste of the Pulayar in Cochin also bears the name of Vaḻḻuva. One great cause that keeps the Pariahs and the Paḻḻar apart, or that prevents them from being on friendly terms with each other, is the fact that they take different sides in the great question of *right-hand* and *left-hand* castes.

The reference to this distinction necessitates some remarks. The cause of the division into *right-hand* and *left-hand* castes, and the time when this difference arose, are both unknown, though weighty reasons can be adduced against assigning to it a very early period. The legendary reports abound with suspicious details which militate against their trustworthiness. The contest seems to have been both national and religious.[56]

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[55] Dr. Winslow enumerates in his *Tamil-English Dictionary* the following classes among the Pariahs: The Vaḻḻuvappaṟai, Tātappaṟai, Taṅkalānpaṟai, Tuṟcālippaṟai, Kuḻippaṟai, Tippaṟai, Muracappaṟai, Moṭṭappaṟai, Ampuppaṟai, Vaṭukappaṟai, Āliyappaṟai, Kōliyappaṟai, Vaḻippaṟai, Veṭṭiyārppaṟai, Caṅkuppaṟai. Compare Mr. J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madura*, III, pp. 75–79. Mr. W. F. Sinclair says in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 130: "The *Parwāris* should not by rights be called outcastes, seeing that they have caste of their own, obey its rules, and squabble among themselves for precedence with a pertinacity worthy of ambassadors."

[56] In the edition of a portion of the Kuṟaḷ which was published together with an English translation and valuable notes by one of the earliest and best European Tamil Scholars, the late Mr. T. W. Ellis, of the Madras Civil Service, is found on page 44 the following passage: "Intercourse with foreign nations, the extension of commerce, and other circumstances have in latter times materially altered the manners of the olden time and infringed the privileges of the landed proprietors, but they have not been able to prevent a lively tradition of them remaining, and this has given origin to the dissensions between the factions denominated *Valang-caiyàr* and *Idung-caiyàr*,

The five classes of artisans—the carpenters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, braziers, and masons, well known in Southern India as *Pañcāḷar* or *Kammāḷar*—regard themselves as the real Brahmans and, as the descendants of the divine artificer *Viśvakarma*, call themselves Viśva Brahmans. They assume the title of *Ācārya*, wear the holy thread, and claim the right to perform religious ceremonies among themselves, especially at marriages. They further declare that there were originally five Vēdas, but that *Vēda Vyāsa*, in order to curtail their privileges, suppressed the fifth and arranged the other four in such a manner as suited Vyāsa and the false Brahmans whom he headed; that he tried to win the reigning king over to his side, and, when he did not succeed, that he instigated the king's murder and placed an illegitimate son on the throne, who conferred on Vyāsa the dignity of priest of the royal family. According to one version Vyāsa induced the king to issue a proclamation, enacting that all those who sided with the king should be styled right-hand caste men, and all those who opposed him left-hand caste men. Another tradition asserts that Vyāsa's right hand was cut off by a bigoted Śaiva, who heard Vyāsa swear with his uplifted right hand that Viṣṇu was superior to Śiva and that he had never in his Purāṇas opposed Viṣṇu.[57] Others transfer these

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or, as commonly though improperly called, *the right and left hand castes*; the former including the whole of the agricultural tribes, who endeavour, under a different order of things, to maintain their ancient pre-eminence; the latter, including chiefly the trading and manufacturing tribes, who endeavour, and in modern days generally with success, to evade it."—According to the late Dr. Burnell (see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, (1873), p. 274): "The distinction arises primarily from the landowners and their serfs being the heads of one class, and the Brahmans, artizans, and other interlopers forming the other. But the constituent castes of either party vary." The Pañcālas or Kammāḷar are known in Tamil by the title of *Ācāri* ஆசாரி.

So far as I am informed, and as I have stated above, the Brahmans are not included in either faction, though some lists mention them as partisans.

[57] Compare the *Decision of the Cittūr Jillā Court* (చిత్తూరు జిల్లా అదాలతు కోర్టు తీర్పు) printed at Cittūr, 1881, on these dissensions. An account

events to Kāñcipuram, and declare that, when the two opposed parties brought their complaints before the Pallava king reigning over the Cōla country, the Kammāḷar, Bēri Ceṭṭies and their friends were sitting on the left hand of the king and the Veḻḻāḷar and their adherents on the right hand. The left-hand side is regarded by the Kammāḷar as the place of honor.

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is given on page 29 of the circumstances in which Vyāsa lost his hand. His opponent is in this Cittūr Decision described as వీరముష్టియైన అతడు. *Vīramuṣṭi* means a Vīra Śaiva or Jaṅgama, who precedes a procession, holding a shield and brandishing a sword. He is also called Vṛṣabhēśvara. The Skandapurāṇa contains also the story about the cutting off of Vyāsa's arm. Captain J. S. T. Mackenzie connects the *Vyasanu-tōlu Kallu* (Vyasana's armstone) found in Mysore with this event. Compare *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, (1873), p. 49.

As the Pañcālar claim the privilege of being their own priests and the Brahmans oppose this claim, many disputes and even serious disturbances of the public peace have ensued. Such was the case, *e.g.*, at Cittūr in 1817. Through the kindness of the present Judge at Cittūr, Mr. Crole, I have obtained a copy of the judgment from which I give the following extracts:

After mentioning the names of the plaintiffs and the six defendants it begins: "1. This suit was brought against the defendants by the plaintiffs to recover Rs. 530¼ damages on account of the defendants having prevented the plaintiffs from celebrating a marriage in their family.

"The record consists of the plaint, three answers, one reply and two rejoinders . . . 2. The plaintiffs in this suit call themselves Kammālars, the descendants of five Brahmas. The Kammālars follow five crafts, namely, that of carpenter, blacksmith, goldsmith, mason and brass-smith. 3. The plaintiffs state that they and their tribe have been accustomed, and that they consider themselves entitled, and have resolved, to conduct their own marriages, and other domestic and religious ceremonies without the interference of the Brahmins, to which tribe the defendants belong. The plaintiffs maintain that one of their own tribe is their *Guru*, and performs their religious rites, and that they will not attend to, nor employ a Brahmin therein, and they state their confidence that no Court of Justice can give the defendants or Brahmins liberty to enter their houses by force to officiate at their ceremonies, moreover, they state that they are neither of the Vaisya nor Sudra tribes, but are descendants of Brahma and that therefore they do not require Brahmins to officiate for them. That moreover they, the plaintiffs are Deva, or divine Brahmins, and that the defendants are *Go* or cow Brahmins who were originally Sudras, and by certain penance and ceremonies obtained Brahminism, and that they, the plaintiffs, can prove their right from the Veda, Smriti and Vasishthapurānum and the Silpa Śāstram. 4. The principal defendants, namely, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th maintain that they are Brahmins of the Siva Bhakti and have a right to perform the ceremonies

The charge of having suppressed the fifth Vēda is very extraordinary indeed, especially if one considers that the original number of the Vēdas is indicated by the name *Trayī*, or Trinity, representing the Ṛg, Yajur and Sāma Vēdas, and that the fourth or Atharvavēda is generally ascribed to a later period. The existence and destruction of a fifth Vēda, assuming such a work to have ever existed, must therefore be assigned to a comparatively late or modern time.

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and religious rites of the plaintiffs who they state to be Sankaras, or outcastes of the Sudra tribe. The defendants in consequence deny that the plaintiffs could ever become Brahmins, though they were born again ever so many times. Moreover that if the plaintiffs think proper to perform the marriage and other ceremonies using forms of prayers taken from the Veda they will not only be liable to suffer a great punishment in their next birth, but to be punished criminally by the executors of the law appointed by Government, who they state would never suffer the plaintiffs to perform any ceremonies contrary to the law of their sect, to ascertain which the defendants request that the opinion of the law officer of the Court may be taken on the subject. 5. The above is the sum of the difference between the parties. . . 9. The evidence in this case is very long and contradictory, but the Court has no doubt from a consideration thereof but that the defendants did actually, seriously and violently molest the plaintiffs in the celebration of a marriage which the plaintiffs were celebrating though they (the defendants) did not actually prevent it, as the marriage took place notwithstanding their interference, though not without the plaintiffs meeting with much obstruction from the defendants. 10. It is a notorious fact which the plaintiff's witnesses havs deposed to, that the plaintiffs and persons of the Kammālar caste (like Kannadiyar, Satānis and Jainas) do frequently celebrate their religious festivals without calling in the Brahmins of any other sect to aid them in the performance of any part thereof. The plaintiffs have declared that they admit those marriages only to be perfectly regular, which are celebrated by Gurus of their own appointment. They do not admit the superiority of any other tribe to themselves. These opinions they state to be according to the Hindu Sāstra, but it is a point and a right, which it is well known the Siva and Vishnu Brahmins do not admit, and therefore it has not been considered necessary to consult on this subject the pandits of the Courts, no more than if it were a question of law regarding a religious difference between any other sect and the Brahmins, on which they never would agree. If the plaintiffs, who deny the superiority of the defendants as Brahmins do in their tribe choose to follow or relinquish any ancient custom or to establish any new ceremony which is not contrary to honesty, decorum, and the peace of the country, neither the defendants nor any other persons have any right to interfere, nor would the officers of Government

The division of the population into right-hand and left-hand castes occurred most likely simultaneously with the religious agitation which introduced into Southern India the now prevailing Brahmanical supremacy. The imminent decay of the Jaina power opened a fair prospect to the Brahmans of which they were not slow to take advantage. They gathered round them their followers, while their opponents, who represented in certain respects the national party, did the same. This movement seems to have been originally

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ever interfere, if it should not appear to be necessary for the peace of the country. It appears that marriages celebrated by Gurus of the plaintiffs own sect have been for a long period at least admitted by a very great body (if not perhaps by the whole) of them, and at all events are now by them acknowledged to be good and proper and valid, and according to *their* interpretation of the Sâstra perfectly conformable thereto. No other sects therefore have any right to interfere, especially a sect (namely that of the defendants or Smarta Brahmins) which the plaintiffs do not acknowledge to be superior to them; for the plaintiffs' rejection of them (the defendants, the Smarta Brahmins) as their spiritual guides or Gurus is what the defendants themselves acknowledge that any Hindu is at liberty to do. Thousands among themselves (the Smarta Brahmins) have of late years left them and from being Siva bhaktars have become Vishnu bhaktars, and have consequently chosen the Gurus of another sect to be their Gurus. Had the plaintiffs introduced ever so many innovations into their ceremonies (which they do not appear to have done), as they do not admit that the defendants have any more concern with them (the plaintiffs) than they (the plaintiffs) have with the defendants (Brahmins), the latter had no business to go near them on the occasion of the celebration of their marriage. They (the defendants) have no right to force themselves as Purohitas upon any tribe who do not acknowledge them, as their superiors, and Purohitas. In the opinion of the Courts the plaintiffs were, and are, fully entitled to perform (the marriage in question or any other) their religious ceremonies in such a manner as the tribe to which they belong may from time to time establish to be the rule and form of their caste, and it is so decreed accordingly . . Given under my hand and the seal of the Court this twenty-eighth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

(Signed) JOSEPH DACRE,
Judge."

In 1843 a similar case was tried in Salem before a Brahman, N. Krishnamāchāryulu . . . A Pañcālan, Rāmaliṅgāchāri, for claiming certain rights, had been insulted and severely beaten by some persons, and his sacred thread had also been torn to pieces. The defendants pleaded that Rāmaliṅgāchāri, as belonging to the Goldsmith caste (or *Kamsalajāti* in Telugu) had no right to study the Vēda and to undertake any Prāyaścitta, or any other religious cere-

confined to Southern India, its centre being at Kāñcipuram, the seat of so many religious and political dissensions, where there are to this day special halls for both parties, called Valaṅkai-maṇṭapams and Itaṅkai-maṇṭapams.[58] As the Paḷḷar and the Pariahs belong to different hands and the Vaḷḷuvar are the priests of both, the division into right-hand and left-hand castes must very probably have taken place after the Vaḷḷuvar had obtained this position. At the time of *Bhagavat Rāmānujācārya* this division into right-hand and left-hand castes was already an acknowledged institution, as different hours were assigned to right and left hand people for entering the Celvapiḷḷai temple at *Mēlkōṭa*, which place is also called *Patitapāvanakṣētra*, *i.e.*, the field where even out-castes can be purified. The influence of the Jainas was perhaps strongest in towns where the artisan classes form an important and powerful portion of the population, while the Brahmans appealed to the land-owning and agricultural classes, whom they won over by entreaties or by threats. The Brahmans have not joined and strictly speaking do not belong to either side, but their interests lie mainly with the right side. As in various localities the same castes have embraced different sides, it is difficult to assign to all a permanent position. Yet, on the whole, the principal parties on both sides are always the same.[59]

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mony, whose performance is a privilege of the Brahmans, and that the Kamsalajāti ranked according to the Dharmasāstra among the Grāmacaṇḍālas. The Court concurred in this view and the case was dismissed, Rāmaliṅgāchāri paying costs. See *Sēlam Jillā Tīrmānavu*, Madras, 1886.

[58] On p. 326 of the *Jātisangrahasāra* (in Tamil ஜாதிசங்கிரகசாரம்) is mentioned a copperplate order or *Tāmraśāsanam* which confirms the position of the Vanniyar, they held at Kāñci during the reign of *Sukhakalyāṇa* in the 762nd year of Śālivāhana Śāka; but, though it is stated there, that this Śāsanam is still preserved, no one seems ever to have seen it.

[59] The quarrels and actual fights which occurred between these hostile parties have given rise to much litigation before Magistrates and Judges, especially in the Chingleput and North-Arcot districts. The judgment of George Coleman, Judge and Magistrate of Chingleput, dated the 25th July

This dissension must have seriously affected, for some time at least, the agricultural, mechanical, and commercial interests of the country, for, as both parties were stubborn, a great deal of inconvenience must have been felt, till each party was able to supply its own wants. The right-hand side had in these circumstances to seek a fresh supply of artisans until the necessary knowledge was acquired by men in its own ranks. Some who joined it were perhaps deserters from

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1809, specifies the different people of both hands, gives their emblems, flags and instruments, and fixes certain privileges.

I have applied to the Court and gone to Chingleput with the express purpose to obtain a copy of this important judgment from the District Court, but it could not be found among the records, though many decisions of less consequence and of earlier years are still extant.

However, through the exertions of Mr. A. Krishnasvamy Iyer, B.A., an official of the Accountant-General's Office, and a much esteemed former pupil of mine, I have been able to secure a Tamil manuscript copy of the judgment. On the *right hand* are enumerated the *Vēḻāḷar* and *Kavaraikaḷ* with the following insignia : white umbrella, white flag, curved fan, chowry, arukuṭivaṭṭi, plough, plough-flag, monkey-flag, cuckoo-flag, parrot-flag, bell, conch, wheel stick, big-drum, green, blue lotus garland, *Ātti* flag, *Tavanṭai*, trumpet ; 2, *Vatuka Vēḻāḷar* (Northern or Telugu Veḻḻāḷar) with swan flag ; 3, *Reḍḍikaḷ* with plough flag ; 4, *Kammavārukaḷ* (agricultural labourers) with bull-flag ; 5, *Kontaḷavarkaḷ* with chakora flag ; 6, *Nattamān* with Āḻi flag ; 7 *Malaiyamān* with *Aritāḷa* or *Śrītala* flag ; 8 *Kōmaṭṭikaḷ* (merchants) with cotton-flag, *Makaratōraṇam*-drum, Vimumayir, Iṭimuracu; 9, *Iṭaiyar* (shepherds) with wheel ; 10, *Vaṭuka Iṭaiyar* (Telugu shepherds) with conch ; 11, *Kaṉṉiṭaiyar* (Kanarese shepherds), with tent, . . . five-coloured flag ; 12, *Patmacāliyar* (weavers) with tiger vehicle, male tiger flag ; 13, *Paṭṭucāliyar* (silk weavers) with two-headed bird flag ; 14, *Vaṭukacēṇiyar* (northern weavers) with jasmine flag, Nākapācam, five-coloured flag ; 15, *Jāṇtravar* (Telugu weavers) with crocodile ; 16, *Kaṉṉiṭaiya-Cēṉiyar* (Kanarese weavers) with wild jasmine garland, big eagle flag, Vicurutaṇṭai ; 17, *Paṭṭunūlkāṟar* (silk thread weavers) with silk flag ; 18, *Cēṭar* (weavers) with tortoise flag, and *Koḷiñci* flag ; 19, *Cēkkuvāṇiyar* (oilpress mongers) with ceḍaiceṭi (ceṇṭu-toṇṭu), eḻḻuṟāci, sesamum-leaf garland, garuḍa-flag, drum ; 20, *Iḻaivāṇiyar* (leaf oil-mongers) with kovai-garland, drum, cuckoo flag ; 21, *Oṇṭi erutu vāṇniyar* (one bullock oil-mongers) with five-coloured parrot flag ; 22, *Jaṇappar* (hemp dressers) with chowry flag ; 23, *Macciyar* (painters, &c.,) with makara flag ; 24, *Kāñciyar* (braziers) with Poti flag ; 25, *Vētakārar* (basketmakers) with Cikkiri flag, wooden-legged horse, sword flag ; 26, *Nari cōkiyar* (Fox-beggars) with dog flag ; 27, *Tamiḻ Kacavar* (potters), *Vaṭuka Kucavar* (Telugu potters), *Kuca Kaṇakkar* ; 28, *Mēḷakkāṟar* (flooters) with drum flag ; 29, *Naṭṭuvar* (dancing masters) with cymbal flag ; 30, *Dācikaḷ*

the hostile camp, while others were outsiders, Muhammadan artisans, for instance, who were allowed to earn their living in the Hindu community by following their profession.

The fifth caste formed of outcastes is in consequence of this dissension divided into two great hostile camps, on the right side are ranged the Pariahs, and on the left side the Cakkilis or leather-workers. It appears that there prevails in some parts of the South the peculiar phrase: "the Pariahs

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(dancing girls) with Manmatha flag; 31, *Cāṇār* and *Īḻar* (toddy-drawers) with kuriñci flag, knife and ladder; 32, *Kuravar* (mountaineers, foresters, snake-catchers, basketmakers, salt-sellers),with donkey flag; 33, *Cukkār ceṭṭi lampāṭikaḷ* (salt-sellers) with picturesque flag; 34, *Vēṭṭakkārar* (hunters) with sling flag; 35, *Paṭṭanavar* (?) with tortoise flag; 36, *Karaiyar* (sea-coastmen) with fish flag; 37, *Oṭṭar* (road-makers and tank-diggers from Orissa) with spade flag; 38, *Upparavar* (common tank-diggers) with pig flag; 39, *Pōyi* (bearers) with palanquin flag; 40, Paniceyvōrkaḷ (?) (menial servants ?) with Tārai (trumpet) flag; 41, *Tamiḻ Vaṇṇār* and *Vaṭuka Vaṇṇār* (Tamil and Telugu washermen) with curved knife, lotus garland and white elephant; 42, *Tamiḻ Nāvitar* (Tamil barbers) with tumpai garland, animal with human face; 43, *Vaṭuka Nāvitar* (Telugu barbers) with nākasaram (musical instrument); 44, *Tompuravar* (rope-dancers) with Keṭai flag; 45, *Māriyamman Pucārikaḷ* (Māriyamman priests) with small drum flag; 46, *Pucārikaḷ* with hollow brass ring flag; 47, *Iruḷar* (wild foresters) with iron bar flag; 48, *Arippukkār Kavarai* (kavarai weavers) with lotus flag; 49, *Vaṭuka Paṇḍāram* (northern mendicants) with battle-axe flag; 50, *Vañcūrār* (?) with pearl flag; 51, *Kuṭukuṭuppaikāraḷ* (soothsaying beggars) with sákti flag; 52, *Enāti* (forestmen) with hare flag; 53, *Kalācukārar* (lascars) with cart flag; 54, *Veḷikkarumār* excommunicated blacksmiths) with bellows and hammer flag; 55, *Veḷikal taccar* (excommunicated carpenters) with chisel flag; 56, *Kappal taccar* (ship carpenters) with adze flag; 57, *Kappal vaṭukar* (Telugu sailors) with ship flag; 58, *Paṇṭar* (bards) with sword flag.

The people and ensigns of the fifth class are – 1, *Paruniyar* or *Palanikal* (processionists) with ḍamara (drum) flag; 2, *Vaḷḷuvar*, *Māvaṭṭiyār* and *Veṭṭiyār* (mahaut), *Paraiyar* and *Paṇṭaparaiyar* with white umbrella, white chowry, white flag, conch, vajra stick, trumpet (tamukku), drum (tappaṭṭai), pāṅka (trumpet), tuttāri (short trumpet), big tuttāri, paraiya music, five pots and white makara (alligator) festoons.

The *left hand* musters 1, *Pēri Ceṭṭikaḷ* (*Bēri* merchants) with kite flag; 2, *Nakara Vāṇiyar* (town oil-mongers) with *toṇṭu* garland and garland of nine gems; 3, *Kaikkōḷar* (weavers) with tiruvaraipattiram, aḍakkam, lance, male vulture, lion flag, bear flag, deer flag, peacock flag, cuckoo flag, drum; 4, *Kammāḷar* (artisans). [This class is composed of the *Taṭṭār* (goldsmiths), *Kannār* (braziers), *Cirpar* (masons), *Kollar* (blacksmiths) and *Taccar* (car-

are not left-hand people, they belong to the Tamils ;" an expression whose exact meaning it is difficult to make out especially as a *Tamiḻan* or Tamulian denotes, in Madras, a Hindu in general, and not a Pariah.[60] I believe that the meaning of this phrase is that, as the Tamiḻar or Veḷḷāḷar, the masters of the Pariahs and principal Śūdras, are right hand men, so are their dependents, the Pariahs. The Pariahs enjoy

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penters) ; the word Kammāḷa is most likely the Sanskrit Kammāra, which occurs already in the Vēda in the meaning of artificer.] With hammer, chisel, adze, compass or ulakaṇi, stick, parrot flag, eagle flag, or white kite flag ; 5, *Paḷḷikaḷ* with big axe, crane feather, vēṅkai garland, red lotus garland, crow flag, cloud-coloured flag, fire flag, cock flag, vulture flag, fox flag, date flag, stone flag, green flag, hair-queue flag, drum and bow, kuṇṭali, black flag.

As belonging to the fifth class of the Iṭaṅkai are mentioned—1, *Paḷḷar* with nelli garland and crab flag ; 2, *CakkiliKaḷ* (leather-workers) with saffron screen, black garland, warrior sword, cocoa leaf, drum, curved stick.

Mr. Coleman's decision refers also to the manner in which temple, funeral and other processions should be performed by the different castes, but to quote his remarks here would lead us too far away.

The Government Oriental Manuscripts' Library contains two lists of the right and left hand castes. 98 different divisions are ascribed to each sect. If the lists had not been very inaccurate, I should have printed them here, but they place *inter alias* the *Kammāḷar* on the right-hand and the Brahmans on the left-hand.

Dr. Macleane (in the Administration Manual, vol. I, p. 69), though without producing confirmatory evidence, makes the important statement that the *male Pullies* belong to the right and the *female Pullies* to the left hand. He says : "The following lists show the more important of the castes "which take part in the disputes of the rival hands. On the left hand, "Chetties, artisans, oilmongers, weavers, Patnavar, male leather-workers, and "female Pullies. On the right hand ; Vellaular, Cavarays, Comaties, accountants, silk-weavers, male Pullies, Pariahs and female leather-workers. "It is to be observed that the females of two of the inferior castes take different sides from their husbands in these disputes." I have made inquiries among the Paḷḷis on this point and they deny the correctness of the statement, yet it is very difficult to decide such a question, unless both sides produce their authorities. It must certainly appear peculiar that husband and wife should belong to the different rival hands, as if it were desirable to specially provide causes for domestic disagreements. Mr. Nelson has, as will be seen on the next page, made a similar statement concerning the Cakkilis in Madura.

[60] The Rev. E. Löventhal of Vellore communicated to me the existence of the saying: பறையர் இடங்கை அல்ல அவர்கள் தமிழர் ; "The Pariyar are not left hand, they are Tamilians."

also the honorific title of *Valaṅkamattār* or *Valaṅkulattār* and claim in consequence precedence over the left-hand *Paḻḻar*.

The Tamil Cakkili, the Telugu and Kanarese Mādiga, and the Marātha *Māng* all do belong to the same caste. Their occupation is mostly connected with leather and rope making. The enmity between the common Pariahs and these people is very acrimonious as it concerns precedence; and a *Māng*, who as ropemaker is generally also the hangman, is said to regard as his proudest and most meritorious action the hanging of a Mahār or Marātha Pariah. Nevertheless, the Pariahs and the Cakkilis, when not actually engaged in hostilities, acknowledge each other in a friendly manner as brothers-in-law. In his Madura Manual (II, p. 7) Mr. Nelson mentions the curious fact that in Madura the Cakkili women belong to the right-hand and their husbands to the left-hand.

The words *Māng and Mādiga* are corruptions of *Mātaṅga*.

The division of the *Śakti* worshippers or *Śāktas* in Dakṣiṇācāris and Vāmācāris has nothing in common with the right or left hand castes. This difference concerns merely the pūjā, inasmuch as the *dakṣiṇācāra*, the right observance, allows only milk, fruit, cakes made of blackgram, and other sweetmeats and sweet drinks, while the *vāmācāra*, the left or adverse observance, permits, besides the mentioned eatables and drinks, meat and liquors also.

The Vaḻḻuvar.

The oppression which the Pariahs and Paḻḻar have suffered has not drawn them closer together, but yet these two classes have their priesthood in common. These priests are called Vaḻḻuvar, and their name has become renowned by *Tiru Vaḻḻuva Nāyanār*, the author of the famous Tamil work the Kuṟaḷ (குறள்). It is evident from this appellation itself, that Tiruvaḻḻuva Nāyanār is not the real name of this

celebrated man, but only his title.[61] This poet, who was born and died at Mailapur, a suburb of Madras, showed in his writings a knowledge of, and a tendency towards Jainism; and though some deny the fact of his having been a Jain, other Valluvar admit it: at all events the title Nāyanār may be taken in favor of such an assumption, as it is used by the Jains as an honorific appellation. The word means *lord* and *devotee*, and is probably a contracted form of the Tamil honorific term *Nāyakanār*, from which the syllable *ka* has been dropped. *Nāyaka*, a leader, especially a leader of troops, *i.e.*, a general, is derived from the Sanskrit *nī*, to lead. This word becomes in Tamil *Nāyakan* (Naik), in Telugu *Nāyaḍu* (Naiḍu), and in Malayālam *Nāyar* (Nair), and is used as a title by many Hindus in Southern India; it is adopted in the

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[61] The accounts given about *Tiruvalluva Nāyanār* are very obscure. One fact alone is clear that he belonged to one of the lowest classes of the population, but that the highest classes could not ignore his talents, and to save their superiority connected his birth with the Brahman caste. Another important item of information is that other celebrated Tamil poets as *Kapilar* and *Avvai* are also brought into intimate contact with the same lower classes. The legend given below makes Kapilar, Avvai and Tiruvalluva Nāyanār, brothers and sister, though it is manifest that they did not all live and compose their works at the same time; still the connection of all with one another and with the Pariahs and Pulayar is very peculiar indeed.

Brahma performed, according to the legend, a sacrifice for the explanation of the Sanskrit and Tamil languages and *Agastya* arose from it out of a pot. The sage married the daughter of the Ocean, and had from her a son *Peruñcārakan*. His son married at Tiruvālūr a Pulaiyan woman or *Pulaicci*, and their offspring was *Bhagavan* (பகவன்). About this time there lived *Tavamuni*, a scion of the Brahmavaṁśa, who had married a Brahman woman *Arulmaṅkai*. They had a daughter, but left her behind to perform a sacrifice at the Virali mountain. A Pariah of Uraiyūr found the girl, and brought her up, until there fell a downpour of earth which killed all the inhabitants in the neighbourhood except the girl, who took refuge in the house of one *Nītiyappan* at Melūrakaram. On his way to Benares the young Bhagavan stopped at the choultry near Melūrakaram, when the girl passed. He asked her whether she was a Pulaicci or Valaicci, and beat her with a wooden ladle on her head, so that it bled, and the wound left eventually a scar. On his return from Benares the pilgrim stopped at the same inn and again saw the young girl, who had since become very beautiful, at the house of Nītiyappan, but he did not recognise her and asked her foster-father to give him his

same meaning by the Bhillālas, Mahārs and Gonds. The word *Valluvan* வள்ளுவன், (*Pl.* Valluvar) I take to mean "the honorable Palla;" Vallu or rather Pallu being the collective name of the Palla caste and *an* (*ar*) the honorific pronominal affix. The present position of the Valluvar is highly interesting. He is famous for his superior attainments in Astrology, and is much consulted when horoscopes are to be cast. Though socially an outcaste, he is respectfully treated by Brahmans and especially by Brahman ladies, who often have recourse to his advice. He wears the holy brahmanical thread or *yajñōpavīta*, in Tamil *pūṇunūl* or *pūṇūl*.[62] At the weddings of Pariahs and Pallar he utters Sanskrit passages

daughter in marriage. He consented and the marriage was celebrated when Bhagavan returned from Rāmēsvaram. On his anointing, according to the ceremonial, the head of his bride, he saw the scar on her head and recognised her as the girl he had beaten. Ashamed he ran away, but the girl—who was henceforth called Áti (ஆதி)—ran behind him. At Paṇaccēri she overtook him at last, when Bhagavan exacted from her the promise that she would leave behind her all the children which they might have on their journeys. She consented and much against her inclination kept her word, advised by her babies to do so. Thus were born *Avvai* (அவ்வை) or Auvai (ஔவை) as an incarnation of Sarasvatī, *Uppai* (உப்பை) in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, *Atikamān* (அதிகமான்) in Karuvūr, *Uṛuvai* (உறுவை) in Kāvēripaṭṭanam, *Kapilar* (கபிலர்) in Tiruvārūr, *Valli* near the Vēli mountain and *Tiruvalluvar* in an oil nut tree tope at Mailapūr.

All these children play important parts in the legends and poetry of Southern India. *Avvai* was oursed by hunters. *Uppai* was brought up by washermen and married a Pariah grave-digger. They were very poor, and she was attacked by small-pox and went about covered only with margosa-tree leaves. Thus she became known and worshipped as Māriyamman. *Adīkamān* was educated by Cēramān, *Uṛuvai* by brewers, *Kapilar* by the Brahman *Pāpaiya*, and *Valli* by Kuṛavar. The names of *Tiruvalluvar* and of most of his so-called brothers and sisters are no proper names.

[62] *See* Ñānaveṭṭi (ஞானவெட்டி) ascribed to Tiruvalluva Nāyanār edited by Aruṇācala Mudaly, p. 9, stanza 40, which begins (பூணுநூல் தரித்துக்கொள்வோம் சிவ சிவ (Pūṇunūl tarittukkoḷvōm, Śiva, Śiva) "Let us wear the sacred thread, Śiva, Śiva, let us follow the promptings of the five sensos; let us carry all the insignia, especially the white umbrellas and white chowries, as well as the golden fans used by the gods and sages, beautiful marks and clothes. Let us praise by worshipping the beginning and ending of Ōm, in which lustre of wisdom and divine essence are manifest."

in the marriage ceremonial, the meaning of which he probably does not know. Considering how jealous the Brahman priests are of keeping secret their sacred verses, it is very strange indeed that the Vaḻḻuvar knows and uses some of them. This knowledge must have been acquired long ago, perhaps at a time when friendly relations still existed between the Brahman settlers and the original population.

He is most probably the representative of the ruling class of ancient times, and his name can still be easily discerned, as it is preserved in historical records and geographical accounts. I need only mention the *Vaḻḻuvakōn*, of Vaḻḻuvanāḍu, the king of the Vaḻḻuvar, who presided at the great assembly of Kēraḻam, when a new Perumāl was chosen every twelfth year to rule over the whole of Malayāḻam. I pointed out some years ago the connection which exists between the Vaḻḻuvar and Pallavas and shall recur to this question later on.

All this splendour of the Vaḻḻuvan has departed and he is now known only as the priest of the Pariahs and Paḻḻar. He occupies the highest position among the Pariahs, while his name connects him with the Paḻḻar, and among the kindred of the latter, *i.e.*, among the Pulayar of Cochin, the Vaḻḻuvar still rank highest. We may perhaps be justified in regarding him as representing a link between the first and second Dravidian stage.

This suggestion will naturally be repudiated by the Vaḻḻuvar, for they regard themselves as much superior to the people committed to their spiritual charge.

To accept the assertions of every individual Hindu would be to admit a separate creation for each tribe, sect, trade, profession, and calling. The pride of caste, even among the lowest in the country, the tendency towards exclusiveness, and the firm belief in individual superiority combined with a strong spirit of conservatism, divide the Indian population into innumerable sections. And as if the existing

distinctions did not suffice, new conditions and new complications are continually giving rise to new variations and combinations in Hindu society. Thus among the Vel̤l̤āl̤ar, such new castes have lately arisen, and, if I am not mistaken, some promoters of the widow-remarriage movement advocate the establishment of a new caste, composed of those who have married widows and of the offspring of such marriages.

CHAPTER V.

On the Pallar, Pallavas, Pulayar, Ballas (Bhallas), Bhīls, Pulindas, &c.

What was originally an accidental discrepancy in the pronunciation of the name of the Mallas or Pallas, though immaterial in itself, has produced occasionally in the course of time a real difference. It may perhaps be assumed, either that those who had descended from the mountains to the plains preferred to be called Pallas, because the Dravidian word *pal̤l̤am* signifies *depth* or *low country*, or that they imparted this meaning to the term *pal̤l̤am*, unless the vocal similarity between *Pal̤l̤an*, a Palla, and *pal̤l̤am*, low country, is regarded as an accidental freak of language.

In these circumstances one may be justified in distinguishing in certain localities, between the Mallas and Pallas as between Highlanders and Lowlanders, while we may find elsewhere Mallas living in the plains and Pallas on the mountains. After a prolonged residence of the descendants of the Highlanders in the plains and of the Lowlanders in the mountains, both might re-adjust their names to the actual places they are occupying, and call themselves, respectively, Mal̤l̤ar and Pal̤l̤ar.

The Pallas appear in Sanskrit literature as *Pallavas*, *Pahlavas*, *Pahnavas*, *Palhava* and *Plavas*.

The formation of the word *Pallava*[63] can be explained in different ways. It may have been derived from the word *Palla* which, being combined with the pronominal affix *an*, formed the honorific term *Pa̤l̤lavan*, and eventually dropped the final *n*; or, if of Sanskrit origin, the affix *va* may either have been added to Palla, or the Taddhita affix *a* to the term Pa̤l̤lu, which denotes the Pa̤l̤lar caste as an aggregate. In the latter case *Pallava* would have been formed from *Pallu* and ought to have been *Pāllava*, but according to Pāṇini V, 2, 127 (*arśa ādibhyo'c*) Vṛddhi or long *a* is not necessary.

The omission of one *l* and the insertion in its place of an *h* requires a few remarks in order to connect *Palhava*, *Pahlava* and *Pahnava* with *Palla*, which was no doubt the original Dravidian form with which the Aryans became first acquainted.

Before a language reaches the literary stage, dialectical differences excepted, only one form of speech does generally prevail, which is the language in common use, the popular or *Prākrit* idiom. In course of time, with the growth of literature, the language, or rather the literary speech, becomes more and more settled and stationary, and certain formations, owing to their having been preferred by poets and other authors, are widely adopted and supersede those previously used. The refined or *Sanskrit* language must have originated in some such manner. Its very existence presupposes the *Prākrit*, as the original Prākrit must be older than the later *Sanskrit*. The so-called Prākrit forms, which are found, *e.g.*, in the Vedic literature, should not for this reason be regarded as belonging to a later period, simply because they belong to Prākrit, as they may even represent

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63 The *Jātisaṅgrahasāra* on p. 171 says that *Pallavan* is derived from *Puravalan*, one who has got the strength of body, that *pura* was dropped in course of time, *V* changed into *P*, and *van* added.

the older Prākrit phase.[64] While Prākrit is indefinite, Sanskrit is definite and becomes in consequence ossified and unchangeable. Eventually it loses its hold on the people, but remains the linguistic standard of the educated and the dialect of the learned. It supplies in its turn the material for a modern Prākrit, which may likewise contain some relics of the original Prākrit, but from which, as prior to Sanskrit, it must be distinguished.

Applying these remarks to the special subject before us, it is not at all impossible that, as the Gaudian *Kaṇḍa* has been changed in Sanskrit into *Khaṇḍa*, similarly the original Dravidian and ancient Prākrit word *Palla* has been already at an early date altered and become *Palha* and *Pahla*, which three different terms were then in use at one and the same time. Sanskrit prefers on the whole a form whose pronunciation is more difficult than what satisfies the Dravidian languages. Some of these changes may have been made for reasons of which we are now ignorant. In support of my supposition that *Palha* or *Pahla* is a modification of *Palla*, I contend that a similar connection does apparently exist between the names *Kalhaṇa* or *Kahlaṇa* and *Kalla*; between *Balhaṇa*, *Balhi*, *Balhika*, *Balhīka*, *Bālhi*, &c., or *Bahlaṇa*, *Bahli*, *Bahlikā*, *Bahlīka*, *Bāhli*, &c., and *Balla*; between *Bilhaṇa* (*Vilhaṇa*) or *Bihlaṇa* (*Vihlaṇa*) and *Billa*, (*Villa*); between *Malhaṇa* or *Mahlaṇa* and *Malla*; between *Śilhana* or *Śihlana* and *Śilla*; and between *Sulhaṇa*, *Suhlaṇa* or *Sullaṇa* and an original *Sulla*. The names ending in *ṇ* like Balhaṇa, Kalhaṇa, Malhaṇa and Sulhaṇa have some resemblance with those Dravidian names ending in *aṇṇa*, as Rāghaṇṇa, Nāgaṇṇa, &c. Of the change of double *l* into *lh*, the change of *Mallāri* into *Malhāri* in Marāṭhi affords an example.

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[64] For instance compare *kṛikalāsa* with *kṛikadāśu*, *purōdāśa* with *purōlāśa*, *kṣullaka* with kṣudraka and *bhallākṣa* with *bhudrākṣa*, in Professor A. Weber's *Indische Studien*, II, p. 87, note.

The introduction of an *h* into words in which it originally found no place has already been commented upon when discussing on p. 61 the origin of the names *Mhār* and *Bhār* from Mār and *Bār*.

The practical result of this inquiry is the establishment of the Indian equivalents Pahlava, Palhava and Plava for Pallava and Palla, and the conclusion that the names of such peoples, where they occur in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, and other ancient Sanskrit works, refer, in most cases, to Indian tribes and not to nations beyond the frontiers of India, *e.g.*, to the Persian *Pahlavas*. This assumption does not dispute the fact that relationship existed between Non-Aryan races dwelling on both sides of the Indian frontier.

The Paḻḻar, as well as the Paḻḻis, claim to be connected with the Pallavas. The Pallavarājas were in early times already rulers in this country. Some rājas, *e.g.*, those of the Śambhugōtra in the North near Rājamandry still affect the title of Pallavarāja and worship at their marriages the fire and the *vahni*-tree, a twig of which, as we have mentioned above, is used as an arrow at the hunting festival (*Pārivēṭṭai*) on the Vijayadaśamī during the Navarātri or Dasara feast.[65]

In accordance with the interchange between *v* and *m* which has been previously pointed out, the word *Pallava* can be easily recognized in the more modern *Vellama*, *Vellamba*, *Bhillama*, *Yellama* and *Ellama*. The connection between Valluva and Pallava has already been mentioned.

The majority of the Paḻḻar now-a-days occupy the plains, but they have even there retained their innate predilection for the woods and mountains. Wherever possible, they erect their shrines in forests and on hills, and their marriages also take place in such localities. A pandal or wooden shed is there constructed to celebrate them. Before the marriage

[65] Read *The Pallavas* by the learned Rev. Thomas Foulkes, and see p. 53.

is actually performed, the bridegroom suddenly leaves his house and starts for some distant place, as if he has suddenly abandoned his intention of marrying, in spite of the preparations that have been made for the wedding. His intended father-in-law intercepts the young man on his way and persuades him to return, promising to give him his daughter as a wife; to this the bridegroom consents.[66] The marriage ceremony is then proceeded with: the Vaḷḷuva priest shows the *Tāli* or marriage necklace to the assembled guests, pronounces the necessary prayers and mantrams, and hands the *Tāli* to the bridegroom, who ties it round the neck of his bride. It is highly probable that the Paḷḷar adopted a part of their marriage rites, especially those resembling the Kāśiyātrā, from the Brahmans. The marriage of the Paḷḷar can be dissolved on either side; the husband divorces his wife by breaking the *Tāli*, and the woman can remarry. Should a wife run away from her husband, she can only remarry with the consent of a pañcāyat. A widow can remarry. The dead are either burnt or buried: burying is cheaper and, therefore, more common among the poorer of the lower classes.

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[66] This custom resembles strangely the so-called *Kāśiyātrā* among the Brahmans and high-caste Hindus. Pretending to go on a pilgrimage to *Kāśī* (Benares), the bridegroom leaves his house with a wooden stick in his right hand, a kadjan (palm-leaf) book under his left arm, on his left shoulder he carries an umbrella, to which is tied a bundle of clothes, containing also some doll and other necessaries for the journey; his feet are encased in a pair of *pādarakṣa* or hard leather shoes, and on his head he wears a pugri. While on the road, he is overtaken by the father and mother of his bride, who carry respectively two cocoanuts and two vessels filled with water. The intended mother-in-law pours the water over the feet of the youth, while her husband washes them and then gives him the two cocoanuts. Both entreat him not to proceed to Benares, but to return and marry their daughter, to which proposals he eventually listens, and the wedding is celebrated as pre-arranged. The origin of this custom may be that, though every Brahman should visit Benares in order to study there, the young man cannot do so if he becomes a *gṛhastha* or family man. He saves, therefore, his conscience by simulating an immediate departure to Kāśī and manifesting thus his good intentions, which, though not carried out, will be credited to him as if he had actually performed the pilgrimage.

Maḷḷan, *Kulantān*, and *Murukan* are common names among Paḷḷa men, while *Vaḷḷi*, *Tēvānai* (for Dēvayāna corruption of Dēvasēnā) and *Kulantai* (Kulumai) are applied to their women.[67]

The Paḷḷar are an industrious, hardworking, and hard-worked class of land labourers, found mostly in the Madras Presidency, and especially in the southern districts. They toil unintermittingly to enrich their masters, the actual owners of the soil, and they were, until very lately, not much better treated than bondslaves. The time is not remote when the owners of the ground even regarded them as their property, as Helots belonging to the land. Continual bad treatment and exposure to all kinds of hardship have been their sad lot, and it is only natural that this condition should have eventually told on their mental and physical development, but it speaks, on the other hand, much for the superiority of their original nature that, in spite of all the miseries endured, they have been able to retrieve their position under a kinder government and are now starting again with fair prospects of improvement.

The *Pulayar* of Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar correspond to the Paḷḷar in the Tamil country, the Paḷḷar settlers in these countries being often called Pulayar. Their fate resembles that of the Paḷḷar. Constant exposure to the heat of a scorching sun, to the unceasing downpours of rain during the monsoon, and to the violent gales and thunderstorms so prevalent on the West Coast of India, combined with insufficient and unsubstantial nourishment, has undermined and stunted their physique, and their skin has in the course of generations assumed a colour approaching black as nearly as possible. Unfavorable local circumstances have made the position of the Pulayar even worse than that of

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[67] Murukan and Murukēśan are also names of Subrahmaṇya. See note 16 on p. 16.

the most oppressed races in the Tamil country. The Pariahs or Pal̤l̤ar, who despaired of their sad lot, had at least a chance of improving it by running away from their oppressors without being caught again; but even this prospect was denied to the unfortunate Pulayan. Hemmed in on all sides by mountains, woods, backwaters, swamps, and the sea he could not hope to escape and to better his position; even if he evaded recapture, he had to face death in another cruel form in the wilderness in which he found himself entangled, and out of which he could not extricate himself.

Like the Pal̤l̤an, the Pulayan, when well treated, has shown himself to be possessed of creditable mental and physical powers. In the census report of Travancore it is said of them that "they are an extremely useful and hard-working race, and are sometimes distinguished by a rare character for truth and honor, which their superiors in the caste scale might well emulate."

The degree of contempt with which the Pulayan is treated is evident from the disgraceful etymological derivation of his name from *Pula*, pollution, as has been already mentioned. Like every other Hindu, the Pulayan takes a pride in his caste and despises, in his turn, all those whom he regards as beneath him. As has also been remarked, the highest class among the Pariahs and the Pulayar is that of the Val̤l̤uvar, who are moreover the priests of the Pariahs and Pal̤l̤ar. This seems to be another proof of the identical origin of the Pal̤l̤an and Pulayan.

The chief deities of the Pulayan are *Mādan* and the *Five Pāṇḍavas*.

As a Pariah found at Mēlkōṭa the image of Celvapil̤l̤ai, as a Śavara was originally in possession of the sacred stone of Jagannātha, so also is the worship of Padmanābha in Trivandrum intimately connected with a Pulayan. Once a *Pulacci* or Pulaya woman, who was living with her husband in the Anantakāḍu jungle, suddenly heard the cry of a baby.

She rushed to the spot and saw, to her surprise, a beautiful child lying on the ground, protected by a cobra. She had compassion on it, and nursed it like her own child. The appearance of a cobra intimated to her the divine origin of the infant. This belief proved true, for the child was an incarnation of Viṣṇu. As soon as the Rāja of Travancore heard of this wonderful event, he built a shrine on the spot where the baby had been found, and dedicated it to Padmanābha. This is the origin of the Padmanābha temple at Trivandrum. The Pulayar round Trivandrum assert to this day that in former times a Pulaya king ruled and had his castle not far from the present capital of Travancore.[68]

This constant connection of individuals belonging to the lowest population with the worship of the Hindu gods is indeed a very peculiar and significant circumstance.

While the Paḻḻar on the East Coast and the Pulayar on the Malabar Coast are mostly agricultural labourers, the *Pulaiyar* and the *Paḻḻiyar* (*Paḻḻiar*) in Madura are on the other hand mountaineers. The former are regarded as the aboriginal inhabitants of the Palani Hills, and have been the bondslaves of the Kunnuvar. The Paḻḻiyar dwell on the hills also in Madura and the adjacent districts, avoiding as much as possible any intercourse with strangers.

Related to the Pallas by kinship, and bearing also a similar name, are the *Balla* (Bāla, *Valla*, Vella) and *Bhālla* (*Bhilla* or *Bhīl*).

It is now impossible to decide or explain when and why the original name *Palla* became thus diversified; but after these dialectical variations had once come into use, it was advisable to retain rather than to drop them.

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[68] The god *Padmanābha* rests with his head at *Tiruvallam* and with his feet at *Tirupālapur* or Tirupādapur. The chief Nambūri priest of Travancore comes from Cochin and is called *Aḻuvañcēri Tamburakaḻ*. See also Rev. S. Mateer's *Land of Charity*, p. 161, and *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 34.

The Ballas.

The tribe which bears this name has become famous throughout India at different times and in different places. We meet the *Ballas* in the North as well as in the South, but their fame is especially connected with those countries which form now-a-days the north-western part of the Bombay Presidency, including its dependencies. Their ancient capital was the renowned *Balabhīpura* in Kāṭhiawār. Enormous ruins, spread over fifteen miles, are evidence of its splendour before its destruction in the eighth century. *Walla* lies now near the site of Balabhīpura. The kings of the Ballas are known as Balla Rājas (Balla-Raos), Balharas and Ballālas. The power and splendour of the Balharas excited the admiration of mediæval Arabian travellers who visited the Indian shores.

Some *Ballas* claim to belong to the *Sūryavaṁśa* or sun-line and trace their descent from Lava's son *Balla*. The bards praise them as *Tatta-Multan-ka-Rao*, the Lords of Tatta and Multan. They called the territory which they conquered *Ballakṣētra* with *Balabhīpur* as its chief town. The Ballas of Surat derive their origin from *Candra* or the moon and connect their pedigree with the Balikaputras, the ancient lords of Aror on the Indus. The present Ballas and the Kāṭhis, like their ancestors, still worship the sun, which is the presiding deity of Multan, a circumstance that intimates a Scythian and Non-Aryan origin. The Ballas are probably identical with the *Mallas* whom we have mentioned above. The Kāṭhi of Kāṭhiawār, who as Kathæi fought against the great Macedonian, claim to be descended from the Ballas.

The name of the Balla Rājas reappears in a different form at a later period in Mysore as the well-known Ballālas.

Many places, all over India, still preserve the name of the Ballas. I reserve this subject for a later chapter, but mention here only such places as *Belgaum* or Baliagrāma,

Ballasamudram, *Ballapallem*, *Ballapur*, *Māblēśvar* (Mahaballēśvara), &c.[69]

The Bhīls.

The Bhīls are probably aborigines of Mārwār. They live scattered over a great tract of country; they dwell so far north as the Aravalli Hills, and they are found in the

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[69] See Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. I, pp. 112, 113: "All the genealogists, ancient and modern, insert the Balla tribe among the Raj-culas. The *byrd*, or blessing, of the bard is *Tatta Mooltan ca rao* (Princes of Tatta and Mooltan), indicative of their original abodes on the Indus. They lay claim, however, to descent from the Sooryavansi, and maintain that their great ancestor, Balla or Bappa, was the offspring of Lava, the eldest son of Ram; that their first settlement in Saurashtra was at the ancient Dhank, in more remote periods called Mongy Pottun; and that, in conquering the country adjacent, they termed it Ballakhetr (their capital Balabhipoora), and assumed the title of Ballah-rae. Here they claim identity with the Ghelote race of Mēwar: nor is it impossible that they may be a branch of this family, which long held power in Saurashtra. Before the Ghelotes adopted the worship of Mahadeo, which period is indicated in their annals, the chief object of their adoration was the sun, giving them that *Scythic* resemblance to which the Ballas have every appearance of claim. The Ballas on the continent of Saurashtra on the contrary, assert their origin to be Induvansa, and that they are the Balica-pootras, who were the ancient lords of Arore on the Indus . . . The Cattis claim descent from the Ballas; an additional proof of northern origin, and strengthening their right to the epithet of the bards 'Lords of Mooltban and Tatta.' The Ballas were of sufficient consequence in the thirteenth century to make incursions on Mēwar, and the first exploit of the celebrated Rana Hamir was his killing the Balla chieftain of Choteela. The present chief of Dhank is a Balla, and the tribe yet preserves importance in the peninsula."

Read also *ibidem*, pp. 216–219. "A work written to commemorate the "reign of Rama Raj Sing opens with these words: 'In the west is Sooratdēs, "a country well known: the *barbarians* invaded it, and conquered *Bhal-"ca-nath;* all fell in the sack of Balabhipoora, except the daughter of the "Pramara.' And the Sanderai roll thus commences: When the city of "Balabhi was sacked, the inhabitants fled and founded Balli, Sanderai, and "Nadole in Mordur dēs. These are towns yet of consequence . The "tract about Balabhipoora and northward is termed *Bhal*, probably from "the tribe of *Balla*. . The sun was the deity of this northern tribe . . . "The solar orb and its type, fire, were the chief objects of adoration of "Silladitya of Balabhipoora." The Balarājas are also mentioned in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX.

Lieutenant-Colonel Tod's *Travels in Western India*, London, 1839, pp. 147–149, contain the same information as above, to this is added the following: "The Balla pays adoration exclusively to the sun, and it is only in

deserts of Sind and Rājputāna as well as in the woody and inaccessible gorges of Kandesh and Ahmedabad.

The name of the Bhīls occurs in various Sanskrit works, and also in Ptolemy, VII, 1, 66. He makes mention of the *Phyllītai* together with the *Bettigoi* and *Kandaloi.*

Instead of connecting the *Phyllītai* with the Bhīls, as Lassen first rightly proposed to do, Sir A. Cunningham prefers to derive the term *Phyllītai* from the Greek word

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"Saurashtra that temples to this orb abound; so that religion, tradition as "regards their descent, and personal appearance, all indicate an Indo-scy- "thic origin for this race, and in order to conceal their barbarian (*mletcha*) "extraction, the fable of their birth from Rama may have been devised. "The city of Balabhi, written *Wulleh* in the maps, and now an inconsider- "able village, was said to be twelve coss, or fifteen miles, in circumference. "From its foundations, gigantic bricks, from one and-a-half to two feet in "length, are still dug; but of this hereafter. Enough has been said to "trace the origin of the Balhara of the Arabian travellers, the Baleokouras "of Ptolemy; for, even in the second century, it had claims to the attention "of the royal geographer of Egypt." See *ibidem*, pp. 156, 159–169, where Colonel Tod discusses the Arabic accounts of the *Balhara* princes of India. On page 160 he says: "We may remark upon this description, first, of the "title *Balhara*, that it was derived from *Ballā-cā-Raē*, whose ancient capital "was Balabhipoor, on whose site Ptolemy has placed a Byzantium." I also derive *Balhara* from *Balla Rāja*, the word *Balla* having undergone the change, which I have explained on pp. 71 and 72. Though Colonel Tod gives above the right explanation, he called these rulers on p. 145 "Balhara, or more correctly Balha-raes, exalted kings." The Arabic travellers, especially *Ibn Khurdadba* and *Al Idrisi*, styled these monarchs and interpreted their name *Balhara* as meaning king of kings, and the late Mr. Edward Thomas, of numismatic reputation, explained it to signify *Bara Rai*, great king or lord paramount of the time being. Compare about this subject "The History of India," edited from the posthumous papers of Sir H. M. Elliot by Professor John Dowson, vol. I, pp. 3-5, 9, 13, 21, 24, 86, 87, 201 and 354–358, which latter passage contains a great deal of information on this subject. The *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine*, par M. Reinaud; Paris, 1845, should be also consulted.

Colonel Tod devotes a special chapter to *Balabhi* in his *Travels in Western India*, pp. 268–271. "The name of this is now Balli, or Wulleh . . Some interesting additions . . amply confirmed all I had recorded of it (Balabhi) from the Yutis of Balli and Sandera in Marwar, the descendants of those who were expelled on its sack in S. 300 (A.D. 214)" . Still, both books and tradition connect the tribe of Balla with the ancient sovereigns of Balabhi . The lord of Balla-khetra would, of course, be Bal-ca-rae, which doubtless originated the epithet, so often noticed, of the Balhara princes . Not far from Balabhi, there is a spot still sacred to the pilgrim,

φύλλον, leaf, and to assign to it the meaning of *leaf-clad*. This expression, according to Sir Alexander, appropriately describes the Gonds, though *parṇa*, leaf, is used only in connection with the Śabaras, as he himself admits when referring to them. There is no objection to his explaining *parṇa* by "leaf-clad," though it can also signify "leaf-eating." In fact I prefer to a certain extent the former interpretation of *parṇa*. But as the *Phyllītai* are mentioned by Ptolemy as a

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and connected with the grand national epic, the *Mahabharat*, called Bheemnath, where there is a fountain, whose waters, in past days, were of miraculous efficacy, and on whose margin is a temple to Siva, which attracts votaries from all quarters. The origin of this spot is referred to the adventures of the Pandua brothers, and their wanderings in exile amongst the forests of Berat, which tradition places in this very region, and its capital, Beratgurh, is held to be the more modern, but still interesting Dholka, included in Balla-khetra, and affording fresh and almost superabundant testimony to the veracity of the ancient chronicles of Mēwar, which state Balabhi, Beratgurh, and Gurh-Gajni to have been the three chief cities, which owned their sway on their expulsion from the "land of the Sauras." The era of Balabhī, which is identical with the Gupta era, begins, according to the correct statement of Albīrūnī, in A.D. $3\frac{1}{2}\frac{9}{0}$. The Balabhī grants are dated between the years 207 and 447 of the Gupta era. (See Colonel Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. I, 801. and *Travels in Western India*, p. 213, and in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. XI, pp. 241, 305–9; XV., pp. 189, 273, 335; XVI, p. 147; the researches of Dr. Hultzsch, Prof Bühler, and Mr. Fleet). Balabhī was visited by Hiven Tsiang about 640 A.D. "On its destruction, in the middle of the eighth century, Anhulwarra became the metropolis, and this, as recorded, endured until the fourteenth, when the title of Bal-ca-rae became extinct." (Tod's *Travels in Western India*, p. 214.)

Ptolemy mentions, VII, 1. 83 'Ἱππόκουρα, βασίλειον Βαλεόκούρου,' for which Willberg in his edition of Ptolemy substitutes Βαλερκούρου. This is the passage to which Colonel Tod has referred above in his *Travels* on p. 149, and which is mentioned also in his *Annals*, vol. I, p. 213. Chr. Lassen speaks in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. III, pp. 179, 185, and 186 of this passage, and places this Hippokura in the south: "Die Stadt muss in der Nähe des "jetzigen Mulkher gelegen haben . . Nur so viel lässt sich, ohne Besorgniss zu "irren, behaupten, dass dem *Siripolemios* die nördlichern, dem Baleokuros "die südlichern Gebiete unterworfen waren." I conjecture that the word *Balla* is contained in Baleokūrū as well as in Balerkūrū, and if the latter is accepted as a reading, the *r* must indicate the title of Rāja or Rao.

About Balabhī consult "Notes on the Ancient City of Balabhipurs," by Mr. B. A. R. Nicholson, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XIII, pp. 146–163. Read also the articles on this subject by the above mentioned scholars, and those of the late Mr. J. Fergusson, and Professor R. Gopal Bhandarkar, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. I, III, IV, V, VI, VII, IX, XI,

separate tribe distinguished from the *Kandaloi*, both cannot be merged into one, nor can *Phyllītai* be taken as a Greek word, for Ptolemy does not use Greek expressions instead of, or among other, Indian proper names without tendering an explanation for such an unusual proceeding. *Phyllītai*, moreover, does not occur in Greek in the sense suggested by Sir A. Cunningham.

The passage in Ptolemy has no connection whatever with the Śabaras.[70]

XII, XIV, XV and XVI. Professor Bühler especially has by his publication and translation of a considerable number of Balabhī grants considerably contributed to the elucidation of this hitherto dark passage in Indian history.

Compare also Sir Alexander Cunningham's remarks in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. II, pp. 33–35: "We know also that both the Bālas and the Kāthi of the present day pay special adoration to the sun, which was the chief deity of Multān, from the earliest times down to the reign of Aurangzib, by whose orders the idol is said to have been destroyed. It seems probable therefore that the *Bālas* may be the same tribe as the *Malli* or *Malii* of Alexander's historians, as the interchange of the letters *b* and *m*, which is of frequent occurrence in most languages, was very common in the Macedonian dialect." Compare about *Multan*, vol. V, pp. 114–136 of the *Archæological Survey of India*; and about the golden statue of the Sun, H. M. Elliot's *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 11, 23, 27, 35, 82, 205 and 469. The remark about the Macedonian dialect is misleading, as the Greek historians mention the Malloi, and as the change of *m* into *b* is in this instance of Indian origin.

[70] The *Parāśarapaddhati* mentions the Bhīls, Pulindas, Pullas, Mallas and others in the following lines:

> Pulinda-Mēda-Bhillāśca Pullō Mallaśca Dhāvakaḥ,
> Kundakārō Ḍōkhalō vā Mṛtapō Hastipas tathā;
> Ētē vai Tīvarājjātāḥ kanyāyām Brāhmaṇasya ca.

See Ptolemy, VII, 1, 66; "Περὶ δὲ τὸν Ναναγούναν Φυλλῖται καὶ Βηττιγοί, ἐν οἷς Κάνδαλοι μὲν παρὰ τοὺς Φυλλίτας καὶ τὸν ποταμόν." See Sir A. Cunningham in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 151: "In his "(Ptolemy's) day the large district at the head of the *Nanaguna*, or Tapti "River, was occupied by the *Kondali* or *Gondali*, a name which has been "generally identified with that of the Gonds. But their country is described "as *pars Phullitarum*, the *Phullitae* themselves being placed more to the "north. I take this name to be a pure Greek one, φυλλειταί, descriptive "of the 'leaf-clad' aborigines. Varāha Mihira notices the *Parna-Śabaras*, "or 'leaf-clad Sauras'; and we know that the Juangs of the present day "still preserve this primitive costume. I believe, therefore, that there may "have been *Parna Gauḍas*, or 'leaf-clad Gonds,' in the time of Ptolemy, "and that these are the people intended by his Phullitae-Gondali."

The Mārs of Ajmere resemble the Bhīls, and these again are not dissimilar to the Parheyas and Khonds. The Bhīls

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This opinion does not appear to coincide with that expressed by Sir A. Cunningham in vol. XXI, p. 93: "Still further to the south Ptolemy places "the *Phullitae* and the *Kondali*, whose country is described as *Pars Phulli-* "*tarum*. Phullitae I take to be a Greek name descriptive of the *Parna* "*Savaras*, or 'leaf-clad Savaras,' one of the most powerful of the aboriginal "races in the early centuries of the Christian era. Their only town was "*Agara*, which may perhaps be identified with Sāgar." In H.T. Colebrooke's edition of *Amarakōśa*, Serampore, 1825, p. 252, note j, we read: *śavaraḥ* or *patraśavaraḥ*, wearing feathers (a peacock's tail, &c.). A. Loiseleur Deslongchamps' French edition contains on p. 233 the same remark. In Böthlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, vol. IV, p. 417, stands *patraśavara*, "ein mit Federn sich schmückender Śavara." *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 10, mentions the *Purikadaśārṇāḥ* with *saha nagnaparṇaśabaraiḥ;* and Böthlingk calls *ibidem*, p. 574 the *Parṇaśavara*, von Blattern lebende Śavara, *i.e.*, Savaras, who live on leaves; the term occurs also in Mārkandēya Purāṇa. Some take Parṇa as the name of a people; *e.g.*, Mr. N. Chidambaram Iyer, who translates this passage: *Nagna, Parna and Sabara.* It is possible that in this place three different tribes are enumerated, the *Nagna* (naked), the *Parṇa* and the Śabara: for if two tribes, the *Nagna-śabara* and *Parṇa-śabara*, *i.e.*, the "naked Śabara" and the "leaf-Śabara," are only mentioned, in order to prevent any doubt on this subject, any other mode of expression would have been preferable to the use of the compound in the Instrumental Plural, *i.e.*, to *nagnaparṇaśabaraiḥ*. I ought also not omit to mention that the *Śabarāḥ* occur ten times in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, but only once in the quoted place in connection with either *nagna* or *parṇa*. To these remarks I join General Sir A. Cunningham's comments as contained in his 17th vol. pp. 127, 128: "I think it probable that Colebrooke's reading of *Patra Śavaras* is "erroneous, as Varāha Mihira gives the name of *Parṇa Śavara*, or leaf-clad "Śavaras. Varāha places in the south-east quarter, in the territory of the "aborigines, the Purikas, the Dasāmas, the "*naked Śabaras*, and the *Parṇa* "*Śabaras*," and in the south the *Sauris* and *Kirṇas*. The commentator, "however, takes these two names as one, or *Sauri-Kirṇas*, who are probably "the people of Hwen Tsang's *Kirna-Suvarna*. Professor Kern thinks that "the Parṇa Śavaras are 'manifestly the Phyllitae of Ptolemy,' and he ex- "plains the name as 'feeding upon leaves.' But, as we know that the Juāngs, "a cognate race, still wear leaves, it seems to me more probable that the "term means 'leaf-clad.' In other places Varāha speaks of the '*Śavara* "savages,' (IX, 15), the 'savage Śabaras and Pulindas' (IX, 29), and "of various tribes of *Śabara* savages (XXXII, 15). This last notice must "refer to more than the two tribes of *Nagna* Śabaras, or 'Naked Śavaras, "and *Parna Śavaras*, or 'Leaf-clad.' Both Amara and Varāha date about "A.D. 550."

To my previous remarks, I only add that the term φυλλῖται, as used by Ptolemy, cannot apply to the Śabaras, who are mentioned by him VII, 1, 80 near the Ganges; that a word φυλλειταί does, I believe, not occur in Greek, though φυλλίτης (*m*) and φυλλῖτις (*f*) are used in the sense of φύλλινος, made of leaves; that the *Phyllitae* are distinguished by Ptolemy from the *Kandaloi*

being mostly mountaineers, are called in Kanarese *Koracaru* or *Kuruciyar*, and a Bhīl woman or *Koravañji* is known in Sanskrit as *Bhillā strī* or *Pārvatēyī*.[71] Koravañji is also the name of a girl whom Arjuna is said to have married when he stayed in the *Raivaṭaka* forest.[72]

Cairns, cromlechs and stone platforms testify on the tops of hills to the presence of the Bhīls. Clay horses are, as in Southern India, dedicated to the gods. If images of horses are deposited near or on the tops of hills, the souls of the dead are supposed to shorten their journey to heaven by using them.

Though of a wild and unmanageable disposition and much addicted to thieving, the Bhīls can, when they have once been won by kind and just treatment, be easily turned into useful and trustworthy servants, soldiers, and land labourers. Some of their villages show superior cultivation. In Nimār and elsewhere they fill the post of hereditary

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and that both cannot be regarded as one nation "*Phyllitae-Gondali*" (IX, p. 151) or as "*leaf-clad Savaras*" (XXI, p. 93); that the country of the *Kondali* is not by Ptolemy described as *Pars Phullitarum*; and that the Śabaras are in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, IX, 15, 29, and XXXII, 15, not respectively called "*Śavara* savages," "savage Sabaras and Pulindas," and of "various tribes of Śabara savages," for we find there in the text *ārikāñchabaraśūdrān* (IX, 15), *śabarapulindapradhraṁsakaro* (IX, 29) and *Taṅgaṇa-Kaliṅga-Vaṅga-Draviḍāḥ Śabarāśca naikavidhāḥ*, the Śabaras mentioned, but nowhere as Śabara savages. The *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* mentions the different dialects, by whom they should be spoken, and indicates that the language of the Abhīras and Śabaras should be used by those who gain their living by wood and leaves; *i.e.*, most probably by wood-cutting and leaf-gathering (Ābhīrī Śavarī capi kāṣṭhapatrōpajīviṣu). We meet here the Śabaras in connection with *patra*.

Bishop Caldwell advocates in his *Comparative Grammar* the derivation of *Bhīl* from bil, arrow, as he says on p. 464: "*Bhillas*, probably *Billas*, from the Dravidian *vil*, *bil*, a bow, bowmen." The Bettigoi are also called Bittoi, Bittioi, and Bittigoi. Compare Lassen, vol. I, p. 113 (88), and Sherring, vol. II, p. 128-9, 284, 291–300, 326; III, 81–84.

[71] See Dalton, pp. 264, 284, 430 and 439. Compare also "An Account of the Maiwār Bhils," by Mr. T. H. Hendley, *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, vol. XLIV, pp. 347–388.

[72] The marriage is mentioned in a Kanarese ballad. A commentary of the Bhāratacampū goes also by the name of *Koravarāmīyam*.

watchmen, as the Mhārs and Holeyas do in other parts of India.

The chiefs of the Bhīls are known as *Bhillālas.* Some Bhīl chiefs have assumed the title of *Nāyak* or Naick, as the Pa̤l̤lis and Mahārs have done. The founder of the Yādava Dynasty of *Dēvagiri* bore the name of *Bhillama*, which word I have previously explained. This Bhillama is also called Bhillamanṛpa, and Balanṛpa, and Bellam.

Colonel Tod names *Bulla* as the progenitor of the Bhīls.[73]

The Pulindas.

Not only in their name but also in their habits and customs do the Pa̤l̤lar, Pulayar and their kindred tribes

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[73] See Mr. T. H. Hendley's *Account of the Maiwār Bhils*, vol. 44, p. 347, ff.: "In the hilly tracts, the erection of cairns, usually on hill tops; the adoption of Shiva and his consort as symbols of the powers of terror and darkness; the construction of stone platforms on which stand blocks smeared with red paint; the sacrifice of animals and tradition of human oblations; the use of effigies of the horse are apparently relics of their ancient faith. Piles of loose stones, . . or mere platforms, are erected on the summits of high hills, . . on these are arranged a large number of stone or burnt clay images of the horse. I have seen a hollow cairn on the verge of a steep crag near Khairwāṛā, four feet in diameter and as many deep, filled with these images, each of which was about four inches in length . . The common explanation of the construction of cairns and horses is as follows:—Heaven is supposed to be but a short distance from earth, but the souls of the dead have to reach it by a very painful and weary journey, which can be avoided to some extent during life by ascending high hills, and there depositing images of the horse—which in addition to reminding the gods of the work already accomplished, serve as chargers upon which the soul may ride a stage to bliss. . . The Bhīl is an excellent wood-man, knows the shortest cuts over the hills; can walk the roughest paths and climb the steepest crags without slipping or feeling distressed. . . Though robbers, and timorous, owing to ages of ill-treatment, the men are brave when trusted, and very faithful; they have been looked upon by the Rājpūts as wild beasts to be hunted down as vermin, and are now only beginning to feel themselves men. . History proves them always to have been faithful to their nominal Rājpūt sovereigns, especially in their adversity. The Bhīl is a merry soul loving a jest." About the Bhīls read the account of Mr. W. I. Sinclair in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, pp. 336–338.

Colonel Tod mentions *Bulla* on the first table of his *Annals*. In the IV Appendix to the same volume on p. 802 *Pulinda-Dēvī* is explained as the goddess of the Bhīl tribe.

With respect to the Naick title in use among the Bhīls, see Dr. Wilson's

resemble the ancient *Pulindas,* who lived in olden times in various districts all over India.

In the Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa the Pulindas, together with the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras,[74] and Mūtibas, are declared to be the offspring of the cursed elder sons of Viśvāmitra, while, according to another tradition, they were descended from the dark-skinned, flat-nosed, and dwarfish Niṣāda, who had been produced by rubbing the thigh of the corpse of the impious king Vēna. The Pulindas are frequently mentioned in the classical language of India as well as in those of Europe. The Rāmāyaṇa fixes their abode in different parts of Northern and Southern India. They are found on the banks of the Indus, and even in Ceylon;[75] in Central India they occupied extensive tracts and dwelt among the Bhīls, Śabaras, and Gonds in such a manner that the one are often mistaken for the other. The Mahābhārata, Viṣṇu-, Bhāgavata-, Padma-, and other Purāṇas, the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and various works contain repeated allusions to them, and Ptolemy introduces them by the name of *Pulīndai agriophagoi,*[76] or

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Indian Caste, vol. I, p. 99: " The word *Nāk,* the contraction of *Nāyak,* is the common epithet (of respect) used by the lowly Mahārs of the Marātha country. From the abundance of *Nāks* connected with the Bhills of the Bāriā jungles, east of Baroda, they are called *Nākaḍas.*" Compare also Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes,* vol. II, p. 299: " The territories of Baria and Chota Oodepoor, in Rewa Kanta, were infested by a class of Bheels, known as Naikras, of peculiarly savage and predatory habits." Consult also *Indian Antiquary,* vol. III, p. 208, on Nākara; Nāyak; Nayko.

[74] I quote here the derivation of the word *Śabara* proposed by General Sir Alex. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India,* vol. XVII, p. 113: "The origin of the name of *Savara* must be sought for outside the "language of the Aryas. In Sanskrit *Savara* simply means a 'corpse.' "From Herodotus, however, we learn that the Scythian word for an 'axe' " was *Sagaris*; and as *g* and *v* are interchangeable letters, *Savar* is the same "word as *Sagar.* It seems, therefore, not unreasonable to infer that the "tribes, who were so called, took their name from their habit of carrying "axes. Now it is one of the striking peculiarities of the Savaras that they "are rarely seen without an axe in their hands."

[75] *See* Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde,* vol. II, p. 101, 469.

[76] Πουλῖνδαι ἀγριοφάγοι; Ptol., VII, 1, 64.

raw flesh and wild fruits eating Pulindas, as living north of the present Barok.

On Pulaha, Pulastya, Pulōman, &c.

The previously mentioned names of *Pulaha*, *Pulastya*, *Pulōman*, *&c.*, bear in their first two syllables *Pula* a strange resemblance to the name of the *Pulayar* and *Pulindas*. Sanskrit grammarians generally connect the names of these Saints with the root *pul*, to be great, and the word *Pulastya* is also derived from *pulas*, standing for *puras*. These derivations, however, appear too artificial.[77]

Pulastya is said to be the father of *Agastya* and *Viśravas*. Viśravas had four sons, *Kubēra* by Iḍaviḍā (or Ilavilā) and *Rāvaṇa*, *Kumbhakarṇa*, and *Vibhīṣaṇa* by Kēśinī. The saintly civiliser of Southern India, Agastya, is thus, as previously noticed, very closely indeed related to the chief of the hated Rākṣasas, being in fact the uncle of Rāvaṇa, the god-despising king of Laṅkā. While Rāvaṇa conquered India and reduced the gods to abject subjection, from which they were only rescued by Viṣṇu appearing as Bālarāma, his uncle Agastya waged war with the demons and advised Rāma how to subdue the Rākṣasas. Similar family discords assisted Rāma in his warfare against Rāvaṇa and Bāli, whose respective brothers Vibhīṣaṇa and Sugrīva joined Rāma.

While Rāvaṇa is regarded with horror by the Brahmans, *Rāvaṇabhēṭ*, a Vedic work on *Phonetics*, is ascribed to this Rākṣasa. His memory is still cherished by the Jains.

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77 Compare the remarks of the Rev. F. Kittel on the root *pulai*, *pule*, *pole* and on *Pulaha* and *Pulastya* in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII (1879), pp. 50, 51. Though I arrived at my conclusions previously to my reading Mr. Kittel's suggestive article, I admit his priority in this respect and gladly quote his opinion: "The *Pallava* . . and the *Pallavaka*, a libertine, a gallant, "I do not hesitate to connect with *Poleya*; and who knows whether the "ancient Pallava dynasty was not a dynasty of certain *Poleyas* when still a "powerful tribe."

It is also curious that Rāvaṇa is esteemed and acknowledged by pious Paṇḍits as a learned man, and is supposed to have been the author of a Telugu Grammar.[78]

Though the Rākṣasas are described in the Rāmāyaṇa and elsewhere as horrible monsters both physically and morally, it appears that the condition of being a Rākṣasa depended more upon the sins committed by an individual or by his progenitors than upon the accident of birth. If this be admitted, the physical monstrosities ascribed to the Rākṣasas must be regarded as the exaggerated creations of a morbid and hostile imagination.

Even the Rāmāyaṇa extols the beauty and grandeur of Laṅkā, its architectural splendour, and the efficiency of its administration. This latter was so excellent, that no thief dared to pick up any valuable thing lost in its streets. The enemies of Rāma could hardly, therefore, have been so rude and uncivilised as they are generally represented.

The ancient historical capital of Ceylon went by the name of Pulastinagara.[79] If Rāvaṇa is regarded as the king of Laṅkā, and perhaps also as the master of Southern India, and if the present Pulayar are admitted to be representatives of the aborigines, the startling similarity of the names *Pulastya* and *Pulayan* is at once explained.

The relationship between the Paulastya Agastya and the Paulastya Rāvaṇa opens at all events a new and wide perspective. It thus appears that the mind-born sons of Brahma should be taken as the progenitors of all the different races of India, and that, as all men emanate from one common source, no vital difference is acknowledged to exist between

[78] Compare the Āndhra Kaumudī in which the *Rāvaṇīya*, the Telugu Grammar ascribed to Rāvaṇa, is repeatedly mentioned.

[79] Megasthenes calls the Singhalese *Palaiogonoi* and the *Periplus maris Erythræi* calls Ceylon *Palaesimundu*. See Lassen's *Ind. Alt.*, I, p. 240 (2nd edition); compare also Mr. T. W. Rhys Davids in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II (1873), p. 286, on Pulastipura.

them at first. The degraded condition into which some sank was, therefore, due to subsequent events.

The word *Pula* must be regarded as a corruption of *Palla.* This change from *a* to *u* is easily accounted for. Not only is the letter *a* changed into *u*, as in the Sanskrit *pala* which in Tamil becomes *pulai*, but the vowel *a* is often, especially in the North India, pronounced as *u*.

It is even possible that the names of the demon *Ilvala*, who was destroyed by Agastya, and of his son *Balvala* contain another reference to the original Pallas. At all events the similarity of the names of *Pulaha*, *Pulastya*, *Pulōman*, &c., with that of the Pulayar, as well as the connection which the near relationship between the Sage Agastya and the Rākṣasa Rāvaṇa suggests as existing between the Brahmanical civiliser of Southern India and the representative ruler of the aborigines, should command in future researches the attention of the scholar.

CHAPTER VI.

On the Pallis, Agnikulas, Pāndyas, Vellālar, &c.

The Agnikulas.

Another portion of the aboriginal South-Indian population is represented by the *Paḻḻis.* The Paḻḻis form at this moment on the whole a highly respectable class, living partly as agriculturists in the country and partly as citizens in towns. They belong to the caste of the *Vanniyar* (வன்னியர்).[80] The word Vanniyan is generally derived from the Sanskrit

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[80] This caste includes also the Anuppar, Bailagar, Dēvadigar, Kallar, Maravar, Māsadikar, Bantar, Muppar, Nattambādis, Padaiyāccis, Parivārams, Sudras, Uppiliyar, Udayar and Vanniyar. According to the last Census Report the Pallis number 1,300,733 souls, of whom 1,295,049 live in the Madras Presidency, which number is only exceeded by the Shanar with 2,028,546, of whom 1,478,660 dwell also in Madras, by the Vellālar with 1,683,100, and by the Pariahs with 3,223,938 persons, and the whole of the other unclassified population consisting of 3,934,990 individuals. The last two figures refer to the Madras Presidency alone.

Vahni, fire. *Agni*, the god of fire, is connected with the regal office, as kings hold in their hands the firewheel or *Āgnēyacakra*, and the Vanniyar urge in support of their name the regal descent they claim, for they contend that the Pāṇḍya kings belonged to their race. In the north of India four races—the *Cauhān*, *Cālukya* (Sōlaṅki), *Pramāra*, and *Parihāra*—similarly claim to originate from Agni, and are called *Agnikulas*.

The existence of these Fire-races, *Agnikula* or *Vahnikula* (Vanniyan), in North and South India is a remarkable fact. No one can refuse to a scion of a Non-Aryan warrior tribe the title of *Rājaputra*, but in so doing we establish at once Aryan and Non-Aryan Rājaputras or Rājputs. The *Vanniyan* of South India may be accepted as a representative of the Non-Aryan Rājput element. Yet, if we thus admit a Turanian element among the Rājputs, the question arises, how far does it extend? The modern Rājputs of Northern India are in most cases the offspring of mixed parentage, for even Aryan warriors of pure extraction did not scorn in bye-gone times to take as wives by peaceful or violent means the alien daughters of the soil.[81]

The legend goes that after Paraśurāma had swept the Kṣatriya race from the surface of the earth, ignorance and infidelity began to spread again in the land, and the Brahmans were prevented by impious races—Asuras, Daityas, and Dānavas—from fulfilling their sacred rites. *Vasiṣṭha*, or according to others his great rival *Viśvāmitra*, took compassion on the oppressed, and with Indra, Brahma, Śiva, Viṣṇu and the other gods repaired to the Agnikuṇḍa, *i.e.*, the hollow which contained the consecrated fire, on Mount *Abu*, the celebrated peak of Rājasthan. There the hermits prayed and purified the fire fountain with the sacred water of the Ganges. *Indra* first formed a figure of grass and sprinkling on

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[81] Compare pp. 45 and 46 on the genealogies of the Rājputs.

it the water of life, cried : "*Mār*, *Mār* " " Slay, Slay," and the *Paramāra*, the killer of enemies, appeared. Abu Dhar and Ujjain were assigned to him as his territory. *Brahma* instilled his essence into the second image, and throwing it into the pit, *Caluk* or Sōlaṅki appeared with a sword in one hand, the Vēda in the other, and a noose round his neck. He received *Anhalpur*. *Śiva* formed the third figure, and Parihāra rose as an ill-favored black figure armed with a bow. He stumbled and was placed as a guardian at the temple gates. Nine places of the desert, *Marusthalam*, were assigned to him. *Viṣṇu* formed Caturbhuja Cauhān, who appeared like him *four-armed*, in each arm carrying a peculiar weapon. He received *Macāvati Nagarī*. These were the ancestors of the *Agnikulas* who destroyed the *demon races*, and of all the thirty-six royal races the four Agnikulas rank highest, according to " *Chand*, the great bard of the Chohans." [82] This creation " is dated so far back as the opening of the second " age of the Hindus " (Tod, *ibidem*, p. 442). Cauhan chro-

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[82] See for this account Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. II, pp. 440, ff. *Viśvāmitra* is here mentioned as the presiding priest, while in the first volume, p. 95, *Vasiṣtha* fills this place : " From the fire-fountain a figure issued forth, but he had not a warrior's mien. The Brahmins placed him as guardian of the gate, and thence his name, Prithiha-dwara (portal or door (*dwar*) of the earth ; contracted to Prithihara and Purihara). A second issued forth, and being formed in the palm (*chaloo*) of the hand was called Chalooka. A third appeared and was named Pramara (the first striker). He had the blessing of the Rics, and with the others went against the demons, but they did not prevail. Again Vasistha, seated on the lotus, prepared incantations ; again he called the gods to aid : and as he poured forth the libation, a figure arose, lofty in stature, of elevated front, hair like jet, eyes rolling, breast expanded, fierce, terrific, clad in armour, quiver filled, a bow in one hand and a brand in the other, quadriform (*chatooranga*), whence his name Chohan (*chatoor* or *cha*, 'four'; *Anga*, body')." About *Canhān*, see Elliot's *Sup. Glossary*, vol. I, p. 63, ff.

The discrepancies between these two legends are considerable, not only so far as the presiding priests are concerned, but also with respect to the order of creation, and because in the description given in the text the gods themselves take part in the creation. *Caluka* or *culuka* signifies a hollowed hand to hold water. Colonel Tod assigns (II, p. 441), as above stated, the *nonāngul Marusthali*, or 'nine habitations of the desert' to Parihāra, while he had previously (vol. I, p. 91) allotted the *No-kote Maroosthulli* to Pramāra.

nicles mention *Aja* as the founder of *Ajmere*, the mountain of Aja. Tradition connects Candragupta with the *Mōri* branch of the Pramāras. *Ujjayinī*, the capital of Vikramāditya, is assigned to them, and *Bhōja Rāja*, at whose court the *Nine Gems* are said to have flourished, belonged to the Pramāra tribe.

It is not my purpose to discuss here the fortunes of these celebrated clans; they are only of interest in this inquiry in so far as a connection might be established between the Agnikula of the North and the Vanniyar of the South.

Lassen regards the derivation of the name *Pramāra* from *Paramāra* in the sense of *killer of enemies* as suspicious and ascribes it to a later period.[83] Colonel Tod says: "that "these races, the sons of Agni, were but regenerated, and "converted by the Brahmins to fight their battles, the "clearest interpretation of their allegorical history will dis- "close, and . . warrants our asserting the Agniculas to be "of this same race, which invaded India about two centuries "before Christ."—(Vol. I, p. 90.) No matter whether Colonel Tod's reasoning and conclusion are right or wrong, one can agree with him so far as the Non-Aryan origin of the Agnikulas is concerned.

As has previously been stated, mention is made by Ptolemy, VII, 1, 70, of the Pōruaroi (*Πωρούαροι*), a name which Lassen thinks is derived from Pramāra.[84] I believe that Lassen is mistaken on this point. I prefer to explain the *m* as a modification of an original *v*, as, *e.g.*, in *Vellama* for Pallava, and to suggest *Paravāra* as the original form of Paramāra.

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[83] See Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.*, III, p. 572: "Da sein Name sonst *Prâmâra* lautet, must jene Erklärung des Namens als eine willkührliche Dichtung gelten."

[84] See Lassen, *ibidem*, III, p. 150: "Von den Porvaroi habe ich schon früher bemerkt, dass ihr Name höchst wahrscheinlich aus dem bekannten, sich *Prâmâra* nennenden Geschlechte der Rajaputra enstellt ist, welcher in der Volkssprache Punvar lautet und in dieser Form weiter von Prâmâra entfernt ist, als Porvara."

I have already connected the Paravārī of the Marātha country with the Pōruaroi of Ptolemy, and eventually with the Pariahs of Southern India. Others identify the Pōruaroi with the Parihāras. Whichever derivation is right, we cannot be far wrong, if we regard the connection between the *Pōruaroi* and the Paravar and Pariahs as established, mainly in consequence of the identity between the Marāthi Paravārī and the Mahārs.[85]

One of the 15 sub-divisions of the South-Indian Vanniyar is called *Parivāram*, which name, if not of Sanskrit origin, may likewise be considered as a connecting link between the northern and southern Paravārī.

Under these circumstances the terms *Pramāra* and *Parihāra* can be traced to an ancient Dravidian source and associated with the Pāradas and similar names. Dr. Fr. Buchanan has, as I have quoted, proposed to connect the Parihāras with the Bhārs.

No doubt most of the Rājputs are easily distinguishable from other Hindus by their proud bearing, fine figure and lighter complexion, but these peculiarities do not necessarily point to an Aryan origin, for such varieties in outward appearance are found in all large nations which contain different classes and ranks. The Turcomans of Western Asia, the Osmanli Turks and the Magyars of Hungary, who are not Aryans, count among the finest races. If the origin of the Agnikulas throughout India can be eventually proved as Non-Aryan, a very important historical fact will

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[85] *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. IX, p. 5. "The *Poruāri*, who are "very probably the same people as the Parihārs;" *ibidem*, vol. XXI, p. 93: "To the south of the Bolingae, Ptolemy places the *Poruari* with their three "towns, named *Bridama*, *Tholobana*, and *Malaita*. The people I take to be "the Parihār Rājputs, who have occupied this part of the country from a "very early date."—Mr. McCrindle says in his *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 164: "Pōrouaroi (*Pōrvaroi*):—This is the famous race of the Pauravas, which, after the time of Alexander, was all predominant in Rajasthāna under the name of the Pramāras."

have been ascertained. New researches have shown that the Aryan population in India is very limited in numbers, and that even admitting all Brahmans to be of pure Aryan origin, this highest caste counts according to the last census only 13,693,439 members against a grand total of 252,541,210.[86]

On the Pallis.

A feeling of superiority has of late re-asserted itself among the Pa̤l̤lis. The Madras Census Report of 1871 states: "The *Vunnias* or *Pullies* are the great agricultural laboring "class of the southern districts. Before the British occu-"pation of the country, they were slaves to the Vellalar "and Brahman cultivators; but a large number of them "are now cultivators on their own account, or else work the "lands of the higher castes, on a system of sharing half "the net produce with the proprietor." [87] With the return

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[86] See *Madras Census Report* of 1881, vol. I, pp. 103–105. "It will also be "unnecessary here to go over the old discussion as to how far the caste system "of Southern India is of Aryan origin. It may be safely accepted that the "mass of the people are not Aryan; that indeed none of them are Aryan, "except the Brāhmans, probably not all of these, for there are several classes "or sub-divisions of Brāhmans of more or less hazy origin. All the rest of "the so-called Hindus may, if they please, call themselves Shūdras, but they "are in fact a Dravidian or Turanian or Scythian people, who have adopted "in a very highly-developed form, the Aryan caste system, whose germs are "found in the four caste system of Menu . . . Of late years, castes have been "so infinitely multiplied that, even if there were any recognised principle of "precedence, the *nuances* of rank would be so slight, that the places of the "several castes could not be distinguished. But there is no such principle. "Except the members of the admittedly degraded and depressed castes, each "Shūdra thinks, or professes to think, his caste better than his neighbour's. "The Shānār claims to be Rājput. The Kammāla and Pattnūl growl that, if "they had their rights, they would be recognised as Brāhmans. But in this "matter, as in the matter of occupation, modern innovation has had its effect. "Wealth means social pre-eminence in the India of 1881, nearly as much as "it does in England. A Shūdra millionaire cannot be made a Brāhman, but "he can purchase the services of Brāhmans. A Brāhman cannot eat with "him; but this is the Brāhman's loss, for the millionaire's rice is fair and "his ghee unexceptionable."

[87] The *Madras Census Report*, vol. I, p. 157, continues: "Others are simply labourers, and many of them, by taking advances from their employers, are still practically serfs of the soil, and unable to extricate

of self-esteem and independence the Pa̤llis have not been backward in denying such a statement as the one just made concerning their alleged condition of serfdom, and in urging their claims. They have thus lately presented to Government a petition in order to obtain certain concessions at Kāñcīpuram, Śrīraṅgam and Madras. They claim to be the descendants of Maṇimahāmuni and, as what formerly belonged to them, demand the Dharmakartaship of the Ēkāmbarēśvarasvāmi-kōvil in Kāñcīpuram, and the censorship over the nine classes of people there, including in it even the chiefs of the Itaṅkai and Valaṅkai, *i.e.*, of the left and right hand people. The *Jātisaṅgrahasāra* and the *Jātibhēdanūl* contain much valuable information on this topic, though no critical acumen has been exercised in arranging and verifying the evidence.

It is very unfortunate that hardly any question of historical interest which concerns the various classes of the population of this country is considered with impartiality. Class interest and caste pride prevent unbiassed inquiries and even-balanced decisions. The relations of the various agri-

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themselves from the bondage of the landlord. In all respects, these people have the characteristics of aboriginal tribes. They are, as a rule, a very dark-skinned race, but good field laborers, excellent farm servants, and cultivators. They abound largely in the Tamil districts of Trichinopoly and Tanjore. The *Vunnias*, like so many of the Sûdra castes in the south, are striving to prove that their position in the caste system is a wrong one. In 1833 they attempted, in Pondicherry, to get a legal decision that they were not of a low caste; but the administration refused to deal with the question, on the ground that the Hindu law did not refer to the *Vunnias* at all. There can be no doubt that when the aboriginal tribes ruled in South India, many *Vunnias* raised themselves to the position of *Polygars*, or independent chiefs. The term *Naick* is usually affixed to the names of the Vunnias, and the Naicks of Madura and Tinnevelly were great men not very long ago. There are about thirty sub-divisions of the *Pullies*, named chiefly after their different occupations, but they may all eat together and some intermarry." The Census of 1881, in vol. I, p. 104, says: "The Palli, once the Vellāla's slave, is still working on the soil as a laborer and often as a proprietor. But the work of divorce between occupation and caste has not only begun, but has advanced, and is advancing."

cultural classes to one another are very strained, and the evidence which the one may supply with respect to the other should always be accepted with great caution. Thus the acrimonious dissensions which exist between the Pa̤ḻḻis and Ve̤ḻḻā̤ḻar are a matter of deep regret, but they must be mentioned here to explain why certain statements concerning both cannot be admitted in an historical inquiry, as they are unsupported by facts and are tainted by prejudice.[88]

The investigation which I am now making is *sine ira et studio*, and I trust it will be accepted as such by those who come within its range.

The difference which at an early stage divided the Pa̤ḻḻar from the Pa̤ḻḻis was, I believe, that the former confined themselves to the country, *pālayam*, while the latter congregated mostly in villages and towns. These were named *palli* (பல்லி) or *pa̤ḻḻi* (பள்ளி) in contradistinction to the country or *Pāḻaiyam* (பாளையம்) in Tamil and *pāḻemu* (పాళెము) in Telugu. The feudal chieftains were called after the country Poligars.[89] The bulk of the Pallas, who lived as agricultural

[88] Compare "The Poyakharries *versus* Meerassidars, or the Revenue System of Madras," by A. Venkatachella Naicker, p. 9. Again, in the third place, Mr. Place states that the Pullees were servants of the Brahmins. Any thing more untrue could not be stated. The Pullees or Vunneers were not the servants of the Brahmins. They were formerly the ruling race of a very large portion of Southern India. The potentates, Sharen, Cholen, and Paundian were all Vunneers, and all the southern and western Poligars and Zemindars are, even at the present time, Vunneers; and on p. 12: In proof that the Pullees or Vunneers were the most powerful and most prevalent race in Southern India, there are the boundary stones which are marked with the Royal "wheel of mandate" an ensign of the royal descent of the Vunneers; also the inscriptions on the temples of Conjeeveram and in fact on the muntapums and other sacred shrines throughout the Chingleput district. Whilst the Vellalars had the mark of a trident on their boundary stones, and the boundary stones of the agraharums bore the impression of a short Brahmin with an umbrella.

Consult about the Śâsanams concerning the Vanniyar *Jâtisaṅgrahasâra*, pp. 272, 326, &c.

[89] *Pāḻaiyakkāran* in Tamil and *Pāḻegāḍu* in Telugu. For *Pāḻemu*, encampment, baronial village, occurs in Telugu also the word *Velamu*.

labourers in the country, were, like our rustics, peasants or boors, while the inhabitants of a village or small town (*paḻḻi*, *palli*, *palle*, &c.), assuming the same name as the place they inhabited, became gradually urbane and polite citizens.[90]

The Paḻḻis generally worship in temples dedicated to *Dharmarāja*. In these temples are found the images of Yudhiṣṭhira (or Dharmarāja) and of his four brothers Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadēva, of Draupadī, of Kṛṣṇa, and occasionally of Pōtarāja (also *Pōturāju* in Telugu and *Pōtappa* in Kanarese). The head of Irāvat, the son of Arjuna and Ulūpī, who, according to popular tradition, was killed on the day preceding the battle as an oblation to the battle-field, and whose head looked on the fight for eighteen days, is often exhibited on a pole during the festival. The Mahābhārata fixes the death of Irāvat on the eighth day of the battle. A Paḻḻi is, as a rule, the *pūjāri* or priest of the shrine. The above-mentioned *Pōtarāja* is a rustic god revered especially in the Telugu, Kanarese, and Marāthi districts, and his wives are known as Gaṅgamma, Pōlakamma or Pōlēramma (the goddess of small-pox), &c.

At the great annual festival in honor of Dharmarāja, or the local god or goddess, people walk over burning coals, in order to testify their purity of mind.

The worship of Dharmarāja is very popular; it is, perhaps, the most widely spread in this country. Over 500 Dharmarāja temples exist in South-Arcot alone. The village goddess is occasionally called Draupadī, and, even where she has a name of her own, she is often merely a substitute for the wife of the Pāṇḍavas. The popularity which the latter enjoy among the lower classes of the inhabitants throughout India is very significant, inasmuch as it is in opposition to *Rāma*, the favorite hero and divine represent-

[90] Compare the meaning of *nāgara* and *nāgaraka*, citizen, polite, clever, from *nagara*, town, in Sanskrit; with πολιτικός from πολίς in Greek; and *urbanus* from *urbs* in Latin.

ative among the Brahmans. It is also remarkable that Brahmans have nothing to do with these temples.

Some of the most celebrated remains in India are those found at the *Seven Pagodas* near Madras. Famous among these rock temples and rock sculptures of *Māmallapuram* or *Māvallipuram* are the Rathas or monolithic temples of the five Pāṇḍavas and of their wife Draupadī. Māmallapuram or Māvallipuram stands, I believe, for *Mahāmallapuram* or *Mahāpallipuram*, that is, the town of the great Mallas or Paḻḻis, both designations being almost identical. And even if *Mahāvallipuram* is to be regarded as connected with the name of the great king *Bali*, he himself, as I have previously endeavoured to show on pp. 14 and 15, should be looked upon as the representative of the Mallas or Pallas, Paḻḻis and Pallavas. If we now associate the cult of the Pāṇḍavas with these relics at Māmallapuram and consider that the inhabitants of this town, the Mallas, worshipped those heroes as do their descendants even to-day, and that the Paḻḻis are the *pūjāris* of these deified persons at this moment, I believe that a relation has been sufficiently established between the Pāṇḍavas and the original inhabitants of this country.[91]

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[91] See in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, pp. 190 and 191, the article: "Walking through Fire," by Mr. H. J. Stokes, M.C.S. "The situation was on an extensive open plain before the village deity *Draupatī Amman's* temple. The pit lay east and west; the image of the goddess was placed at the west end, and it was towards it that the worshipper walked along the length of the pit from east to west." Vīrappa Vāndyān states:—"I was one of the "eight persons who carried the goddess Draupatī Amman to the place where "the fire-treading took place. The fire-pit was a trench about two poles "long by two strides broad. Six bābūl trees were cut into faggots and "kindled. Those who trod on the fire were Nachchu, Pūjāri of Periyān-"guḍi, Chidambaram; Pūjāri of Angalamman temple at Achchutaman-"galam; Rāmasāmi Pillei, Stānīka of Draupatī Amman of Periyānguḍi; "Sāminàda Paḍeyāchi of the same place, his brother Subrāya; Subba-"nāyakkan of Vālkei. . ." Nāgappa Malavarāyan states:—"I live in the next "street to the temple of Draupatī.". Nachchu Paḍeyāchi states:—"I am "Pujari of this temple of Draupatī." The practice of fire-treading is "connected in some places with a legend of Draupadī . . ., the wife of the

In Chingleput and its neighbourhood the Pa̤l̤lis add to their name the title of *Nāyakar* or leader, which term is synonymous with the Telugu *Nāyaḍu* and the Malayālam *Nāyar*. Those in Tanjore and its neighbourhood prefer the Tamil title *Paḍaiyācci* (படையாச்சி),[92] army-leader, which has the same meaning as Nāyakar; while others in Coimbatore, Salem, North and South-Arcot call themselves, like the neighbouring hill men, *Kauṇḍar* (கௌண்டர் or கவுண்டர்). I connect this word with the root *ko*, and derive it from *koṇḍa*, mountain, and if this etymology is right, it shows that these Pa̤l̤lis have preserved in their name some recollection of their original habitat.

Pāṇḍavas.'"—I have mentioned the names of the worshippers, in order to prove that they are Pa̤l̤lis (Nāyakar) and Paḍaiyāccis.

Read also "The Village Feast," by Captain J.S.F. Mackenzie in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, pp. 6–9, and "Passing through Fire," by Mr. M. J. Walhouse, late M.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII., pp. 126–129: "When not done in discharge of vows made in time of sickness or disaster, "the fire-walking seemed to be performed (generally in March and June) in "most places in honour of Vīrabhadra, the portentous flame-clad progeny "of Śiva, who is especially feared as presiding over family discord and mis-"fortune, or else of Dharmarāja, the elder Pāṇḍava, to whom there are five "hundred temples in South Arkaṭ alone, and with whom and Draupadī the "ceremony has some particular association. In Ganjam and Maisūr it is per-"formed in honour of a village goddess, and everywhere seems connected "with aboriginal rites and Śiva-worship, Brāhmaṇs always disowning it." I myself witnessed this fire-treading in June 1885 in Coimbatore. With respect to the sun worship previously mentioned on p. 62 as peculiar to the Scythians, it should be remembered that Draupadī prayed twice to the sun god for assistance. Concerning the explanation of Mahāmallapura I may also add that I regard *Mallapura* as the original form of Mailapur in Madras. These names will be considered in the last part of this treatise.

[92] The higher castes are often anxious to enhance their superiority at the expense of their inferiors, whom they ridicule. To this tendency must be ascribed many expressions which reflect on the language used by Pariahs, Pa̤l̤lar, Pa̤l̤lis, and Paḍaiyāccis. The word Paḍaiyācci is derived from *paḍai* and *āṭci*, which originally signified *Army ruling*. Its more correct spelling is Paḍaiyāṭci, படையாட்சி.

The Rev. Mr. Löventhal of Vellore informs me that the hill-people near Vellore insist on being addressed as *Gauṇḍan* and *Gauṇḍaḷ*, and that they feel insulted when called *Ayya* or *Amma*. He tells me also that many Pa̤l̤lis adopt now the title Mudaliyār. Occasionally the term Kauṇḍar is used by Pulayar and Caṇḍālas.

The few necessaries which in India suffice to sustain life, the simplicity of manners, and similarity of external wants create a great uniformity in the habits and mode of living among the population. In this respect there is less difference, perhaps, between the rich and the poor in India than elsewhere. The dwelling places are pretty much the same in villages as in towns, and architectural ambition displays itself mostly in the erection of the temples devoted to the gods, or the palaces occupied by the kings. Difference in population —irrespective of caste, religion, and occupation—forms, therefore, in India the most striking distinction between village and town. In these circumstances even speech does not, as a rule, distinguish between them, and in the Dravidian languages the same expressions *paḻḻi* (*palli*, *haḻḻi*, *&c.*) and *ūr* (*ūru*, &c.) are applied both to village and town.

DIFFERENT MEANINGS OF THE WORD PALLI.

The word *Palli* has also various other meanings. In towns, and even in small villages, where people congregate in greater numbers, such buildings and institutions as temples and schools are more easily and more appropriately founded than in a lonely and sparsely populated country. These establishments are accordingly called after the place in which they are erected. The Buddhist and Jain missionaries were probably the first preachers and religious teachers who devoted themselves to the indigenous population and who succeeded in their efforts to win by their sympathy the affection of the masses. This may be the reason why a temple, more particularly if Buddhistic and Jaina, is called *paḻḻi*.

Everything connected with royalty has the term *paḻḻi* prefixed to it in Malayālam as *paḻḻikōvilakam*, a royal palace, *paḻḻimetta*, a royal bed, *paḻḻivāḻ*, a royal sword, *paḻḻivēṭṭa*, a royal chase, &c.[93] This expression is very peculiar indeed,

[93] In Tamil the word *paḻḻi* is at times also used in the sense of *royal*, thus *paḻḻiyaṟai*, like the Malayālam *paḻḻiyaṟa*, denotes the royal bed-chamber,

and seems to prove that the recollection of the splendour and power of the ancient *Pallas* or *Pa̤l̤lis* had not died out in the minds of the people when these words came into use.

The Buddhist missionaries, who propagated throughout India the precepts of their master, spoke and wrote a Prākritised form of Sanskrit. This became gradually the sacred language of the Buddhists, and from India it was, together with the Buddhistic faith, introduced into Ceylon. Though this idiom differed widely from the language which the Dravidian Pallas spoke in those days, in the same way as the priestly Latin differed much from the vernaculars of Northern Europe into which it spread with the progress of Christianity, yet, as the Buddhistic religion came to Ceylon from the country inhabited mostly by Pallas, or in whose towns and temples—*Pa̤l̤li* or *Pāḻi*—it had found a firm abode, the dialect in which the sacred books reached Ceylon was likewise called *Pāli* after them.

Explanation of the words Pāṇḍya, Vellāla, Ballāla, Bhillāla.

The Pa̤l̤lar and Pa̤l̤lis claim, as has been previously pointed out, kinship with the kings who ruled over them, *i.e.*, with the Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas. It has been proved that a philological connection can be established between the words *Palla*, *Palli* and *Pallava*, and no great difficulty will be experienced in extending it to the name of the Pāṇḍyas.

The *Pāṇḍyas* of Southern India have been linked by legends with the Pāṇḍavas of the North. According to the Harivaṁśa (XXXII, 123), *Pāṇḍya*, together with *Kērala*, *Kōla*, and *Cōla*, was a descendant of the famous king *Duṣyanta*, the husband of Śakuntalā and father of Bharata. *Arjuna* meets and fights in his adventures for the Aśvamēdha with

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while *paḍukkaiyaṟai* is the common sleeping room. Compare also about *pa̤l̤li* in the sense of a royal title the *Jātisaṅgrahasāra*, p. 281.

his son *Babhruvāhana*, the king of Maṇipura, which place I have identified with Madura.[94]

The legend of the king Vijaya of Laṅkā is likewise mysteriously and intimately connected with the Pāṇḍavas. He is reported to have wedded a daughter of the Pāṇḍava king of the southern Mathurā, and, as he had from her no offspring, to have invited his nephew from the Indian continent to become his successor. This nephew, *Pāṇḍuvaṁśadēva*, married, in his turn, the princess Bhadrakāñcanā, the daughter of *Pāṇḍu-Śākya* and grand-cousin of Buddha, who had drifted in a boat with her 32 lady companions to Laṅkā and arrived providentially just in time to marry the king.[95]

But there exist also other legends which do not mention this connection between the Pāṇḍavas of the North and the Pāṇḍyas in the South. Among these is one which ascribes the colonisation and civilisation to a northern *Veḻḻaḷan* named *Madura Pāṇḍiyan*, who, on his pilgrimage to Rāmēśvara, observed the great fertility of the *Daṇḍaka* forest and determined to settle in it. He returned to his own town, came back to the South with his family and dependents, cleared the country and erected on the banks of the *Vaikai* river his capital, which he called after himself Madura. The neighbouring Maṟavar assisted him much in the cultivation of the country and foundation of his capital. *Madura Pāṇḍiyan* ruled according to this account 50 years after his arrival, and died 90 years old. He was succeeded by his son *Candrapāṇḍiyan*, who reigned 40 years. *Malayadvajapāṇḍiyan* and *Alakapāṇḍiyan* are mentioned as the next kings.[96]

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[94] See my monograph "On the Weapons of the Ancient Hindus," pp. 145-152.

[95] See Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.*, vol. II, pp. 95-111.

[96] See "Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pāndya," by Horace Hayman Wilson, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of G. B. and I.*, vol. III, pp. 199–242, 1836, reprinted in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. VI, pp. 176-216, and H. H. Wilson's Supplementary Note in the *Madras Journal*, vol. VI, pp. 217–220. Compare also Rev. William Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, Madras, 1835, in two volumes ; and

Though some have proposed to derive the name *Pāṇḍya*

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his *Observations on Professor Wilson's Historical Sketch* in the same volume of the *Madras Journal*, pp. 142–157. H. H. Wilson had said in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. III, p. 201, and in the *Madras Journal*, vol. VI, p. 177, that "an adventurer, named Pāndya, of the Velālar or "agricultural tribe, first established himself in that portion of the south to "which his name was afterwards assigned." See also Wilson's *Mackenzie Collections*, Introduction, p. 45, and *Tamul Books*, p. 203 (new edition).

The Rev. W. Taylor took exception to these statements in his *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, vol. II, pp. 73, 74, and its Appendix, pp. 35 and 39, and animadverted on Wilson's want of acquaintance with the Tamil language (p. 63), to which charges Wilson replied in his *Supplementary Note*. The Rev. W. Taylor admitted the error of indulging in strong language, but maintained (on p. 144) that: "*Vada désattilulla pāndiyan*. "*ākira vellāzhan* might have been still better and more accurately rendered "an ancient agriculturist in (or of) the north country," and (on p. 149) that "there is, however, throughout no mention of this person's proper name." In both these statements Taylor is not quite correct. *Akira* means here "called," for in the same manuscript occur repeatedly such phrases as *Irāmanākirairācā*, the king called Rāma, or *Sītaiyākira peṇcāti*, the wife called Sītā.

The Tamil manuscript in question is the *Pāṇṭiyamaṇṭalam Cōḻamaṇṭalam pūrvikarājācaritravoḻunku* in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library No. 241, in Wilson's *Mackenzie Collections*, Tamil Local History No. 4, and in W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, p. 88, No. 2322. On p. 4a the *pāṇḍiyan* is first mentioned as follows: அப்படியே வடதேசத்திலுள்ள பாண்டியனாகிற வெள்ளாளனிந்த ராமேசுரயாத்திரைக்குப்புறப் பட்டு வந்தான் (Appaṭiye vaṭatēcattil uḻḻa Pāṇṭiyan ākiṟa Veḻḻāḷan inta Rāmēcurayāttiraikku puṟappaṭṭu vantān). The translation of which sentence is: "Thus having started came on a pilgrimage to Rāmēśvara a Veḻḻāḷan named Pāṇḍiya, who lived in the northern country." Again on p. 5 b: இப்படி . . . . யரசன் பாண்டியன் பேர் மதுரநாயக பாண்டியன் அவன் முதலுண்டு பண்ணின பட்டணத்துக்குத்தன் பேரைத்தானே வைத்து மதுராபுரி யென்றும் மதுரைநகரென்றும் பேரிட்டு பின்னு மநேகப் பட்டணங்களையுமுண்டு பண்ணினான் (Ippaṭi . . yaracan Pāṇṭiyan pēr Maturanāyaka Pāṇṭiyan avan mutal uṇṭu paṇṇina paṭṭaṇattukku tan pērai tānē vaittu Maturāpuri yenṟum Maturainakarenṟum pēriṭṭu pinnum anēkappaṭṭaṇaṅkalaiyum uṇṭu paṇṇinān); or in English: Thus this Pāṇḍiya king, called Maturapāṇḍiyan, having given to the town he founded first his own name, and having named it Maturāpuri or Maturainagar, established afterwards many towns." The founder of the Cōḻa kingdom, *Tāyamān Naḻḻi*, is also called a Veḻḻāḷan, see p. 6 b. Compare Lassen's *Indische Alterth.*, vol. II, p. 108. Mr. J. H. Nelson remarks in his *Manual of Madura*, Part III, p. 44: "The story of the man of Oude may doubtless be found in certain Hindû writings, but I do not believe it is traditional in the country to which it relates. And the Pândya kings of the lunar race are commonly believed to be of the Kshatriya, not of the Vellâla or any

directly from Pāṇḍu and some have ventured other explanations, I believe that none are generally accepted as correct.[97]

I do not flatter myself that I have solved the difficulty, but merely hazard a new conjecture. I suggest that the word *Pāṇḍi* (பாண்டி), which is specially applied to the ancient kingdom of Madura, and the term *Pāṇḍiyan* (பாண்டியன்), which denotes the king who ruled over it, the *Pandiōn*, *Πανδίων* of Ptolemy, VII, 1, 11, are contracted forms for *Pallāṇḍi* and *Pallāṇḍiyan*. The king of Madura, the Perumāl of the Pāṇḍiyas, was regarded as the most powerful king of Southern India, and as such he might well have been named after the people over whom he ruled. The word *Pallāṇḍiyan*, the king of the Pallas, was contracted into Pāṇḍiyan as Tiruvallaṅkōḍu has become *Tiruvāṅkōḍu*, &c.[98] *Áṇḍi* (ஆண்டி) and *āṇḍavan* (ஆண்டவன்), ruler, come from

agricultural caste." Compare also Part II, p. 31. Already the Rev. W. Taylor has pointed out that Oude is not mentioned as Pāṇḍya's, but only as Rāma's home. Whatever is the right extraction of the Vellālar, they as well as their Telugu relatives, the Velamas, regard themselves as Kṣatriyas. The Rev. J. F. Kearns in *The Tribes of South India*, Madras, 1860, alludes to the tradition that the Reddies of Tinnevelly derive their origin from Oude, for he says on p. 8: "There is, however, a circumstance connected with the Reddies which in some degree appears to impart an air of probability at least to the legend, namely, all the Reddies in the province style themselves *Oude* Reddies, and assert that Oude is the native country of their tribe."

97 Compare Lassen's *Ind. Alterth.*, vol. II, p. 102, and Bishop Caldwell's Introduction to his *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, p. 16 : "The Sanskrit Pāṇḍya is written in Tamil Pāṇḍiya, but the more completely Tamilised form Pāṇḍi is still more commonly used all over Southern India. I derive *Pāṇḍi* not from the Tamil and Malayāḷam *paṇḍu*, ancient, though that is a very tempting derivation, but—as native scholars always derive the word—from the Sanskrit *Pāṇḍu*, the name of the father of the Pāṇḍava brothers. This very form *Pāṇḍya*, in the sense of a descendant of Pāṇḍu, is mentioned, as I am informed by Professor Max Müller, by Kātyāyana, the immediate successor of Pāṇini."

98 Compare *A History of Travancore*, by P. Shungoonny Menon, p. 2: "Thiruvancode instead of Sreevalumcode." *Tiruvidāṅkōḍu* is a wrong conjecture.

Not far from Tiruvallaṅkōḍu lies *Vallavaṅkōḍu*, both localities being intimately connected with each other in the history of Travancore. I have also strong reasons to suppose that the name of *Tiruvāṅgāḍu* near Tellicherry is the same as that of *Tiruvalaṅgāḍu* near Calicut. Both places have celebrated temples. That of the latter belongs to the Zamorin. I regard the usual

the Dravidian root *āḷ*, to rule. If we admit that names in common use are more subject to change than other words, the alteration from *āṇḍavan* to *āṇḍiyan* can be easily accounted for. Yet even this modification is not absolutely necessary, as *āṇḍiyan* can also be formed by adding the pronominal affix *an* to *āṇḍi*.[99]

The root *āḷ* is also used in the formation of other similar words, *e.g.*, in *Vāḷḷāḷa* (*Veḷḷāḷa*), *Ballāḷa*, *Bhillāḷa*, &c., and indicates a person of influence among or a lord of the Vallas, Ballas, and Bhillas, which names were originally identical with the name of the Pallas.

The *Veḷḷaḷan* is thus the territorial lord of the despised Paḷḷan, and though both were originally intimately connected with each other, the institution of caste seems to have parted them for good. The relation of the Paḷḷan to the Veḷḷāḷan was that of serf to the owner of the soil, like what existed in Russia, where both, serf and master, belong to the same nation. The abbreviated form of Veḷḷāḷan is Veḷḷāḷ. It is dialectically changed in Kanarese into *Bellāḷ* and is applied to the landowning agriculturist of Kanara. The Toda words *Pāḷāḷ*, the milkman or priest, and *Kārilāḷ*, herdsman, are similarly formed. Veḷḷāḷan is also contracted into Veḷḷān.

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derivation of *vala* in Tiruvalaṅgāḍu from the Sanskrit word *valaya*, bracelet, and the legend connected with this *valaya* as a later invention.

Some time ago advised by a friend I visited *Gūḍuvāñcēri*, a small station on the South-Indian Railway, between Pallavaram and Chingleput, in search of some old tombs. Nobody in Gūḍuvāñcēri was acquainted with these remains. I found them on the slope of a hill near the hamlet *Vallañcēri*, whence the old now deserted village Paḷḷañcēri was pointed out to me. I was further told that Gūḍuvāñcēri was formerly called Putuvāñcēri or New Vāñcēri. In this case Vāñcēri should be regarded as a contraction of Vaḷḷañcēri.

Sir A. Cunningham identifies in vol. IX, p. 56 of the *Arch. Surv. of India*, *Bāndogarh* with the *Balantipurgon* of Ptolemy; and this derivation is repeated in vol. XXI, p. 92: "Mr. Carlleyle also suggests that Ptolemy's "fort of Balantipurgon, which I have identified with Bando-garh, may have "derived its name from the Bālands."

[99] See *note* 16 about Subrahmaṇya being called *Paḷani Āṇḍi* or *Paḷani Āṇḍavar*.

As the Veḷḷāḷar are essentially agriculturists and live upon the produce which they derive from cultivation, agriculture is called in Tamil and in Malayālam *veḷḷāṇmai* or *veḷḷāyma.* The Tamil word *Veḷḷāṇmai* is a compound of *Veḷḷaḷ* and *mai,* the affix indicating abstract nouns. It means Veḷḷāḷanship or the occupation and position of a Veḷḷāḷan or cultivator. It may perhaps be necessary to add that the terms *Veḷḷāḷan* and *Veḷḷāṇma* are hardly ever used in Malabar, except in Pālghāt, which, as a border district between the Tamil and Malayālam speaking population, contains many Tamil words. It is customary to derive the name of the *Veḷḷāḷan* from *veḷḷāṇmai, i.e.,* the name of the cultivator from the work of cultivation to which he is devoted, but I regard this explanation as erroneous. The Telugu representative of the Tamil *Veḷḷāḷan* is the *Velama* (Vellama), and if *veḷḷāṇmai,* agriculture, were derived from a common Dravidian root, a representative of this word should be found in all or most Dravidian languages. It is most probably not indigenous in Malayālam, nor does it exist in Telugu, where we find words like *kāpu* denote a cultivator and *sāgu* cultivation. The *Velama* is the baron, the *grand-seigneur,* in the Telugu country. Most of the Telugu Rājas belong to the Velama caste. The identity of Velama and Pallava has been already established by me. The *Veḷḷāḷar* of Malabar are called *Nāyar,* which word means, as we have seen, *ruler.* This circumstance is very significant, as the term Veḷḷāḷan, according to my explanation, designates also a ruler.[100]

[100] The derivation of *Veḷḷāṇmai* is very uncertain. The Tamil paṇḍits propose different explanations, a sure indication of their uncertainty. Some derive the word from *vēḷ,* benefit, and wish to write it accordingly *Vēḷāṇmai ;* others prefer *Veḷḷum,* abundance, &c. The Veḷḷāḷar are cultivators. Cultivation is in India generally divided into *dry* cultivation, which is applied in higher levels and in places which depend entirely on the rainfall, and into *wet* cultivation, which is carried on by means of *irrigation* chiefly from tanks. These two kinds of cultivation are called in Tamil *puncey* (or *puñcai*) and *nancey* (நன்செய் or *nañcey*), in Telugu *meṭṭa* and *pallam* from *pallam,* plain, and in Kanarese *betta* and *haḷḷa. Pul* and *nal* mean bad and good; *puñcey* is a sterile field for dry grains and *nañcey* a

The name of the Ballālas is well known by the dynasty which brought it into prominence, and to which I have alluded previously.

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rice field. The Telugu and Kanarese expressions denote high land and low land. The high land for want of irrigation produces generally poorer crops than the well-irrigated low land. *Veḻḻam* in Tamil, *Veḻḻuva* in Telugu, and *Boḻḻa* in Tulu denote as in the other Dravidian languages *flood* and *inundation*. No inundation can be without water, and in Malayālam *Veḻḻam* seems to mean also water, but this appears not to be the case in Tamil and Telugu. Mr. Nelson has in his laborious *Manual of Madura* first proposed to derive *Veḻḻāṇmai* from veḻḻam and *āṇmai*. He says in Part II, p. 31: "The Tamil "mode of spelling the word Vellālan is வெள்ளாளன் ; and as Vellānmei, "வெள்ளாண்மை, is the word commonly used to express the act of "cultivating (strictly, ruling or managing irrigation), it is but natural to "infer that Vellālan means a cultivator or irrigator of rice fields, rather "than a man of a particular tribe or country." This derivation has been accepted by some authors, generally without giving Mr. Nelson credit for it; but it is not known to the Tamil paṇḍits whom I have consulted, and is repudiated by them. Dr. Gundert, who gives in his *Malayālam and English Dictionary water* as a meaning of *veḻḻam*, does not connect it with the word *veḻḻāṇmai* which he places under *veḻḻan*, a true man. *Veḻḻānmai* is also in Dr. Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary* not derived from "*veḻḻam* an inundation, a flood, a deluge, a strong current." It cannot be denied that it is grammatically possible to derive *veḻḻāṇmai* from *veḻḻam* and *āṇmai*, but as *veḻḻāṇmai* in this sense denotes only wet cultivation or irrigation, and the Veḻḻāḻan, as every agriculturist uses both dry and wet cultivation, this name would be inappropriate if applied to him. Curiously enough dry cultivation prevails, if I am not wrongly informed, in the wet districts on the West Coast of South India where, owing to the heaviness of the rain, no tank irrigation is necessary. The derivation from Paḻḻan and *āḻan* as the master of the Paḻḻar or agricultural labourers seems simpler and more preferable. My conjecture is supported by the Tamil and Malayālam term *Veḻḻāṭṭi*, a slave girl, a female servant. The meaning of this expression has not been explained so far as my knowledge goes, but is clear, if it is considered to denote a Paḻḻa woman, a woman of the servile class (பள்ள + ஆட்டி). In this particular instance *āṭṭi* signifies woman in general, as *āḻ* does also occasionally mean servant or slave. *Āṭṭi* occurs in a similar, though more respectable, sense in *manaiyāṭṭi*, housewife, and *peṇṭāṭṭi*, wife. The feminine of *Veḻḻāḻan* is *Veḻḻāḻacci*. The truth of the saying *Usus tyrannus* manifests itself peculiarly in this case. I may add that even my derivation of Veḻḻāṇmai contains the word *āṇmai* as formed from *āḻ* + *mai*.

The Purāṇa of *Tirukaḻukunṛam* near Chingleput, also known as *Pakṣitīrtham*, mentions 24 classes of Veḻḻāḻar. They are generally divided in three great sections in Gaṅgākulatar, Indrakulatar, and Maṇkulatar. Of the 63 Aḻvār 13 are Veḻḻāḻar. Mr. Nelson has in his Manual, II, pp. 27–37 collected a great deal of information about them. Compare also "Notes

The Bhillālas are the chiefs among the Bhillas or Bhīls, some of whom are regarded as the offspring of Rājput men and Bhīl women.[101]

The similar formation of all these words tends much to prove the correctness of my conjecture, and as according to my explanation the meaning of *Pāṇḍiyan* as *Paḻḻāṇḍiyan* is identical with that of *Veḻḻāḷan*, the legend which assigns to the *Veḻḻāḷan*, who founded the celebrated kingdom of Madura in Southern India, the name of *Pāṇḍiyan* or of ruler of the Paḻḻas, may be considered as by no means irrelevant evidence in support of my theory.

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on Castes in Southern India," by Mr. J. A. Boyle, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III (1874), pp. 287–289.

As *Paḻemu* is identical with *Velamu*, baronial village, so is Velama originally synonymous with Pāḻegāḍu. About the Vellamas compare Rev. John Cain's article in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 216.

[101] Compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 208, and IV, pp. 338 and 339.

PART II.

THE GAUDIANS.

CHAPTER VII.

Philological Remarks.

Having in the first part of my work treated of the Dravidians, I have now to deal with the other aboriginal tribes of India, whom I have classed together under the name of Gaudian. As already intimated, I derive the term *Gaudian* from the root *ko*, mountain.

This word *ko* or *ku* is of the old Turanian stock. It is still extant in the Tamil கோ, *kō,* mountain, and can be easily recognized in many expressions found in Telugu, Gondi, and other kindred dialects. Among words which perhaps are related to it is the Persian كوه (*kōh*, *kūh*,) or كه (*koh*, *kuh*) mountain; for Persian, I would remark, contains a considerable number of Turanian words which have their representatives in the Gauda-Dravidian dialects of India. The Sanskrit word *gō* has many different meanings, most of which are also expressed by its Tamil tatsamam *kō;* but *gō* in Sanskrit does not, so far as my knowledge goes, signify mountain, while, as already indicated, *kō* occurs in Tamil in the sense of mountain. As the root *kō* can be traced in other Gauda-Dravidian dialects as synonymous with mountain, it is pretty clear that the Tamil *kō,* mountain, is a separate word not identical with the term *kō*, denoting cow, &c.; and that it is not of Sanskrit but of Gauda-Dravidian origin.[1]

[1] About the derivation of Gaudian from *ko*, see p. 13. *Tatsamam* is a word introduced from Sanskrit into an Indian vernacular with little or no change.

The word *kō* is found in *Kōi*, *Kōya*, *Kōyi* and *Kōdu*, &c., which mean in Telugu and Gondi a *mountaineer* or *Gond;* also in *Kōna*, mountain-glen, or

The Gauda-Dravidian numerical roots *o(r)* one, and *mū*, three, are found in Tamil as *onṟu* (*oru* and *oṇṇu*) and *mūnṟu*, in Malayālam as *onnu* and *mūnnu*, in Telugu as *oṇḍu* and *mūḍu*, in Kanarese as *ondu* and *mūru*, in Tulu as *oñji* and *mūji*, in Mādi as *undi* (wandi) and *mundu*, in Gondi as *undi* and *mūnu* (mund), in Kurgi as *ondu* and *mundu*. In a similar manner the root *ko* (*ku*), mountain, has developed in Tamil into *kunṟu*, *kunṟam*, and *kāṇḍam*, in Malayālam into *kunnu*, *kunnam*, and *kuṟu*, in Telugu into *koṇḍa*, *guṇḍu* and *guṭṭa*, in Kanarese into *guḍḍa*, in other dialects into *kuṇḍu*, &c. The tribal names *Koṟacaru* and *Koṟavaru*, mountaineers, permit the assumption of a root *koṟa*.[2] The fact that lingual and dental letters are promiscuously used in these formations, is rather peculiar. Lingual and dental affixes must have been indiscriminately employed in Dravidian languages for the construction of words; thus *ondu* signifies *one* (and *oṇṭi*, single)

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dale. The term *ku* is preferred by the Khonds, for Colonel John Campbell states on p. 13 in his *Personal Narrative of Service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan:* "The hill districts of Orissa . . are peopled generally by Khonds, or *Kui*, as they call themselves."—The name of the *Koyanā*, one of the seven rivers which flow from the Mahābalēśvara mountain, is "derived either from Kuvena, or from *Koh*, a primitive term signifying a mountain." See *Bombay Asiatic Journal*, vol. IX, p. 253. With respect to the New-Persian and Parsi *koh*, mountain, I should mention that *kaufa*, mountain, occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Persian king Darius at the Behistūn. In Huzvāresh mountain is *kūph*. Yet it is not impossible that in spite of this fact, the word *ko* (*ku*) may also in this case be originally Non-Aryan.

Only where Tamil letters actually occur, they are transcribed according to the principle contained in note 1 on p. 3.

[2] Rev. Dr. Gundert in his *Malayalam and English Dictionary* presupposes a root *o*. Bishop Caldwell while advocating in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages* on pp. 217-223, the assumption of a basis *or*, writes on p. 220: "Dr. Gundert considers *ondru* an euphonised form of *on*, with the addition of *du*, the neuter formative, and that *on* and *or* are equivalents, being both verbal nouns from *o*, to be one. It is quite true that such a verb as *o* exists, that *n* or *an*, alternating with *am*, is used as a formative by many nouns, and that *n* sometimes changes into or alternates with *r* or *ṟ*." And on p. 222: "There is a verbal root in Tamil *o*, which has been supposed to mean, to be one. *On* and *or* (*ondru* and *oru*) are supposed by Dr. Gundert to be verbal nouns from this *o*. An undoubted derivative of *o* in Tamil and Malayālam is *okka*, which in Malayālam and the Tamil of the extreme south means 'altogether,' 'all' (compare Mordvin *wok*, all); and this is supposed

in Kanarese corresponding to the Telugu *oṇḍu*, and in Telugu *Kōdu* and *Gōndu* mean a Khond, while their equivalents in Sanskrit are *Kōṇḍa* and *Gōṇḍa*, to which corresponds the Telugu *Koṇḍaruḍu*.[3]

The addition of these lingual and dental affixes with or without a nasal, is a peculiarity of the Gauda-Dravidian languages.[4] The change of *k* into the other gutturals *kh*, *g*, and *gh*, or perhaps more properly the interchange between them, need hardly be mentioned, being of such frequent occurrence; nor is it necessary to draw attention to the resemblance in the pronunciation of the vowels *a*, *u* and *o*, and to their being promiscuously used the one for the other, *e.g.*, in *Kuḍaku* and *Koḍaku*, the name of the province Kurg, in *Kuṟavañji* or *Koṟavañji*, a common expression for a female gipsy.[5]

The names of most of the Gaudian races are formed from the above-given variations of *ko*, a circumstance which explains the very considerable differences occasionally

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by Dr. Gundert to be identical with the Telugu *oka*, one. Every step in this process, with one exception, is encumbered with difficulties." The question is still very doubtful, and can be hardly ever settled. Bishop Caldwell himself admits on p. 220 that: "*or*, in its primitive, unnasalised shape, is not now found in the cultivated Dravidian dialects as the first abstract neuter noun of number for one or unity." The Rev. F. Kittel seems to agree with the Bishop as he writes in his "Notes concerning the Numerals of the Ancient Dravidians" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, p. 24: "1, ondu, onṟu (pronounce: ondu), oñji, or, ōr, om, on, ondu, ottu, to be undivided, to be one. A unit without a branch." * * "When the affix *du* is joined to a short monosyllabic root with final *r*, the root in this case being *or*, this liquid is sometimes changed into the Bindu. Observe *du* has become *ji* (in Tulu)."

[3] *Koḍu*, steep, *kōḍu*, peak, and similar words belong to this group. *Ku* and *gō* denote in Sanskrit earth, hence *kukīla*, mountain (a peg or pin of the earth). Whether any connection exists between the Sanskrit *kuṭa*, mountain, fort; *kuṭṭāra* and *kuṭṭīra*, mountain; *kūṭa*, mountainpeak; *kōṭa*, fort; and *kōṭi*, end, &c., and some Gauda-Dravidian words of similar sound and same meaning, is now very difficult to decide. Except *kūṭa*, which occurs already in the Ṛgvēda, none of these Sanskrit terms are found in very ancient works.

[4] It is thus conspicuous in the formation of some irregular plurals in Telugu.

[5] See p. 84.

noticeable in their outward appearance. People resort in private life to a variety of names in order to facilitate distinction between kindred individuals, families and clans. The same name is often borne by various tribes who, though originally akin to one another, dwell separately in distant places of the large Indian continent. Some tribal terms originally unobjectionable have had attributed to them in course of time a disparaging meaning,—such terms, for instance, as *Pariah* and *Caṇḍāla*. Yet, neither individuals nor races should be despised simply for the name they bear, particularly, if it is uncertain whether any stigma can be attached to them on that account. This caution should be strictly observed, especially as identical terms have often different significations in the various districts and separate communities of so vast a country as India.

Application of the term Gaudian.

I am aware that it is impossible to be too cautious in drawing up such lists as the following, the more so if they are the first of their kind; but one must guard as much against mistakes of omission as of commission. It is preferable, I believe, in a research like this, to make at first comprehensive statements, and to leave to the competent critic the task of pruning them.

I regard under these circumstances the following tribes and races as belonging to the Gaudian division:—the Kōi (Kui, Ku, Koital, Kōya, Kōyi), Kōdu and Gōndu or Koṇḍa (Khoṇḍa, Kuṇḍa, Kavuṇḍa, Gauḍa, Goṇḍa, and Gauṇḍa) or Kaṇḍa (Khaṇḍa, Kaṇḍara, Caṇḍa, and Caṇḍāla), Toda, Kōta, Koḍaga, Koṟaga, Kōla (Cōla), Koli, Kulu, Koṟacaru (Korcaru, Korsaru, Kuṟuciyar, Gurcari), Koṟava (Koṟama), Kuṟuva (Kuṟu, Yerakala, Kuṟuma, Kuṟumba, Kurmi), Kunnuva, &c.

The following Sanskrit names can, I believe, be connected with the Gaudians, though it may be difficult actually

to prove such a connection always. *Tribal* names such as :—Gauḍa, Gauḍaka, Gōṇḍa, Kaṇḍōla, Khaṇḍa, Caṇḍāla, Kōntala, Kuṇḍala, Kuntala, Kuṇṭhaka, Kunti, Kuntika, Kuraṭa, Kōnvaśira, Kōla, Kōlvagirēya, Cōla (Cōḍa), &c. The following names of *men :* Kuṇḍa, Kuṇḍika, Kuṇḍina, Kōla, Cōla, &c.; of *women:* Kuṇḍalā, Kunti, &c.; of *countries :* Gauḍa, Khāṇḍava, Kunti, &c.; of *mountains :* Kunda, Kuṇḍōda, Kuraṅga, Kōnva, Kōlagiri (Kōllagiri), Kōlāhala, &c.; of *streams :* Kuṇḍalā, &c.; of *forests :* Gōṇḍavana (Gōṇḍavāra), Khāndava, &c.; of *plants :* Kunda (or *Malli*, jasmine), Kuṇḍalī (mountain ebony); and of *towns :* Gauḍa (Gōṇḍa), Gaura, Khāṇḍavaprastha, Kuṇḍaprastha, Kuṇḍāgni, Kuṇḍina(pura), &c.[6]

Ptolemy mentions among Indian tribes the Gonds as Kandaloi (VII, 1,66).[7] Strabo speaks of the country Gandaris or Gandarītis[8] in the north-west of India, while Ptolemy distinguishes (VI, 12, 4) between the Kandaroi in Sogdiana

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[6] *Koi-jāti* is a term generally given to the *Kōi* tribe. In the July number, 1837, of the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, the Rev. William Taylor remarks as follows on page 17: "In the title to Mr. Stevenson's paper on their customs, they (the Khoonds) are styled కోడులు *Codulu* and in Dr. Maxwell's list *Khoi-jāti.*"

It is perhaps not quite out of place to mention among the tribal names also the *Gandhāra*, *Gāndhāra* or *Gandhāri*, who appear in the Behistūn inscription among the subjects of Darius Hystaspes as *Gandāra.* If this is the case, the name of the Queen *Gāndhārī* would find a place among the female names connected with the Gaudians. Some connect the name of *Kandahar* with the Gāndhāras, while others derive the name of the town Kandahar from Alexander the Great.

I omit to include above in the text the names of the other sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra: Kuṇḍabhēdin, Kuṇḍadhāra, Kuṇḍaka, Kuṇḍaśāyin and Kuṇḍōdara.

[7] See p. 82, n. 70.—Christian Lassen used the edition of E. G. Willberg and wrote in vol. I, p. 113 (88), No. 2: "Ich lese mit Willberg *Gondaloi* statt *Kondaloi.*" I used C. F. A. Nobbe's edition, which contains on p. 155 Κάνδαλοι.

[8] See *Strabōnos Geōgraphika* recensuit G. Kramer, Berolini, 1852, lib. XV, 1, 26 (Casaubonus, p. 697): The *Choaspes* (Attock) runs into the Kōphes (Cabul) near the town Plēmyrion, after passing by Gōrys, another city and going through Bandobēnē and Gandarītis; and XV, 1, 30 (Casaubonus, p. 699): Some call *Gandaris* the country subject to him (the nephew of Porus).

(VI, 12, 4) and the Gandarai (VII, 1, 44) between the Suastos and Indos.[9] The same geographer names also the Korankaloi (VII, 2, 15), who lived probably near the river Gaṇḍakī, which Plinius calls Condochates in his Natural History. Omitting a number of places, which may perhaps refer to the Gaudian population and are mentioned in the work of Ptolemy, I only draw attention to Kandipatna (VII, 1, 92), Kondōta (VII, 1, 14), Konta (VII, 1, 51), Kontakossyla emporion (VII, 1, 15), Koreūr (VII, 1, 86), Korindiur (VII, 1, 89), Korunkala (VII, 1, 93), and Kōrygaza (VII, 2, 14).[10]

Explanation of the use of Gauḍa (Gaudian) as a Tribal Name.

The term Gauḍa (Gaudian) is now generally regarded as appropriate to North India, while Drāviḍa is connected with South India. Neither term is used in its widest sense, for this division, though right in a general way, ignores the fact that many Gaudian elements are found in the south, while the north contains numerous Dravidian constituents. In fact both branches of the kindred stock exist side by side throughout the land. With this restriction, the use of both terms may be admitted.

The word *Gauḍa* is a derivative of the root *kō*, mountain, and its equivalents are Gōḍa and Gōṇḍa.[11] The substitution of *r* and *l* for *ḍ* gives Gaura and Gaula, which five forms

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[9] Ptol. VI, 12, 4. "Εἶτα παρὰ τὰ Σόγδια ὄρη Ὀξυδρᾶγκαι καὶ Δρυβάκται, καὶ Κάνδαροι," and VII, 1, 44 : Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Σουάστου καὶ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ Γανδάραι."

[10] See C. Plinii Secundi *Naturalis historiæ*, lib. VI, 22 : "Ex iis navigabiles, praeter iam dictos, *Condochatem*, Eranoboam, Cosoagum, Sonum." I have not included the *Gaṇḍakī* among the rivers, as its name is generally derived from *gaṇḍaka*, rhinoceros, which are said to be found in it. I regard this etymology as doubtful.

[11] See General Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. I, pp. 327, 328 : "In Uttara Kosala they (the districts) are *Gauda* (vulgarly Gonda) to the south of the Rapti, and Kosala to the north of the Rapti. . These apparent discrepancies are satisfactorily explained when we learn that *Gauda* is only a sub-division of Uttara Kosala, and that the ruins

occur simultaneously. There is no reason for supposing that Gauḍa is an antiquated Sanskrit formation; it was originally not Sanskrit at all, though it was received in course of time into the Sanskrit vocabulary. So far from being antiquated, it is still used in popular language. The modern Gauḍas have formed themselves into a separate clan, the greater part of which dwells at present in Southern India. The chief of a village, even when the principal villagers do not belong to the Gauḍa caste, is in Mysore and its neighbouring districts now generally called the Gauḍan. It must not, however, be overlooked that in spite of this fact the term Gauḍa has a tribal meaning and was probably given to the headman of a village community in consequence of the honorable position the Gauḍas occupied in the estimation of the population. According to the last Census report 259,110 *Gauḍas* live in Mysore alone, and 4,387 in the

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of Srāvasti have actually been discovered in the district of *Gauda*, which is the Gonda of the maps. The extent of *Gauda* is also proved by the old name of Balrāmpur on the Rapti, which was formerly *Rāmgarh Gauda*."

Compare also vol. XXI, p. 13: "*Gonda* (or *Godu*) is a large flourishing village .. 13 miles from Karwi... To the east of the village, . there is a pair of old temples.. known as Chandeli Mandar, or the 'Chandeli temples,' as all the old buildings are designated throughout Bundelkhand." See further, vol. IX, p. 151: "The name of *Gond* is simply a corruption of Gauḍa. In the northern Gauḍa, or Uttara Kosala, the chief town is still named *Gauḍa*, which the Muhammadans before us corrupted to Gonda. On the finger-posts leading to the place, the Nāgarī गौड *Gauḍa* and the English *Gonda* are placed side by side. I spent several months in the Central Provinces, and I never once heard the aborigines called *Gond*, but always *Gor*. Now, as *Gauḍa* is a pure Sanskrit word, it would seem that this was not their true name, and that it must have been derived from the country in which they dwelt. This appears the more probable when we learn that they do not call themselves either *Gond* or *Gor*, but *Koïtur*. It is also strongly confirmed by the fact that there are no Gonds in the northern Gauḍa, or Uttara Kosala, and none in the eastern Gauḍa or western Bengal .. My explanation of Gauḍa as a geographical term, which gave its name to the Gond people, instead of having received it from them, is still confirmed by the fact that numerous temples which are said to have been built by the Gonds, were certainly not erected by them." Sir A. Cunningham overlooks that *Kōitur*, the name which the Gonds give to themselves, is in reality identical with Gond, see p. 145.

Bombay Presidency. I am well aware of the fact that the term *Gauḍa* has often been derived from the Sanskrit *gó*, cow; but this I take to be a wrong derivation.[12]

The name is found in fact all over India. That the terms Gauḍa and Goṇḍa are synonymous is proved by the fact that the well-known district and its capital in Oudh are known both as Goṇḍa and Gauḍa. True, the term Gond signifies now only a section of the Gaudian population, but this affects neither its etymology nor the point at issue. On the contrary the common origin of both terms explains why one can be used for the other, or both for one and the same place or individual.

It is a curious coincidence that the national division of the Indian population into Gaudians and Dravidians was

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[12] There are altogether 263,497 *Gauḍas* and 161,353 *Gauḍes* in India. About the Gauḍas see Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, second edition, vol. I, pp. 187, 207, 208, 274, 338, 340, 367, 395 and 396. On p. 187 he remarks: "The *Gauḍa*, called corruptly *Gaur*, and in the Mussulman language the *Potail*, is the chief *Ryut*, or farmer, in the village, and receives the whole dues of government. The office of *Gauḍa* was originally hereditary; but now these persons are appointed by the Amildar, and continue in place so long as they keep up the collections to their supposed value, or until some other man undertakes, by bringing a greater number of farmers, to make the revenue more productive. The *Gauḍa* settles all disputes, in the same manner as hereditary chiefs of casts do." On pp. 207, 208, stands: "The Gauḍas here (in Colār) rent the villages, and every year make a new settlement with the *Amildar*; while they receive authority to take from the cultivators as much as they legally can. Some *Gaudas* rent two or three *Grāmas*, or villages; but to each there is an hereditary *Gauḍa*, who receives the title." See p. 338: "In all this part (Belluru) of the country it has been customary, when a new village was founded, for the person appointed to be hereditary *Gauda*, or chief, to place a large stone in or near the village. This stone is called the Curuvu Callu, or calf-stone, and is considered as representing the Grāma Devaru, or god of the village. The hereditary *Gauḍa* always officiates as *Pūjari* or priest; and at the annual village feast, after having rubbed it with oil, offers a sacrifice, with which he feasts his relations and the chief men of the place." On p. 274 we read: "The proper *Curubas* have hereditary chiefs, who are called *Gaudas*, whether they be head-men of villages or not, and possess the usual jurisdiction." See also p. 380. The title Gauḍan is esteemed in Mysore. About the name *Kauṇḍar*, see p. 99. As *Gauḍa* so has *Gauli* been derived from *gō*, cow, compare p. 141. About *Gaula* see *Mysore Inscriptions* of L. Rice, pp. 20, 45, &c.

adopted by the Aryan Brahmans after they had settled in Bharatavarṣa, and like the Gaudians and Dravidians, the Gauḍa-Brahmans are mainly settled in the north, while the Drāviḍa-Brahmans preponderate in the south. I have already alluded to this classification on pp. 21 and 22.

The five divisions of the Gauḍa-Brahmans are, as previously mentioned, named respectively after the Sarasvatī-river, Kānyakubja (the modern Kanauj), Gauḍa, Utkala now known as Orissa, and Mithila.

When applied to Brahmans, many explain the term Gauḍa as describing those who lived near the celebrated ancient town of Gauḍa or Gaura, the ruins of which still excite the admiration of those who visit them. Others take Gauḍa as the kingdom of which Gaur was the capital.[13] It appears somewhat improbable that the Brahmans, who came originally from the West, should have chosen for themselves a name from a locality so far remote in the East. This supposition becomes even less likely if one considers

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[13] Instead of Karṇāṭa Kāśmīra is mentioned in the *Jātimālā*.

See H. T. Colebrooke's *Enumeration of Indian Classes* in his miscellaneous Essays, vol. II (1873), p. 159 : "In Jambu-dwípa, Bráhmaṇas are reckoned tenfold ; Sáraswata, Kányakubja, Gauḍa, Maithila, Utkala, Drávida, Mahárásh̤tra, Gujjara, and Káśmíra, residing in the several countries whence they are named."

Read *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XV, p. 39 : "The great city of *Gauda* or *Gaur*, the capital of Balāl Sen and his descendants . . is not mentioned at all by Hwen Thsang . . (p. 40) The name of the province in which Lakhnauti or Gaur was situated was *Barbanda* or *Baranda*. At the same time we know that the *Gauḍas* were a tribe, and that the Pāla Rajas took the title of *Gaureśvara*. It seems certain therefore that the western part of the province at least must have been called *Gauḍa* or *Gaur* . (p. 41) The name of *Gauḍa* or *Gaur* is, I believe, derived from *Guḍa* or *Guṛ*, the common name of molasses, or raw sugar, for which this province has always been famous. In former days when the Ganges flowed past the city, Gaur was the great mart where all the sugar of the northern districts was collected for exportation."

This derivation of Gaur is also mentioned and recommended by others, but it is still doubtful. Gaur or Lakhnauti lies in lat. 24° 52′ N., long. 88° 10′ E., in the Maldah district of Bengal.

that some of the principal Gaudian sub-divisions are named after such western districts, as Kānyakubja, or the country watered by the sacred Sarasvatī which loses itself in the deserts north of Rājputāna.[14] Some scholars even state that the Brahmans known as Gauḍa-Brahmans are not Bengalis, but inhabitants of Hindustan proper, who according to their own legends left Kānyakubja and emigrated to the East in the time of the Pāṇḍavas.[15]

According to this tradition, the Kānyakubja Brahmans migrated to the Eastern Gauḍa at an early period, but the question when the division into Gauḍa and Drāviḍa Brahmans took place, remains unanswered. Nor are we better able to decide the reason of this peculiar separation. The most probable explanation may be that the Brahmans simply adopted the division which they found existing among the original inhabitants in the midst of whom they settled. In that case we have no means of assigning an historical date to this event. If, as I suppose, the Gauda-Dravidian population existed in this dual state already in prehistoric times, it will be very difficult indeed to ascertain when the Brahmans adopted this classification in their community.

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[14] Compare H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇupurāṇa*, vol. II, p. 195, and Dr. John Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol. II, pp. 124–139: "The Sārasvata Brāhmans form the only class of natives of India now distinctly recognized as connected with the Sārasvata nation. They are found, not only in the Panjāb and Sindh, where they abound, but in Rājputāṇa, Gujarāt, the North-West Provinces, and even, as we have seen, throughout the southern provinces of India" (pp. 125, 126). H. T. Colebrooke states in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1873, vol. II, p. 21: "The Sāraswata was a nation which occupied the banks of the river Saraswatī. Brāhmaṇas, who are still distinguished by the name of their nation, inhabit chiefly the Panjāb or Panchanada, west of the river from which they take their appellation."

[15] See H. T. Colebrooke, *ibidem*, vol. II, p. 25, note 1: "It is necessary to remark, that though Gaura (Gauḍa) be the name of Bengal, yet the Brāhmaṇas, who bear that appellation, are not inhabitants of Bengal, but of Hindustān proper. They reside chiefly in the Subā of Delhi, while the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal are avowed colonists from Kanoj. It is difficult to account for this contradiction. The Gaura Brāhmaṇas allege a tradition, that their ancestors migrated in the days of the Pāṇḍavas, at the commencement of the present Kali Yuga. Though no plausible conjecture can be formed on

Yet, considering that the Dravidians gravitated in the course of time towards the south, while the Gaudians preponderated in the north, and that the Brahmanic division corresponds with this fact, we may not err in assuming that the Brahmans introduced this arrangement among themselves after the Gauda-Dravidians had thus settled down in their respective places. However, even this supposition will not supply us with accurate dates, especially as Southern India was already known as Drāviḍa at a comparatively early period.

It seems thus very improbable that the Gauḍa-Brahmans were originally called after the celebrated town *Gauḍa*, or after the kingdom of which it was the capital, especially if the true derivation of this word is from *gauḍa*, गौड, molasses (from *guḍa*), and if *Gauḍadēśa* is an equivalent of *Sugarland*, an explanation which also appears to be doubtful. The name Gauḍa applies to most Brahmans in the North, but it is also used as specifying a particular sub-division; in the same manner as Drāvida has also a general and a special sig-

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this tradition, yet I am induced to retract a conjecture formerly hazarded by me, that the Gar of our maps was the original country of the Gaura priests."

Sir Henry M. Elliot supports in his *Supplementary Glossary of Indian Terms*, London, 1869, vol. I, p. 102, the Pāṇḍava legend: "They (the Gaur Brahmans) all state that they came from Gaur in Bengal, but there is much improbability in the story. There can be little doubt of Kanaujias emigrating on the invitation of Adiswara from Kanauj to Bengal; how then can we account for the whole tribe of Gaurs not only leaving their native seats, but crossing through the country of the Kanaujias, and dwelling on the other side of them? If they emigrated in or about the time of the Pāṇḍavas, as universal local tradition would induce us to suppose, it would lead to the inference that Kanaujias are a more modern race. Gaur, moreover, was only made the Bengal capital shortly before the Mahomedan conquest, and that is too late to admit of its giving a name to one of the ten tribes."—Compare also *ibidem* the remarks made on the *Gaur tagā* on pp. 106–115.

Dr. Francis Buchanan mentions the legend of a westward Brahmanic emigration from Gaur, but disapproves of it also finally. He alludes to it twice in the third volume of his *History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India*; thus on p. 42 he writes: "One (tradition) is that

nification. From what has been already stated, the origin of this expression is to be looked for in the West, though no doubt the subsequent preponderance of the Eastern Gauḍa kings made this fact fall into oblivion. *Kuśāmba*, a grandson of Balākāśva and son of Kuśa, is the reputed founder of the well-known town Kauśāmbī, south of Ayōdhyā and north-west of the modern Allahabad. The Hitōpadēśa places it in the Gauḍa country.[16] Similarly is the city Śrāvastī described as situated in Gauḍa, while it belongs to Kōsala, likewise a part of Oudh.[17] These and many more examples can be quoted to show that the term *Gauḍa* does not apply only to the distant East. Moreover, the tradition which Colebrooke has preserved assigns to the Gauḍa-Brahmans a western home and connects their origin with the wars of the Pāṇḍavas. I am inclined to attach to this legend some value, though I quite admit that we possess no records to prove its authenticity. If deserving notice, we ought to ascribe to this division a comparatively early date, while

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Janmeyaj, son of Parikshit, son of Abhemanyu, son of Arjun, brother of Yudhishthir, and the third king of India of the family of Pandu, removed all the Brahmans from Gaur and settled them to the west of the Ganges beyond Hastinapoor, where their descendants still remain." On pp. 154-155, however, he remarks: "The few Brahmans of the Gaur nation, that are now in Bengal, have avowedly come very recently from the west of India, and the same is the case with almost all the tribes of Sudras, who claim to be of the Gaur nation, none of whom, the Vaishnavs excepted, are now to be found in Gaur. I therefore concluded, that some place called Gaur in the vicinity of Agra or Delhi, was the original country of this nation. I have, however, since met with some well-informed Brahmans of this nation who allege, that the Gaur of Bengal is their original place of settlement, but that the whole of them were removed from thence by Janmeyaj, and placed near Hastinapoor... The Sudras, however, of Gaur, having as well as the Brahmans come from the west of India, renders this emigration in the time of Janmeyaj rather doubtful."

I have proved above the existence of a western Gauḍa (Gaur.)

Read about *Gaur*, also *ibidem*, vol. III, pp. 68–80.

[16] Compare *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 34, 6; *Pāṇini*, IV, 2, 68; *Hitōpadēśa* in Mitralābha Asti Gauḍaviṣayē (Gauḍadēśē, Gauḍīyē) Kauśāmbī nāma nagarī.

[17] Compare *Vishṇupurāṇa*, vol. III, p. 263, and above p. 115 n. 11.

if the city of Gauḍa was not in existence when Ptolemy lived, it is evident that no Brahmans could have been called after it before his time. I merely call attention to this fact, though I object to the proposed derivation of the name Gauḍa-Brahman from the city of Gauḍa, whatever may have been the origin of the name of that town.

ON THE NAME KOLARIAN.

Before entering into any further particulars about the Gaudian group, it is necessary to make a few remarks on the name *Kolarian.* It has of late been repeatedly and authoritatively stated that India was in ancient times called Colaria, and that the Kols in Central India represent the real aborigines of India, to whom it is indebted for this name. To both these statements I demur, and though I admit the antiquity of the tribes which are now styled *Kolarian,* I would at once observe that the *Kōla* and *Kōli*, who are mentioned in the Epic and Pauranic Sanskrit literature, should not be confounded with the modern Kols.[18]

The Kolarian theory, if I may so call it, derives its main support from the writings of three eminent men, Colonel Wilford, Colonel Dalton, and Sir George Campbell, for whom I must needs have the greatest respect; but while recognizing their merit, I trust to be able to show that in this matter they have erred in their conclusions and built up a theory on very slender foundations. The view they maintain will be found presented in the following extracts.

According to Colonel Dalton the word Kol "is one of "the epithets of abuse applied by the Bramanical races to "the aborigines of the country who opposed their early "settlement, and it has adhered to the primitive inhabi-

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[18] *Kōli*, as it occurs, *e.g.*, in Kōlisarpāḥ.

"tants of Chota-Nagpore for ages. It includes many "tribes; the people of this province to whom it is generally "applied are, either Moondah or Oraon; and though these "races are now found in many parts of the country occupying "the same villages, cultivating the same fields, celebrating "together the same festivals, and enjoying the same amuse-"ments, they are of totally distinct origin and cannot inter-"marry without loss of caste."[19]

Sir George Campbell is the inventor of the term *Kolarian*, and I shall now quote his arguments in favor of it: "The "generic name usually applied to the Aborigines of the "hill country of Chota-Nagpore, Mirzapore, and Rewah "is 'Coles' or 'Koles.' Europeans apply the term to the "Dravidian Oraons as well as to the others, but perhaps "erroneously. It is difficult to say to which tribes the "name is properly applied, for most of them have other "distinctive names. But in the south of the Chota-Nagpore "country, about Singbhoom, &c., it is certainly applied to "the 'Lurka Coles,' and I can myself testify that on the "Mirzapore-Jubbulpore road, the Aborigines are called by the natives Coles or Kolees, which they volunteered to "explain to me to be the same word 'which you call "Coolee.' On the Bombay side again a very numerous class "of Aborigines are styled Kolees. In the Simla hills also, "the inferior people are known as Kolees. Altogether I "have myself little doubt that the ordinary word Coolee, as "applied to a bearer of burdens or labourer, is the same word, "and that in short it is the word generally applied by the "Northern Indians to the Aboriginal tribes, most of whom "they reduced to the condition of Helots. There seems to "be good reason to suppose that the original form of the

[19] See Colonel Dalton's article "The Kols of Chota-Nagpore," in the Supplement to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXXV, 1887, Part II, p. 154.

"word was 'Kola' or 'Kolar.' In fact, India seems to have "been known to the ancients (who approached it coastwise "from the West) as Colara or Coolee-land (*Asiatic Re-* "*searches*, vol. IX) and the people as Colaurians. If Kolar "be the original form of Kolee, it would seem not im- "probable that, as in the mouths of some tribes by dropping "the 'r' it becomes Kola or Kolee, so in the mouths of "others by dropping the 'l' it would become Koar, Kaur, "Koor, Khar, or Khor, a form which would embrace a "large number of those tribes as now designated. I propose "then to call the northern tribes Kolarian or Coolee "Aborigines.

"One may see frequent allusion to Kolaries or Colleries "in the south of India. It appears that the word there "used is properly 'Kallar.' In the Canarese language, the "word 'Kallar,' it seems, simply means a thief or robber, "and hence some of the predatory Aborigines of the hills, "are designated Kallars or robbers, just as the thieves of "Central Asia are called 'Kazaks' or 'Cossacks.' The word "is applied so differently from that of Coolee, that there "may fairly be doubt of its being the same. But the subject "is worthy of further inquiry, and if it prove that in fact "the two words are identical, the term Coolee or Kolarian "must be applied to the Aboriginal tribes generally, not to "one division of them. Meanwhile, however, I apply it to "the Northern tribes only, but I confess I have misgivings "whether the more general sense may not prove to be the "true one."[20]

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[20] See *The Ethnology of India*, by Mr. Justice Campbell, in the Supplement to Part II, pp. 27, 28 of vol. XXXV of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

Compare *A Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia* by W. W. Hunter; Dissertation, pp. 25–27. "Sanskrit literature refers to other sections of the Kol race under such names as Chol-as, Kul-indas, &c. . . . In the *Asiatic Society's Journal* the ancient name for India is stated to have been Kolaria, and turning to the modern map of India, we find indications of

Sir George Campbell appears thus to be rather diffident as to the propriety of his selecting the term Kolarian and his doubts are not without good cause. A perusal of the arguments of Colonel Wilford will confirm them. In the twentieth volume of the *Asiatic Journal of Bengal* was published "A comparative Essay on the Ancient Geography of India" by Colonel Wilford, in which we read on pp. 227 and 228 the following remarks: "The oldest name of "India, that we know of, is *Colar*, which prevailed till the "arrival of the followers of Brahmā, and is still preserved "by the numerous tribes of Aborigines, living among "woods, and mountains. These Aborigines are called in the

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the race in every province from Burmah to Malabar: in the Kols of Central India; Kolas of Katwar; the Kolis, inferior husbandmen and a landless clan of Gujarat; the Kolis, obscurely mentioned as helot cultivators on the Simla range; the Kolitas of Northern Bengal and Assam; the Kolami of Central India, classed with the Naikude, &c., in my vocabularies; the Kalars, a robber caste in the Tamil country; the Kalars of Tinnevelly: in the Kolis of Bombay; in the names of the Kolarun river in Southern India, of the Koel river, from the Chota Nagpore watershed, of the Culinga and Koladyn rivers, and of many other streams; in Kulna, a district in Bengal; Kulpac, in the Nizam's dominions; Kulalpur, in the Panjab; Kulan and Kola Fort, in the distant north-west; in Kulbunga, town and district, near the Bombay Presidency, within, I believe, the territory of the Nizam; and to be brief in such names as the following, scattered over the whole length and breadth of India,—names which the reader may identify in a moment by referring to Dr. Keith Johnston's index to his Map from the Royal Atlas. Kuldah, Kulkeri, Kulianpur in three different districts, Kullavakurti, Kullean, Kuller-kaher, Kulu district, Kullum, Kullung River, Kullunji, several Kullurs, Kulpani, Kulpi, Kulra, Kulsi, Kolachi, Kolapur town and state, the three Kolars, Kolaspur, Kolbarea, Koli, Kolikod (Calicut), Cola Bira, Colair, Colgong, Collum (Kayan-kulam), Colur, and Colombo in Ceylon. I would go further, and, if time permitted, could philologically prove the connection of the above with hundreds of other names and places in regular series."

I am afraid that something more than time would have been required by Sir William Hunter for proving the philological connection of the Kols with the Gaudian *Kolami*, with the Tamil *Kaḻḻar*, with *Kolikod* the modern Calicut or Kōḻi-kōḍu, with *Kulianpur* or Kalyāṇapura, not to mention many others of the above-quoted names. The Royal Atlas of Dr. Keith Johnston can hardly be regarded as an authority with respect to the spelling of Indian places.

"peninsula to this day, *Colāris* and *Colairs*, and in the "north of India *Coles*, *Coils* and *Coolies;* thus it seems, "that the radical name is *Cōla*. This appellation of "*Colar* was not unknown to the ancients; for the younger "Plutarch says, that a certain person called *Ganges*, was "the son of the *Indus* and of *Dio-Pithusa*, a *Calaurian* "damsel, who through grief, threw himself into the river "*Chliarus*, which after him was called Ganges; and *Chliarus* "is probably a mistake for *Calaurius*, or the Colarian "river. I believe, that *Dio-Pithus* is the name of the "father and *Sindhu* of the mother: for *Deva-Pithu*, or "*Deo-Pithu*, is worshipped to this day on the banks of the "*Sindhū*, a female deity. The etymology of *Cōlar* is pro-"bably out of our reach: but it is asserted by some that *Cola*, "*Coil*, or *Cail*, signify a woodlander, exactly like *Chael*, *Gāl*, "in Great Britain; and the etymological progress is the same. "In several dialects of the peninsula *Cādu*, is a forest, and "its derivative is *Cādil;* from which striking off the *d* "remains *Cail*." [21]

I come now to the passage in Plutarch's work "On Rivers," which has originated all these statements about India's ancient name *Colaria*. Plutarch gives in his work some legendary accounts of twenty-five rivers. Three among

[21] The article to which Sir George Campbell refers when quoting vol. IX of the *Asiatic Researches* is the suggestive "Essay on the Magadha Kings," by Captain F. Wilford, where on p. 92 we read: "The offspring of *Turvasu*, so far from settling in the west, is declared, in the *Harivansa*, to have settled in the southern parts of *India;* and in the tenth generation, including their *Sire*, four brothers divided the *peninsula* among themselves. Their names were *Pandya*, *Cērala*, *Cōla*, and *Chōla:* and this division obtains, even to this day. *Cōla* lived in the northern parts of the *peninsula*, and his descendants are called *Coles*, and *Collers* to this day: and they conceive themselves, with much probability, to be the aborigines of *India*, to which they give the name of *Coller* or *Colara*. Hence, we read in *Plutarch*, that the *Ganges* was called formerly the Calaurian river, and the same author mentions a Calaurian, or Hindu, and a handsome damsel, called *Diopithusa*, who was also a *Calaurian*, or native of India, or country bordering upon the *Calaurian* river."

these are Indian streams: the Hydaspes, Ganges and Indos.[22]

The Hydaspes is the first river described. Plutarch relates that a certain king Hydaspes had a daughter Chrysippe, whom Aphrodite out of spite caused to fall in love with her own father. She was for this offence crucified by the order of her father. But, these calamities so upset Hydaspes that he threw himself into the river Indos, which was henceforward called Hydaspes.

In ancient times there lived a youth called *Indos*, who had raped Damasalkida, a daughter of the king Oxyalkos, while she was celebrating the feast of Bakchos. The king, her father, pursued him, and when Indos saw all escape impossible, he plunged into the river *Mausolos* rather than expose himself to the king's vengeance. This river had been so called after *Mausolos*, a son of the Sun, but from that time it was named *Indos* which is a river in India in the country of the *Ichthyophages* or Fish-eaters.

The story of the Ganges resembles these two.[23] It is as follows:—" The Ganges is a river of India, called so for the following reason. The nymph *Kalauria* bore Indos a son of

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[22] See Plutarch Περὶ ποταμῶν or *de fluminibus*. The twenty-five rivers are the Hydaspes, Ismenos, Hebros, Ganges, Phasis, Arar, Paktolos, Lykormas, Maiandros, Marsyas, Strymon, Sagaris, Skamandros, Tanais, Thermodon, Nilos, Eurotas, Inachos, Alpheios, Euphrates, Kaikos, Acheloos, Araxes, Tigris, and Indos.

[23] See *Plutarchi Chaeronensis omnium quae extant operum* (*Tomi duo*), Gulielmo Xylandro interprete, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1624. At the end of the second volume is printed: " Πλουταρχου περι πθταμων και ορων επωνυμιας και των εν αυτοις ευρισκομενων.—Plutarchi de Fluviorum et Montium nominibus, et de iis quae in illis inveniuntur, interprete *Philippo Jacobo Maussaco*." There we read in vol. II, pp. 1151, 1152:

Γάγγης ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Ἰνδίας, τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβὼν δι' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Ἰνδῷ τὶς Καλαυρία νύμφη ἐγγέννησεν υἱὸν κάλλει περίβλεπτον, τὸ ὄνομα Γάγγην. Οὗτος καρηβαρήσας τῇ μητρὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν συνεγγένετο τῃ Διοπιθούσῃ, ὁ δὲ μεθ' ἡμέρας παρὰ τῆς τροφοῦ μαθῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, διὰ λύπης ὑπερβολὴν ἑαυτὸν ἔῤῥιψεν εἰς ποταμὸν Χλιαρὸν καλούμενον, ὃς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Γάγγης μετωνομάσθη. Maussacus translates this passage as follows: "Ganges fluvius est Indiae, ita vocatus hac de causa: Ex Indo Calauria quaedam virgo genuit filium pulchritudine conspicuum nomine Gangem: qui somno vinoque sepultus cum matre Diopi-

conspicuous beauty, by name *Ganges*, who, when inebriated, had once in ignorance connection with his mother. But when he had learnt on a subsequent day the truth from his nurse, he threw himself through excess of remorse into the river *Chliaros*, which was called after him Ganges." The ancient edition of Plutarch, which was published by Xylander at Paris in 1624, contains in an Appendix at the end, the treatise *On Rivers.* It was edited, translated and annotated by Phil. Jacob. Maussacus. In its text occurs instead of the correct reading δ'ἐπιούσῃ the false expression Διοπιθούσῃ which Maussacus mistook for a name, though his predecessors the learned Natalis a Comitibus and Turnebus had already doubted the accuracy of the text, as Maussacus himself mentioned in a note which is quoted below. Colonel Wilford unfortunately accepted the wrong reading and built on it a new theory. According to Plutarch, so says the Colonel, *Diopithuse* was a Calaurian damsel, but Wilford himself further changes Diopithuse into a man *Dio-Pithus* (for Deva-Pithu or Deo-Pithu), and declares

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thuse concubuit per inscitiam, sed interdiu cum a nutrice rei veritatem didicisset, ob dolorem extremum seipsum coniecit in fluvium Chliarum, qui ab eo Gangis nomen assumpsit."

However, in the 5th volume of Πλουταρχου 'Αποσπασματα και Ψευδεπιγραφα edited by Fr. Dübner, Paris, 1855, and in the edition of *Plutarchi Libellus de fluviis*, rec. et notis instr. Rud. Hercher, Lipsiae, 1857, we read: Γάγγης ποταμός ἐστι τῆς 'Ινδίας . . . Οὗτος καρηβαρήσας τῇ μητρὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν συνεγγένετο. Τῇ δ'ἐπιούσῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν παρὰ τῆς τροφοῦ μαθῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν . ἑαυτὸν ἔῤῥιψεν εἰς ποταμὸν Χλιαρόν . . .

We read already on p. 72 in the Appendix to the edition of Maussacus entitled; Plutarchi librorum Περὶ ποταμῶν Philippi Jac. Maussaci emendationes et notae: "Mirum est hoc nomen proprium Diopithusae nostros interpretes exercitos habuisse. Natalis a Comitibus sicco pede haec transivit, quae tamen fida interpretatione opus habebant. Magnus Turnebus tanta est usus circumlocutione in vero hoc nomine explicando, ut plane eum ab scopo aberasse nemo bonus negare audeat; *qui per ebrietatem* (inquit) *inscienter matrem, divorum quempiam esse existimantem, cognovit.* Ut concedamus Διοπιθούσῃ hic non esse nomen proprium tamen Graecis non convenit haec interpretatione Latina, vertendum enim esset simpliciter, *Jovem eum esse credentem*, sed hoc est nugari. Διοπιθούσῃ nomen verum est Diopithusae."

Colar as the oldest name of India we know of. That theory, however, must now be abandoned, and with the disappearance of *Diopithuse* from the pages of Plutarch, the whole edifice of conjecture so ingeniously raised on the supposed occurrence of this name, must fall to the ground; there being absolutely nothing to support the assumption that India was known in the earliest times as the Kolarian Empire.

Sir George Campbell supported Colonel Wilford by stating that India "seems to have been known to the ancients as Colara or Coolee Land and the people as Colaurians" and by eventually advocating the name Colee or Kolarian for the aboriginal tribes of India. I need not specially mention that the dictionary of Greek proper names, compiled by Dr. W. Pape, does not contain *Diopithuse* as a name, though it refers to the nymph Kalauria and the river Chliaros.[24]

I had here in Madras at my disposal only the antiquated edition of Xylander printed by Antonius Stephanus, in which the reading *Diopithuse* occurs. Though doubting its accuracy from the first, I was not prepared to emendate the text, for besides my own conviction and the note of Maussacus, I had no evidence to go upon. Later on, however, I consulted Dr. Pape's excellent Dictionary of Greek names and the fact that it makes no mention of Diopithuse confirmed my suspicions. To ascertain the truth, I eventually wrote to

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[24] The *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* von Dr. W. Pape gives *Kalauria* as the name of a nymph, *e.g.* on p. 235 (third edition) "Ganges,—[3]) S.-des Indos u.-der Kalauria, welcher sich in den Chliaros stürzte, wovon dieser den Namen Ganges erhielt, *Plut. fluv.* 4, 1;" and on p. 596 under Kalauria: "[3] Nymphe, Gem. des Indos, M. des Ganges, *Plut. fluv.* 4, 1."

Kalauria or *Kalaureia* is the well-known island with the famous temple of Poseidon, which opened a safe asylum to all pursued. Demosthenes when hunted down by the Macedonians, poisoned himself in it. The island was called after *Kalauros*, a son of Poseidon. Kalauria belonged originally to Apollo who had exchanged it with Poseidon for Delos. Poseidon is therefore also called *Kalaureates*, Kalauria in contradistinction to Kalabria is sometimos explained as "land of peace" and Kalauros as "peaceful" (Frederic).

friends in Europe who kindly supplied me with the right reading δ'ἐπιούσῃ instead of Διοπιθούσῃ.

It may also be added that, according to Plutarch, all the rivers on which he comments have changed their original names in order to bear the one by which they were afterwards generally known. Plutarch refers occasionally to previous authors to verify his accounts, *e.g.*, to Kallisthenes, Kaimarōn, Kleitophōn, Aristoteles, and others, but even if most of the works he quotes had not been lost, it is doubtful whether he could have substantiated his statements. The stories about the Hydaspes and Indos are so un-Indian and so mythical that it is hardly necessary to try to explain the report concerning the Ganges. Even if the term *Kalauria* were an adjective derived from a proper name, and Chliaros were a mistake for Kalaurios, there is nothing to prove that *Kalauria* should be identical with Indian, not to speak of the boldness of deriving from it *Colar* or *Colara* as a term designating India in ancient times; a term and a signification which occur nowhere in the whole classical literature. I am quite convinced that *Kalauria* has nothing to do with the Kols of Chota-Nagpore, though I am not prepared to venture a decided conjecture as to the origin of the word Kalauria used by Plutarch.[25]

It is perhaps a mere accident that the *Yamunā* which joins the Gaṅgā or Ganges at Prayāga (Pratiṣṭhāna, the modern Allahabad) is called Kālindī, the daughter of *Kalinda*, for she springs from the mountain Kalinda, or is accord-

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[25] Herodotos mentions III, 38 and 97, the Indian *Kalatiai* or *Kalantiai* who ate their parents. The Brahman *Kalanos* (Kalyāṇa) who accompanied Alexander the Great is well known for burning himself alive. I only mention these names as they resemble somewhat *Kalauria*. I need hardly add that the Greek word κάλαρις, which is commonly pronounced κόλαρις, a kind of screech-owl, has nothing in common with this subject.

To declare *Colara* as a name of India, though such never existed, and to derive it from the nymph Kalauria on the authority of the younger Plutarch's mythical account of the river Ganges appears like a pun, or like what a Berliner would call a *Kalauer*.

ing to others a daughter of the Sun-god Kalinda who is in consequence known as *Kālindīsū*, the father of Yamunā, while the god *Yama* is called *Kālindīsōdara*, the brother of Yamunā. I mention this circumstance as Plutarch gives to Indos the name of Mausolos after Mausolos, the son of the Sun.

Another peculiar coincidence is that the *Kālī* or Black Gaṅgā, which is also known as *Mandākinī*, has in its upper course some famous warm springs and that *Chliaros* in Greek means lukewarm. A second Mandākinī rises on the *Kālañjara* mountain, on whose top the lake of the gods is situated.

It is somewhat astonishing that Colonel Wilford without giving any reasons explained Chliaros as a mistake for *Calaurius*. He could as well have conjectured *Chliara* for Kalauria. All editions, however, of Plutarch, the modern emendated as well as the old antiquated, read Kalauria and Chliaros as proper-names.[26]

The ancient inhabitants of the country round Mathura in North India are also called Kalārs, but this name has not yet been explained and has presumably no connection with the *Kalauria nymphe* of Plutarch.

Modern writers have often identified the Kolis and the Kolarees or Colleries of South India with the Kols. It is a peculiar circumstance that, except by the *Hos* or Larka-Kols, the term Kol is not used by the so-called Kolarians, who include the Mundas, Santals, Korwas, Juangs, and a few other tribes.[27] The Kolis are, according to my opinion, Gaudians, and must be distinguished from those races now

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[26] For *Kālindī* occurs also *Kalindī*, a wrong formation. Balarāma is also called *Kālindī-Karṣaṇa*, or *Kālindī-bhēdana* for diverting the Yamunā by his ploughshare into a new bed in the Vṛndāvana-forest. *Mandākinī* is also the name of the Gaṅgā of the heavens. About this river see Chr. Lassen's *Indische Alterth.*, vol. I, pp. 64-66, where this question is fully discussed.

[27] See Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 178: "The Hos are the only branch of the Kols that has preserved a national appellation." *Larka* means fighter. About the *Kolarians* consult Mr. J. F. Hewitt's "Notes on the early History of Northern India," in the *Journal of the R. A. Society*, vol. XX, pp. 321–363.

generally described as Kols. Besides, our knowledge of this people is still very limited, and it would be venturesome to make decided statements as to their origin. Though differing from the Gauda-Dravidians in language, which must be regarded as a very important test, they nevertheless intermarry occasionally with them, a circumstance which on the other hand tends to indicate some intimate connection between them.

The word *Kūli* is a common Gauda-Dravidian term which signifies *hire*, and is eventually also applied to the person who is hired. A hireling or servant is thus called a *Kūli*. The name Kol is a totally distinct word. The now common term Kūli started from the Eastern coast of India, where the principal English factories such as Madras were situated, and whence in course of time the English commenced to lay the foundation of their Indian Empire in the days of Clive.[28]

The Kolarees or Colleries represent the well-known Kaḷḷas, the dreaded thief tribe, who are mostly dependents of

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[28] Compare Wilson's Glossary, p. 301: "Kūli, Coolee, (Tam. கூலி, Mal. കൂലി., Kan. ಕೂಲಿ, Tel. కూలి, Beng. कूली, Hind. قلی), Daily hire or wages: a day labourer, a *Cooly*: (the word is originally Tamil, whence it spread into the other languages: in Upper India it bears only its second and apparently subsidiary meaning: it appears as *Culialu*, as the term for hired labourers, in Tulava—Buchanan.)" Kūliyāḷu is one of the Kanarese terms for hireling like the Telugu *Kūligāḍu*.

In Colonel Yule's and Dr. Burnell's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases*, p. 192, an attempt is made to derive the term *Kūli* from *Koli*, but it is notwithstanding admitted: "Though this explanation of the general use of the term *Cooly* (from *Koli*) is the most probable, the matter is perplexed by other facts which it is difficult to trace to the same origin. Thus in S. India, there is a Tamil word *kūli* in common use, signifying 'hire' or 'wages,' which Wilson indeed regards as the true origin of *Cooly*. Also in both Oriental and Osmanli Turkish *Kol* is a word for a slave, whilst in the latter also *Kūleh* means 'a male slave, a bondsman' (*Redhouse*). *Khol* is in Tibetan also a word for servant or slave (Note from A. Schiefner). The familiar use of *Cooly* has extended to the Straits Settlements, Java and China, as well as to all tropical and sub-tropical colonies, whether English or foreign."

the Rāja of Pudukōṭa. A single individual of this clan is called a *Kaḻḻan*, of which word *Kaḻḻar* is the plural.[29]

Enough has been already adduced to prove that the *Kalauria nymphe* of Plutarch does not refer to an ancient name of India, that the so-called *Colaria* is a purely imaginary appellation, based in part on a badly pronounced and distorted plural formation of the name of the Kaḻḻar, or on *Kolarees*, and that, though the term Kolarian may be still applied to the Kol race, it must be clearly understood that all the wild philological vagaries concerning the origin and antiquity of this expression ought to be abandoned. Yet, the history of the fictitious term *Colaria* provides us on the other hand with an instructive example how by a concatenation of conjectures and conclusions a new theory can be successfully started and find acceptance among scholars of reputation. It has thus now become a fashion to ascribe all ancient monuments with which the Kolis, Kōlas and other kindred tribes can be connected with the so-called Kolarians, whose original home and early history are shrouded in mysterious darkness, who, if we can trust reliable information, do not even use the term *Kol* as a tribal name, and who, so far as it is known, do not claim as their own the scattered remains in Northern India, which modern writers are so fond of ascribing to them.

I now proceed to discuss in detail the principal tribes whom I regard as representatives of the Gaudian race. The linguistic and ethnological connection of these clans has in most instances been generally admitted by competent scholars, yet, their close relationship has, so far as I am aware, not hitherto been so distinctly stated.

I shall begin with the Kolis, Kōlas, and tribes kindred, pass on to the Gonds and their clansmen, then notice the

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[29] It is doubtful whether *Kaḻḻan* meant originally a thief, or simply a man of the *Kaḻḻan* tribe who, excelling in thieving accomplishments, imparted to his tribal name the meaning of thief. I recur to this subject on pp. 257—60.

Koḍagas, Koṛagas, afterwards consider the position of the Todas and Kōtas, and end with a survey of the Kuṟubas or Kuṟumbas in their various ramifications.

CHAPTER VIII.

On the Kolis (Kulis), Kōlas.

The Kolis and Kōlas have already been mentioned in the previous chapter. Sanskrit works contain their name in connection generally with Pāṇḍya, Kērala and Cōla, the sons of Akrīḍa and descendants of Dusyanta. The term *Kōli* occurs in Kōlisarpāḥ, instead of which the manuscript used by M. Langlois contained probably *Kōlāḥ Sarpāḥ* or *Kōlasarpāḥ*, as he translates the passage by : " les Colas, les Sarpas." The Kōlis appear likewise in Sanskrit inscriptions. The name of the Kōlas can be traced in that of the country *Kōlañca*, which has, according to the Śabdaratnāvali, Kānyakubja as its capital, or which, according to Horace Hayman Wilson, is identical with Kaliṅga.

The word Kōla forms also part of Sanskrit names of various peoples, plants, countries and mountains, as of Kōlagiri, Kōllagiri, Kōlāhala, Kōllaka and Kōlvagiri, &c. We meet it even in South-Indian names of places, *e.g.*, in Kōlam, Kōlanāḍu, Kōlattanāḍu and others.

I regard the name *Cōla* or *Cōḍa* (in Telugu and Kanarese *Cōḷa*, and in Tamil and Malayālam *Cōḻa*) as a modification of the word *Kōla*. It is a remarkable historical fact that the Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas were as a rule rival kings who fought continually against each other. With the various formations of the terms Kōla, Cōla, and Cōḍa may be compared those of Kēra, Cēra and Cēḍa. The expressions Cēra and Koṅgu are occasionally used identically.

The first syllable *ko* in Kōla and Koli indicates the mountain home, while the second syllable *la* or *li* intimates

the particular tribal distinction. The interchange between *l* and *r* produces *Kori* (Kohri) as a variation of Koli.[30]

The Kolis and Kōlas, as has already been pointed out, should be distinguished from the so-called Kolarian Kols. In consequence of the near relation of the Kolis to the Bhīls and Gonds, hardly any doubt can be entertained about their belonging to the Gaudian branch of the Gauda-Dravidians. The establishment of this ancient kinship is an important fact. It severs the connection between the Kolis

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[30] *Kōlañca* means originally a country adjoining *Kōla*. The late Mr. C. P. Brown explained *Kōladēśamu*, కోలదేశము, as the long country, which interpretation is obviously erroneous when applied to the Sanskrit word *Kōla*.

Kōlagiri is a mountain in Southern India. The commentator Mallinātha is surnamed Kōlagiri. The *Sabhāparva* says in ślōka 1171 : "Kṛtsnam Kōlagirim caiva Surabhīpattanam tathā." The Kōllagiri occurs in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV, 13 :

Karṇāṭa-Mahāṭavi-Citrakūṭa-Nāsikya-Kōllagiri-Cōlāḥ
Krauñcadvīpa-Jaṭādhara-Kāvēryō-Riṣyamūkaśca.

The Kaullagirēyas fought according to the Aśvamēdha with Arjuna :

Arcitaḥ prayayau bhūmau dakṣiṇam salilārṇavaṁ
Tatrāpi Drāviḍair Āndhrair Audrair Māhiṣakair api.
Tathā Kaullagirēyaiśca yuddham āsīt Kirītinaḥ.

About *Kōlāhala* compare General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. VIII, pp. 123, 125.

Compare what is said about the town *Kollagira* in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XIV, p. 23, note 22: "it appears that Kollagira was another name of Kollāpura or Kōlhāpur." See *ibidem*, vol. III, pp. 209, 210 in the article "The Geography of Ibn Batuta's Indian Travels," by Col. H. Yule: "The Koïl prince must be the *Kola-tīri* or Cherakal Rāja, whose kingdom was called *Kola-nāda*." About *Kolatta-nāḍu*, the district about Tellicherry, see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, pp. 115, 146. Compare also Dr. Gundert's *Malayalam and English Dictionary*, p. 318, under *Kōlam*: "4. North Malabar, subject to Kōlattiri or Kōlaswarūpam."

About the Cēra or Koṅgu kings confer among others the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, pp. 155, 271 ; vol. V, pp. 133-140 ; vol. VI, pp. 99-103.

About the change of the *l* into *r* in words like *Koli* compare General Sir A. Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XI, p. 101 : "I paid a visit to the old site of *Koron*, or *Korāwa-dih*, because the people agreed in stating that the old name of the place was *Kolpur*, which I thought might perhaps be connected with the old city of *Koli*, the birth-place of Māyādevi. But . . the position of *Korondih* . . . is much too distant to be identified with that of *Koli*." Compare also the late Mr. John A. C. Boswell's *Manual of the Nellore District*, p. 157 : "The Yerukalas in this district state that their tribe name in their own language is *Kurru*, also *Kola*."

and Kols, which is still occasionally asserted to exist and to which I have repeatedly alluded.

The Kolis appear originally as mountaineers, but afterwards descending to the plains, some settled down as agriculturists, while many others selecting the seashore became fishermen and sailors.[31]

The Koli mountaineers were not long ago the guardians of the hill-passes, especially of those in the Ajanta range and in the Western Ghats. Their ancient position as lords of the mountains is to this day certified by the fact that the

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[31] See C. Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, p. 137 (or 108): "*Bhilla* sitzen hier noch in dem Gränzgebirge nach Mâlva, Râjputâna und südlicher; ein grosser Theil der Bevölkerung besteht aus einem andern ursprünglich ähnlichen Volke, den Kuli (*Kōla*), welches aber Brahmanische Sitten dem grössern Theile nach angenommen hat." Compare further Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, pp. 307–316.

Sir George Campbell remarks in his *Ethnology of India* about the Koolees on pp. 42–45 as follows: "I find, however, that the opinion of those qualified to judge seems to tend to the belief that there is no essential difference between the two tribes (the Koolees and Bheels). Forbes in his Ras Mala says. 'Koolees or Bheels, for though the former would resent the classification, the distinctions between them need not be here noticed.' Captain Probyn says: 'I think there is no actual difference between Koolees and Bheels. Their religion is the same.' Mr. Ashburner: 'There is no real difference between Bheels and Koolees; their habits, physiognomy and mode of life are the same, modified by local circumstances.' And the Rev. Mr. Dunlop Moore says: 'Koolees frequently marry Bheel wives.' Other authorities, however, say that they do not intermarry. They both seem to claim a northern and not a southern origin, pointing to the hills of Rajpootana and the north of Goozerat. The Bheels say that they were originally called Kaiyos; Sir John Malcolm says that they are related to the Meenas of Rajpootana, and once ruled in the Jeypore country. Forbes again tells us that the Koolees were originally called Mairs, while in Rajpootana, Col. Tod speaks of Mairs or Meenas as one race . . . Though probably in the main of the same class and similar origin, the Koolees and Bheels are now quite distinct tribes, and there is this considerable difference that the Koolees have come much more into contact with Aryan blood civilization . . . The Koolees are the Aborigines of Goozerat (where they now live in considerable number), and of the hills adjoining that Province. The hills east of Goozerat are called 'Kolwan' and seem to be the property of Koolee tribes . . . The Bheels are the proper possessors of the hills farther in the interior and east of the Koolees . . . The Koolees seem to be scattered down the Coast country nearly as far as Goa, and north again into the 'Thurr' and the neighbourhood of Scinde. While the wilder Koolees of the hills are like the Bheels,

famous sanctuary at Mahābalēśvara is under the hereditary wardenship of Kolis.

Many shrines throughout India are associated with the lowest classes of the population, as we have seen, when speaking of the temples at Mēlkōṭa, Puri and Trevandrum. The sanctuary at Mahābalēśvara over a spring which is supposed to be the source of the Krishṇa, though said to have been founded by a Sattara Brahman, named Anagada, is under the hereditary superintendence of a Koli family, and the chief official in charge is a Koli. Such a Koli is called Gaṅgāputra, and whatever offerings a worshipper makes after bathing form the perquisite of the Kolis and are taken by them. "At the temple of Mahābalēśvara also," thus writes the Hon. Viśvanāth Nārāyan Mandlick, "the Kolis "hold a hereditary position, and the Guravas, who worship "the *Linga* in that temple, appear more closely allied to the "hill tribes than to the inhabitants of the plains; they (*i.e.*, "the *Guravas*) have, however, no connection with the shrine "of the Krishṇá, where the Kolis alone are the principal

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the mass of more civilised Koolees are said to be not only fairer and more Caucasian in feature, but also more sly and cunning and less truthful . . The wilder tribes of the race are still predatory, and Forbes mentions the Koolees as by far the most numerous of the arm-bearing castes who in former days, living in the hills between Goozerat and Rajpootana, disturbed the country. He describes them as of diminutive stature, with eyes which bore an expression of liveliness and cunning, clothes few, arms bows and arrows, habits swift and active, bold in assault, but rapid in flying to the jungles, independent in spirit, robbers, averse to industry, addicted to drunkenness, and quarrelsome when intoxicated; formidable in anarchy, but incapable of uniting among themselves. This description seems exceedingly well to apply to the wild Bheels of modern days, whom indeed Forbes classes with the Koolees . . . Lassen in his map places Koolees (Kolas he calls them) in the centre of Kattywar . . . The Kolees of the Simla hills and Domes of Kumaon are merely inferior castes living among the general population."

Compare the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, Bombay 1884, p. 280: "The Kolis belong to the aborigines, and are of low but respectable caste. They are divided into the Kolis of the hilly countries, and the Kolis of the plains. They are also arranged in separate tribes, and were formerly very troublesome. Several tribes of Kolis guarded the passes of the Ajanta range under their own Náiks, while others attached themselves to the Bhils; but the majority have long settled down to peaceful callings, and the land-holding Kolis

"officers in charge."[32] The origin of the famous Mahābalēśvara temple is ascribed to the Paulastya Rāvaṇa. He compelled Śiva, so runs the tradition, by his severe penance on the mountain Kailāsa, to surrender to him his *Prāṇa Liṅga.* The terrified gods tried every means to regain it, but their attempts were fruitless. At last Viṣṇu raised his *Cakra* to prevent the sun-rays from descending to the earth, and Rāvaṇa, who was then at Gōkarṇa, believing that the sun was setting prepared to perform his Sandhyāvandanam. But the *Prāṇa Liṅga,* which he carried in his hand, prevented him from performing properly his worship. He, therefore, requested *Gaṇapati* to take temporary charge of the Liṅga. The god assented, but pretending that the Liṅga was too heavy placed it on the ground. Once there, it remained fixed in spite of all the attempts of the Rākṣasa to remove it. When trying for the fifth time he cried as his strength was failing: "*O Mahābala,*" O great power! which expression is said to have given the name to the place.[33]

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deny all affinity with those of the hills. In the village establishment, the Koli is most generally associated with the occupation of a water-carrier, and the Kunbi drinks water from his hands. He is known by his *chumli*, or twisted cloth which he wears on his head in order to rest the waterpot; but he is often a good farmer, or is engaged as a musician, handicraftsman, weaver, palanquin bearer, fisher, labourer . . . They use meat, drink spirits, bury their dead, worship Khandobá, Bairobá, and Bhaváni, and employ Bráhmans for religious ceremonies, but have also priests of their own." See *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions*, compiled by Syed Hossain Bilgrami, B.A., and C. Willmott, Bombay, 1883, vol. I, p. 310: "At one time they (the Kolis) acted as guards in the hill passes on the northern frontier and in the Ajanta hills; there is a tribe of Kolis who had charge of the Ghaut passes." The Kambali Kuṟumbas make and wear chamlis (kambalis) in the same manner; see p. 229, n. 107.

I agree with Sir George Campbell so far as their relationship with the Bhils is concerned, the latter I have proved to be Dravidians, see pp. 19, 79-85.

32 See "The Shrine of the River Krishnā at the Village of Mahábaléśvara," by Ráo Sáheb Vishvanáth Nárayan Mandlick in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. IX, pp. 250-261.

33 See *ibidem*, pp. 257, 258. Compare also *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. VIII, pp. 143, 144, about Rāvaṇa's connection with the liṅga of "Mahadeo Rāvaṇeśvara."

The connection of the ancient hill tribes with many celebrated Indian shrines is also admitted by the Hon. Viśvanāth Nārāyan Mandlick. "The above tradition of Gokarṇa," he says, "points out to the origin of these places of Liṅga worship "by the influence of, if not amongst, the wild tribes of the "mountains of whom Rāvaṇa is a fair representative. The "actual position of the Kolis at the temples of the Krishṇā "and also at Mahābaleśvara, appears to confirm the above "conclusion. The serpent is connected with both these "temples, and from the *Liṅga* temples he seems to be quite "inseparable. In the latter he is represented as being coiled "round the *Liṅga*, while in the temple of the Krishṇā, a living "one is supposed to be guarding its sources." [34]

The most accurate description of the Kolis has been written by Captain A. Macintosh, to whose account we owe, in fact, the greater part of our information about these people. Yet, he is compelled to admit: "We cannot "expect to glean much authentic information of an historical "description from an ignorant and unlettered people like the "Kolis. The few traditions they possess relative to their first "settlement in their present locations and of subsequent

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Read also Dr. Fr. Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, second edition, vol. II, p. 316. "*Gaukarna*, or the cow's horn (?), is a place of great note among the Brahmans, owing to a celebrated image of *Siva* called *Mahabaleswara*. The image is said to have been brought from the mountain *Coila* by *Ravana*, king of *Lanca*. He wished to carry it to his capital; but having put it down here, the idol oecame fixed in the place, where it stands to this day."

[34] The Kanara people regard *Gōkarṇa* as holier than Benares; for they say:

Gōkarṇam ca mahākāśī viśvanātho mahābalaḥ
Kōtitīrtham ca Gaṅgāyāḥ sāmudram adhikam phalam ;"

according to the *Journal of the Bombay Royal Asiatic*, vol. IX, p. 258. Compare in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, pp. 247, 248, Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha's account of the legend concerning the liṅga of *Wālukeśvara*, the present Malabar Hill, with which liṅga the Kolis seem also to be connected: "The Kolis, who, as will be shown hereafter, were the original inhabitants of Bombay, pay special devotion to this *liṅga* . . . . (their) principal quarter in the whole Koṅkan, I suppose, is Kūlāba."

"events until within the last century appear to be involved in "much obscurity and confusion." The late Mr. Alexander Kinloch Forbes mentions in his *Rās Mālā* the legendary descent of the Kolis from Yuvanāśva, the father of Māndhātṛ.[35]

Captain Macintosh repeatedly mentions in his *Account* the great veneration in which the Kolis hold the well-known

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[35] See "An Account of the Tribe of the Mhadeo Kolies," by Captain A. Macintosh, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. V., pp. 71-112, 238-279; compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, p. 154; vol. III, pp. 76, 77, 126, 127, 186-196, 222, 224, 227, 228, 248; vol. V, p. 8, and Sir G. Campbell's *Ethnology of India* in the Appendix to vol. XXXV, of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, pp. 46, 53, 123, 125.

In the *Rās Mālā*, London, 1878, pp. 78-79, we read: "A similar fabulous descent is given to the Koolees from Youwanāshwa, the father of Māndhāta Raja. Their ancestor, Koolee, was brought up by a sage in the forest, and always led a jungle life, whence it happened, as the bard says, that his descendants, though in the towns they are of little importance, are *lions in the jungle.* The Koolees lived for a long time on the sea-shore, in the neighbourhood of the Indus, but they were removed to the country about the Null by the goddess Hinglāz, and brought with them the earth-nut called 'beerd,' which even in famine does not fail. They were called at this time Mairs, as well as Koolees, and Sonung Mair was their leader. He left twelve sons, each of whom became the head of a clan . . . In these times, says the bard, there was not so great a population in Goozerat, but there was much forest, and the Bheels and Koolees lived in security. They were doubtless then, as now, hereditary and professional plunderers, 'soldiers of the night,' as they describe themselves. Raja Kurun Solunkee is the first ruler of Goozerat on record who devoted his attention to putting a curb upon these wild tribes."

Captain Macintosh derived the term *Kūli* from the Koli tribe. He writes in a note on p. 71: "On a former occasion, I ventured to derive the term *Cooly*, applied by us to porters, labourers or persons who work for hire, in the following manner—as the fishermen, boatmen, and many of the common labourers, at Bombay, and along the coast, are Kolies, the term *Cooly* may have originated among the English at Bombay. A passenger coming ashore, when a ship arrived from Europe, might have wished to give a box or package in charge to a native (probably a person of rank or caste); he would say, or a servant in attendance might say, that he would fetch a Koly, or a certain number of Kolies, to take 'master's baggage' to the shore. Thus the term would have become familiar, and, in the course of time, would be indiscriminately applied to all porters or labourers, and soon have spread among the few English settled in India in those days."

In the above-mentioned *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases* is on p. 192 the expression *Cooly* also connected with the Kolis: "The origin of the word appears to have been a *nomen gentile*, the name (*Kolī*) of a race or caste in Western India, who have long performed such offices as have been mentioned . . According to Dr. H. V. Carter, the *Kolīs*

Khaṇḍōbā, whom I consider as a national deity of the Gaudian Khands.[36]

The Kolis have among them a tradition, according to which they are the descendants of the famous Vālmīki, the poet of the Rāmāyaṇa. It may be that the similarity of the profession embraced by Vālmīki—previously to his becoming a poet—and by the Kolis, has something to do with this belief. Both are celebrated as robbers.[37]

According to the last census report, the Kolis number 2,488,372 souls: 1,669,302 live in Bombay, 429,688 in Baroda, 213,966 in Hyderabad, and 123,171 in the Punjab, &c.[38]

The *Kohlis* in Bhandāra and Chanda, who are agriculturists, have a distinct Gond type, and have retained many Gond customs.[39]

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proper are a true hill-people whose especial locality lies in the Western Ghâts, and in the northern extension of that range, between 18° and 24° N. latitude." I have referred on p. 131, n. 28, to another passage of this article in the *Glossary*.

I have already on p. 131 declared myself against this explanation. Though it is a matter of minor importance, I may observe as an additional proof that the tribal name is always pronounced *Koli*, and not *Kūli*.

[36] See *ibidem*, p. 106: "The Kolies pay their adorations to all the Hindoo deities, but their chief object of worship is Khundy-row, commonly called Khundobah."

[37] See *ibidem*, p. 82: "One of the descendants of Neeshad and a female shoodur, were the parents of the Poolkuss; and a male of the Neeshad lineage and a female of the Poolkuss family, were the parents of the Koly. He was to subsist, by killing whatever animals he encountered in the jungles and forests. It may further be stated, that the Kolies say that they are the descendants of Valmik, the distinguished author of the Ramayan, who, although of Brahman parentage, and born at Veer Walla, twenty-four miles south-east of Poona, it is said, followed the life of a Koly." About the Koolees or Bheels see Sir G. Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p. 46.

[38] According to the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, p. 233, the late Rev. Dr. John Wilson derived the name of the Kolis from the Sanskrit word *kula*, a clan. I need not dilate on the groundlessness of this etymology. Compare p. 133.

[39] See Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, p. 109: "They have a remarkable faculty for selecting the best sites for irrigation reservoirs; and to possess a large tank is their highest ambition. On the lands watered by these tanks they cultivate sugar-cane and rice."

I believe that the *Koris* (Kohris) are of the same extraction as the Kolis. The former are said to have emigrated from Benares, in the train of a Bhonsla prince of the Chandah branch.[40] I am also inclined to connect the *Koiris* of Bengal with both these tribes.[41]

Whether there exists any connection between the Kolis and the Gaulis is doubtful. As was the case with *Gauḍa*, so also is the term *Gauli* differently interpreted. Some derive the name *Gauli* from the Sanskrit word *go*, cow, and explain *Gauli* to signify cowherd, others connect it with *Koli*. It is even possible that both derivations are right, and that the term *Gauli* represents originally two different, but equal-sounding words; one being derived from *Koli* and the other from *gō*. In the first case it has an ethnological and in the other a professional meaning. To those Gaulis who are cowmen both terms are

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[40] See *ibidem*, pp. 107, 108: "They produce sugar-cane in large quantities, the production of which is chiefly in their hands. The tribe has distinguished itself for its great enterprise and energy in the excavation of noble tanks and in the formation of numerous embankments." According to the census of 1881, the Koris amount to 946,851, 843,422 of whom are found in the North-Western Provinces, 48,826 in the Central Provinces, and 43,565 in Bengal. Compare Mr. Charles Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, pp. 61, 137, 181, 194 and 438 on the Koris (Kohris).

[41] Compare Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of India*, pp. 320, 321: "In some districts the Koiris appear to be more numerous than the Kūrmis. The distinction between them is, that the former are generally market gardeners as well as agriculturists. Buchanan estimated that there were 30,000 families of Koiris in the Shāhābād District, and 45,000 families in Bihār. . . . . A learned pandit informs me that the derivation of the name is *ku*, earth, and *ari*, enemy. They are so called from their constant attacks on the soil. Koiris, men and women, are always troubling it. . . Every three years they make offerings on a hill known as the Marang Būru of the Kols, the god that is invoked by the aborigines, especially when rain does not fall in due season." See also Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, pp. 325, 326: "These (the Koerīs) and the Kumbhis are the great agricultural classes of these provinces. . . The Koerīs and Kumbhis are agriculturists by profession. . . The Koerīs are the principal growers of poppy, and producers of opium, both in Benares and Behar. . . The Koerīs are numerous in the district of Jhānsī, where they pursue the occupation of weaving. Their tradition is, that they came from Benares about seven hundred years ago." The census report of 1881 mentions 3,067 Koeris in Assam and 1,204,884 Koeris in Bengal. Rev. Sir G. Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p. 107.

applicable. The Mahadeo Kolis assert that their ancestors subdued the Gaulis, and to these are also ascribed most of the earlier graves. The Gauli chiefs, according to tradition, ruled in the Central Provinces long before the Gond Rājas. I believe that future enquiry will prove that the Gauli Rājas were not Aryans, but that they, like other tribes similarly named, belonged to the Gaudian race.[42]

I must not omit to mention here the ancient tribes of the *Kulinda, Kulūta*, (Kōlūta, Kōlūka) and *Kaulūta* (Kaulubha), who inhabited the high mountain ranges of the Himālaya in North India. Their names occur in one form or other in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Mudrārākṣasa and elsewhere in Sanskrit literature, while Ptolemy's *Κυλινδρινή* (Kylindrinē, VII. 1, 42) coincides in position with the country which some of these tribes formerly

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[42] Refer to pp. 114 and 116, n. 12, where the *Gaulas* are mentioned.

See Mr. Charles Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 301 : "Among the people (of Nāgpur) tradition, widespread though vague, is not wanting, pointing to a time far anterior to the Gonds, when throughout Deogarh Gaulī chiefs held sway. The exploits and renown of these ancient chiefs are often referred to in the songs of the villagers. There are forts too, and tanks and temples, or remnants of such structures, evidently the handiwork of races preceding the Gonds. .. 'It was a Gaulī, not a Gond king so our father told us,' this is the common answer to all questions respecting such relics." The same legend is told about the fortifications of Rāmtek, *ibidem*, p. 428. Compare in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, pp. 204, 205, Mr. W. F. Sinclair's article on the "Gauli Raj" in Khandesh and the Central Provinces : "I think, therefore, that the most probable explanation of the *Gauli Rāj* is this,—that Gauli was the surname, or nickname, of a family of princes (and not of a nation) of Aryan race who established themselves in the valleys of the Tapti and Narmadā during the great migration southward which ended in the colonization of the Dekhan by the Aryan Marathas." Mr. Sinclair's remarks were criticized by Mr. W. Ramsay on p. 258 ; notice also Mr. Sinclair's query : "Hemāḍ Pant and the Gauli Rajas" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, pp. 277, 278.

Captain A. Macintosh remarks in his "Account of the Mhadeo Kolies" in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. V (1837), pp. 251-252 : "There is a popular tradition among the people in this part of the country, that the Gursees were the original inhabitants of the Dukhan, and that they were displaced from the hilly tracts of the country by the race of Goullies or cowherds. These Goullies, it is said, subsequently rebelled against their lawful prince, who detached an army that continued unceasing in their exer-

occupied. The similarity of their name with that of the Kolis and of the Kulu district is therefore not accidental.[43]

CHAPTER IX.

On the Kōis, Konds, Kands, Gonds, &c.

Much as the several tribes, whose names head this chapter, differ from one another in their manners, dialects and appearance, still there exists such a general resemblance between them, that, as has been pointed out by one of the greatest geographers of our century, the late *Karl Ritter*, all these various races, however considerable may be the distances at which they live apart from one another, must be

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tions until they exterminated the entire race of Goullies . . It is a common practice with such of the inhabitants of the plains as bury their dead, as well as the hill tribes to erect thurgahs (tombs commonly of a single stone), near the graves of their parents. In the vicinity of some of the Koly villages and near the site of deserted ones, several of these thurgahs are occasionally to be seen, especially near the source of the Bhaum river. The people say they belonged to Gursees and Goullies of former times. The stones with many figures in relief roughly carved upon them, and one of these holding a drum in his hand, and in the act of beating time on it, are considered to have belonged to the Gursees who are musicians by profession. The other thurgahs with a Saloonka (one of the emblems of Mhadeo) and a band of women forming a circle round it, with large pots on their heads, are said to be Goully monuments. This may be reckoned partly confirmatory of the tradition."

Consult about the Gaulis also the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, pp. 136, 226, 278, 279.

43 About references concerning *Kulinda*, *Kulūta*, *Kōlūka*, *Kōlūta* and *Kaulūta* consult Böthlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*. About *Kaulubha* see Lassen's *Indische Altherthumskunde*, vol. I, p. 57 (p. 75 second edition), and vol. II, pp. 206, 207. Lassen desires to substitute for *Kaulūta* in Mudrārākṣasa *Kaulūbha* especially on the authority of Plinius who in his *Historia Naturalis*, lib. VI, cap. 22, mentions that: "Ultra (Gangem) siti sunt Modubae, Molindae. . . . *Colubae*, Orxulae, etc." In vol. I, p. 547 (661), Lassen speaks of the Kulindas: "Die *Kulinda* wohnten nach dem Epos im höchsten Himālaya und zwar ostwärts bis zu den Ganges-Quellen."

Ptolemy assigns the sources of the Vipāśā, Śatadru, Yamunā and Gaṅgā to the country *Kylindrine*: "Ὑπὸ δὲ τὰς Βιβάσιος καὶ τοῦ Ζαράδρου καὶ τοῦ Διαμοῦνα καὶ τοῦ Γάγγου ἡ Κυλινδρινή." The inhabitants of this district were the *Kulindas*. About Kylindrine compare also Sir A. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 136–138, where it is identified with Jālandhara, whose "antiquity is undoubted, as it is mentioned by Ptolemy as

regarded as representatives of one and the same nation. They are still in occupation of nearly the whole area of that portion of the Indian continent which stretches from Khandesh on the west to Ganjam on the east.

Kōi, Kui (contracted into Ku), Gōdu, Gauḍa, Gōndu, Goandu, Gānd, Koand, Kond (Kondh, Khond) or Kand (Khand) are all derivatives, as has already been shown, from the root *Ko* or *Ku*, mountain, so that their very name indicates a mountaineer. I have previously alluded to the peculiarity that both Linguals and Dentals are used in the formation of the derivatives of *Ko*. We need not,

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Kulindrine or *Ktulindrine*, which should probably be corrected to *Sulindrine*, as the K and Σ are frequently interchanged in Greek manuscripts."

Read also in H. H. Wilson's *Vishnu-purāṇa* edited by F. Hall the notes on the Kulūtas (Kolūkas), vol. II, p. 174, and Kulindas, p. 180. According to H. H. Wilson the Kulindas were mountaineers, see Fr. Johnson's Selections from the Mahābhārata, p. 65.

Varāhamihira mentions the *Kulūtas* in his Bṛhatsaṁhitā, Chapter XIV, sl. 22 and 29:

> Diśi paścimōttarasyām Māṇḍavya-Tukhāra-Tālahala-Madrāḥ,
> Aśmaka-*Kulūta*-Lahaḍa-Strīrājya-Nṛsiṁha-Vanakhasthāḥ. 22.
> Aiśānyām Mērukanaṣṭarājya-Paśupāla-Kīra-Kāśmīrāḥ.
> Abhisāra-Darada-Taṅgaṇa-*Kulūta*-Sairindha-Vanarāṣṭrāḥ. 29.

Sir Alexander Cunningham considers the question of these hill tribes at length in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XIV, pp. 125–135, 137–139: "The origin of the Kunets, who form the bulk of the population in the valleys of the Biās, the Satlej and the Tons Rivers, has long engaged my attention; and I believe that I have now solved the puzzle by identifying them with the *Kunindas* or *Kulindas* of early Hindu history. Under both of these forms their name is still preserved in the districts of *Kulu* on the Biās and *Kunāwar* on the Satlej. The Vishnu Purāna gives the name of *Kulinda*, which is supported by Ptolemy's *Kulindrine*, a district occupying the whole of the upper tract between the Bibasis or Biās River and the Ganges. It corresponds therefore most exactly with the Kunet District of the present day. Varāha Mihira places the *Kunindas* along with the Kāshmiras, Abhisāras, Kulūtas, and Sairindhas, and makes their country one of his nine divisions of India. In another place he marks their position still more definitely as being to the east of Madras. (*Madreso anyaseha Kauninda.*) He also speaks of the King of the Kunindas. This was about A.D. 560, but we have coins of the King of Kuninda (*Rajnya Kunindasa*), which date before the Christian era. For *Kaun inda* the Mārkandeya Purāna reads *Kaulinda*, which agrees with the *Kulinda* of the Vishnu Purāna. It would seem therefore that these are only two readings of the same name. This conjecture is strongly supported by the fact that much more than half of

therefore, be surprised to see that the Telugu *Kōdu*, *e.g.*, corresponds to the Sanskrit *Koṇḍa* (in Kōṇḍabhaṭṭa) and *Gōṇḍa*, though *koṇḍa* in Telugu signifies only mountain and not mountaineer, which meaning is expressed by *Koṇḍaruḍu*.[44]

The principal Gond tribes call themselves *Kōitor*. Telugu people regard the last syllable *tor* of this term as identical with the word *dora*, master, which is not improbable, as the Kōis affix this term to names, *e.g.*, Bhīma is called by them Bhīmadur. The Kōis of the Bhadrācala and Rēkapalli taluks in the Upper Gōdāvarī district are called *Doralu* (masters) only by their Mala and Mādiga servants, for this title is otherwise generally conceded only to the Velama land-owners.

It is a well-known fact that a word often loses its original meaning when it is used as a proper name. *Kōi* designates

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the population of Kulu is Kunet. . . . I have now traced the Kaunindas up to the third century B.C., when they were a rich and powerful people. But there is still earlier mention of the people in the Mahābhārata, where the Kulindas are said to have been conquered by Arjuna. From the context Wilson rightly concluded that they were mountaineers and neighbours of the Traigarttas or people of Kangra. In the Vishnu Purāna I find not only the *Kulindas* but also *Kulindopatyakas* or 'Kulindas dwelling along the foot of the hills,' which describes exactly the tract of plain country bordering the hills in which Srughna, the capital of the Kaunindas, was situated." About *Kulu* or *Kullu* see Sir W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. V, pp. 465-469: "The character of the hill-men resembles that of most other mountaineers in its mixture of simplicity, independence, and superstition. Polyandry still prevails in Seorāj, but has almost died out elsewhere. It consists simply of a community of wives amongst brothers, who hold all their other goods in common, and regard their women as labourers on the farm. The temples usually occupy picturesque sites, and are dedicated rather to local deities than to the greater gods of the Hindu Pantheon."

Compare also Mr. J. W. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, pp. 105, 109, 110.

[44] The Telugu people call the Gonds, Konds or Kands, *Kōya*, *Kōyavāḍu* (pl. Kōyavāṇḍlu), *Kōdu* (pl. Kōdulu), *Gōndu*, *Koṇḍaruḍu*, &c. We read in Lieutenant Macpherson's *Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack*, Calcutta, 1842, p. 20, § 42, the following account: "The Hindu name for this people which we have adopted, *Khond*, in the plural *Khondooloo*, means mountaineer, from the Teloogoo word signifying a *hill*. Their sole native appellation south of the *Mahanuddee* is *Koinga* or *Kwinga*, which may be a corruption of *Kulinga*, which, by the exchange of convertible letters may be *Pulinda*, meaning in Sanskrit and thence in Tamil *a bar-*

thus a mountaineer, but this radical meaning of the term was forgotten by that tribe when some of them had settled permanently in the plains. The Malvah or Gutta-Kōis (Hill-Kōis) are in consequence distinguished from the Sassi-Kōis (Plain-Kōis). The Khonds, on the other hand, call their own country *Kui Dina* or *Kui Pruti*, and that of the Uriyas *Sassi Dina*.

The Kōis worship as deities Kātūradu, Adamarāju, Korrarāju (who governs the tigers), Kommalamma, Sārlamma, and others. The five Pāṇḍava brothers, especially Arjuna and Bhīma, are highly revered. They have imitated the step of Bhīma in their dance. The Kōis or Kōyas in the Nizam's Dominions preserve a legend according to which they are descended from Bhīma and a wild superhuman woman whom he met in the woods.[45]

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barian, a savage mountaineer . . . They employ as distinctive *epithets* of their race, the terms—*Subboro* and *Mullaro*, the latter signifying *hill people*, from a root common to Tamul and Teloogoo, the Khonds designate the alpine portions of Orissa solely by its Hindu name (from the root) 'Malwa,' meaning *highlands*. The Hindu people they call *Sassi*, a word whose signification is not ascertained. The Khonds, who inhabit the mountains are styled *Maliah Koinga*, those of the low country *Sassi Koinga*."

The fifth volume of the *Calcutta Review* (January—June 1846) contains on p. 26 the following note: "Respecting the name of Khonds, Lieutenant Hill remarks, that, in their own language, 'they call themselves *Knee*. A single Khond is called Kwinga. By Uriyas, they are called *Khonds* and by the Telingas, Kodūlū and often Kodūwanūlū or hill people." According to Sir W. W. Hunter in his *Orissa*, vol. II, p. 71: "The word Kandh, like Mali and the tribal names of other hill tribes, means in the aboriginal languages 'mountaineer.'"

About the Gānds or Gāndas consult Mr. Charles Grant's *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India*, pp. 100, 103, 247, 251, 412, 413, and 457. They cultivate some land in Rāīgarh, Laira and Sambalpur, but they seem not to be regarded as good cultivators. The population of Laira is chiefly agricultural and consists of Gonds, Khonds and Gāndas. On the other hand the Gāndas are generally classified as weavers. Their number in the Central Provinces amounts to 250,133.

Kōinga is the plural of Kōi, *nga* being the plural termination in the Kond language. A similar termination exists in the Koi language on the Gōdāvarī, *e.g.*, *māra*, tree, pl. mārāṅgu; *goggōḍi*, cock, goggōḍiṅgu; *baṇḍi*, carriage, baṇḍiṅgu; *goḍḍēli*, axe, goḍḍeliṅgu.

[45] See the Rev. John Cain's articles on "The Bhadrāchallam and Rēkapalli Tālukās, Godāvarī District," in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. V, pp. 301-

The four tribes to whom the title *Kōitor* is applied are the Rāj Gond, Raghuwal, Padal and Dholi, and occasionally

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303, 357–359; vol. VIII, pp. 33–36, 219–221; and vol. X, pp. 259–264. Read *ibidem*, vol. V, pp. 358, 359: "Formerly on a certain day in the year the *Koi* men of each village were driven into the jungle by the women to hunt, and were not allowed to return unless they brought home some game,—a small bird, or even a rat, being enough to give them the right to be welcomed back. This practice is still carried on by the *Kois* in the Bastar country, and also by many in the Nizām's territory. Mr. Vanstavern, whilst boring for coal at Beddadanolu, was visited on that day by all the Koi women of tho village, dressed up in their lords' clothes, and they told him that they had that morning driven their husbands to the forest to bring home game of some kind or other. Mr. Vanstavern also states that the Kois round Beddadanolu do not eat the goat annually offered for a prosperous harvest, but leave it to itself in the jungle tied up to a tree.

"The *Kois* say that the following gods and goddesses were appointed to be worshipped by the Śūdras:—*Muttelamma, Maridimahālakshmī, Poturāzu,* and *Korrazulu*, and the following were to receive adoration from the Kois:—*Kommalamma, Kātūradu, Adamarazu.* The goddess Māmili or Lēle must be propitiated early in the year, or else the crops will undoubtedly fail; and she is said to be very partial to human victims . . . All the Kois seem to hold in great respect the *Pāṇḍava* brothers, especially Arjuna and Bhīma. The wild dogs or *dhols* are regarded as the *dūtas* or messengers of these brothers, and the long black beetles which appear in large numbers at the beginning of the hot weather are called the Pāṇḍava flock of goats. Of course they would on no account attempt to kill a *dhol*, even though it should happen to attack their favourite calf, and they even regard it imprudent to interfere with these *dūtas* when they wish to feast upon their cattle." In vol. VIII, p. 34, we read: "They say their dance is copied from *Bhīma's* march after a certain enemy. There is no Koi temple in any village near here, and the *Kois* are soldom if ever to be found near a Hindu temple."

In the Jeypore territory of the Vizagapatam district a similar practice as the abovementioned prevails. The men are often away for days in search of game, and if they return with none of an evening, their women pelt them with cow-dung.

The *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H.H. the Nizam's Dominions* remarks in vol. I, pp. 325, 326, about the Kōis as follows:—"The *Koyas* or *Kois* (45,300) are an aboriginal race, found chiefly in the Khamam District (39,990). They belong to the same family as the Gonds and the other primitive races of Central and Southern India. The Kois say that 'they are the descendants of Bhimadur, and the local tradition is that when Bhimadur accompanied his brother Dharma Ragu to his forest exile he one day went hunting in the jungle, and there met a wild woman of the woods, whom he fell in love with and married. The fruit of their union was the Koi people. The tradition further states that this wild woman was not a human being.' The language spoken by them is similar in some respects to that of the Gonds. Like the latter they are noted for their truthful habits . . . The fruit of the Ippa tree is dried and reduced to powder. This made into cakes and porridge forms their favourite and principal food for the greater part of

the Kolam. The Marias who are likewise styled Kōitur, represent perhaps now the purest type of the Gonds.[46]

In ancient times these people occupied a much larger portion of India than they do now. Their name appears in places far distant from one another, in the north, *e.g.*, in *Goṇḍa* or *Gauḍa* in Oudh, in *Khandwa* in the Central Provinces, in *Gondāl* in Kāṭhiawār, in *Khandesh* and *Khandāla* in Bombay, in *Gondvāna* in Central India, while *Khaṇḍagiri* and *Khaṇḍapāra* testify to their presence in Orissa. Even

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the year. They also distil great quantities of an intoxicating drink from the flowers; they will eat the flesh of every animal, not even rejecting that of the cow. They seldom remain long in one place, as soon as the productive powers of the soil are exhausted they move to another spot and make a fresh clearing. They have no caste, their religion consists of belief in one Supreme Being, they also worship the spirits of the mountains and a divinity who protects them from the ravages of tigers. They regard heaven as a large and strong fort where there is an abundance of rice stored up for those who are permitted to enter. Hell is a place in which an iron cow continually gnaws the flesh of the unfortunate persons detained there. Widows' remarriages are allowed. Their wedding ceremonies are exceedingly simple; the betrothed couple have a triangular mark placed on their foreheads, they then kneel together, and the ceremony is completed by pouring water over the heads of both. The personal appearance of both sexes is the reverse of prepossessing."

[46] *The Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India*, edited by Mr. Charles Grant, contains on pp. 137 and 500 the following statements: "The Māriās, or as they are called towards the north the Kohitūrs . . are in all probability the purest type of Gond. It is worthy of note that in villages bordering upon the more cultivated tracts the change of name from Māriā to Kohitūr, then to Janglī Gond, and then to Gond, can be seen in progress, and it is easy to imagine that a well-to-do Māriā family calling themselves Gond might in two or three generations adopt the more fashionable style of Rāj Gond (p. 137). . Gotēs and Koīs, or as they are commonly called Gotēwārs and Koiwārs—the termination *wār* being a Telugu affix, signifying person or man —are the aborigines of the country (Upper Godāvarī). Although almost identical in customs and in language, they do not eat together or intermarry, the Koīs claiming superiority over the Gotēs. The proper name for the Kois is 'Koitor,' and this is what they call themselves. By the Telingas they are called Koidhoras, the word 'dhora' meaning gentleman or sāhib. This error has probably arisen from the last syllable of 'Koitor' having been taken for 'dhora,' owing to the similarity of sound. The Koīs, where they come into contact with the Telinga population, have adopted many of their customs. . The Gotē keeps more aloof from civilisation; but . . the customs of the two races are very similar, and both belong to the Gond family (p. 500)." Compare also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VIII, p. 34: "The custom of calling the Kois *doralu* (*dora* = lord, Tel.) has

now these tribes are found in all the Presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, though their chief abode is in the Central Provinces.[47]

The Uriyas aspirate the final *d*, hence the name is often spelt Kondh or Kandh, but this pronunciation is only local.

Wherever the Gonds, Konds, or Kands are found in their own homesteads, far from strangers, they have preserved their national virtues, among which honesty, fidelity, and hospitality occupy a prominent position. Like many other wild tribes they are brave, but they are also cruel and very superstitious. In those parts of the country where they dwell, the simple-minded Gonds are feared as dangerous sorcerers and intimate friends of the evil spirits.

About the *Religious Doctrines* of the Khonds Captain Macpherson makes the following remarks: "There is one Supreme

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been traced by some (*Central Provinces Gazetteer*, p. 500) to the ending *tor* in the word *Koitor*. This has always seemed to me (Rev. Mr. Cain) rather doubtful, as this honorific affix is not only conceded to the *Kois*, but also to several other castes, *e.g.*, the (true) Vellamma caste, and to all the most influential natives in the independent or semi-independent neighbouring states." The Gonds in the Singbhūm District are called *Dorowas* or *Naiks*. See Dalton's *Ethnology*, p. 277, and Grant's *Gazetteer*, p. 137. Elsewhere in Narasingpur are found the Dhur Gonds which term appears to be identical with the Dhurwe or Naik Gonds. I wonder what is the meaning of the term Dhur (Dhurwe or Dorowas), and whether it is connected with the word *dora*.

About the Marias consult also the *Report of the Dependency of Bustar* by Deputy Commissioner C. L. R. Glasfurd, pp. 46–52: "104. The Marias and Jhoorias, I should say, are, strictly speaking, a sub-division of the true Gond family."

[47] See Lieutenant Macpherson, p. 13, § 13: "The Khonds are now seen, in "both of these situations, within the following ill-defined limits. Upon the "east they appear scattered over the wilder tracts of the Ganjam district "bordering upon the Chilka Lake, and are seen in that quarter at a few "points, upon the coast of the Bay of Bengal. They are found, on the "north-west, on the confines of Gondwana, in longitude 83°, while on the "west, they extend within the unsurveyed frontier of Berar. They are "found as far south as Bustar in latitude 19° 40′, while the Zemindary of "Palconda is like that of Kunnapoor possessed by a Khond Chief on the "south-east, they are replaced on the limits of the Souradah and Moherry "districts in Ganjam, by the Sourah race, which henceforward occupies "the eastern acclivities of the Ghauts to the Godavery. To the north, "fifty miles beyond the Mahanuddee, in the meridian of Boad, they are "succeeded by the Kole people. On the north-east, they are found high

" Being, self-existing, the Source of Good, and Creator of the " Universe, of the inferior gods, and of man. This divinity " is called in some districts, Boora Pennu, or the God of " Light; in others, Bella Pennu, or the Sun God; and the " sun and the place from which it rises beyond the sea are " the chief seats of his presence. Boora Pennu, in the " beginning, created for himself a consort, who became Tari " Pennu, or the Earth Goddess, and the Source of Evil. " He afterwards created the Earth. As Boora Pennu walked " upon it with Tari, he found her wanting in affectionate " compliance and attention as a wife, and resolved to create " from its substance, a new being, Man, who should render to " him the most assiduous and devoted service, and to form " from it also every variety of animal and vegetable life " necessary to man's existence. Tari was filled with jealousy, " and attempted to prevent his purpose, but succeeded only " so far as to change the intended order of creation. . . Tari " Pennu then placed her hands over the earth, and said,

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" in Cuttack, while Sourahs (not identified with the southern race) there " inhabit the inferior ridges of the Ghauts." (Compare his " Account of the Religion of the Khonds" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XIII, pp. 220, 221.)

Compare also *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces* left in MSS., by the late Rev. Stephen Hislop, missionary of the Free Church of Scotland at Nagpore: edited, with notes and preface, by R. Temple, C.S.I., 1866, pp. 3 and 4: " The name of Gond, or Gund, seems " to be a form of Kond, or Kund, the initial gutturals of the two words being " interchangeable. . Both forms are most probably connected with *Konda*— " the Teloogoo equivalent for a mountain—and therefore will signify ' the hill " people.' And no designation could be more appropriate to the localities " which the majority of them inhabit. Though they are also found residing " in the villages of the plains along with the more civilized Hindus, yet " they chiefly frequent the mountain ranges lying between 18° 40′ and 23° 40′ " north latitude, and between 78° and 82½ east longitude. This tract some- " what corresponds with the old Mahomedan division of Gondwāna, but differs " from it in not reaching so far to the east and in extending considerably " further towards the south-east. The Moghul geographers seem to have " included with the Gonds of Nagpore the Kōls on their east frontier, and to " have been ignorant of the relationship between them and the inhabitants " of Bustar. In the north, Gonds are met with about Saugor and near the " source of the Hasdo; on the east, they cross that river into Sargujā, where " they border on the Kōls, and are found with Konds and Uriyas in Nowa-

" 'Let these beings you have made exist; you shall create no " more.' Whereupon Boora caused an exudation of sweat to " proceed from his body, collected it in his hand, and threw " it around, saying: 'To all that I have created,' and thence " arose love, and sex, and the continuation of species. The " creation was perfectly free from moral and physical evil. " Man enjoyed free intercourse with the Creator. They lived " without labour. . in perfect harmony and peace. They went " unclothed. . . The lower animals were all perfectly innocuous. " The Earth Goddess, highly incensed at the love shown " towards man thus created and endowed, broke into open " rebellion against Boora, and resolved to blast the loss of his " new creature by the introduction into the world of every " form of moral and physical evil. . . A few individuals of " mankind entirely rejected evil, and remained sinless; the " rest all yielded to its power, and fell into a state of uni- " versal disobedience to the Deity, and fierce strife with one " another. Boora immediately deified the sinless few without " their suffering death. . . Upon the corrupted mass of man-

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" gudda, Kareal, and Kharond or Kālahandi; in the south, they form the " mass of the population of Bustar and a portion of the inhabitants of " Jeypur (in the Madras Presidency), while they occupy the hills along the " left bank of the Godavery about Nirmul; and on the west, they are inter- " mingled with the Hindus of Berar for 30 miles from the right bank of the " Wurdah, and, along the Kūrs, extend along the hills both north and south " of the Narbadda to the meridian of Hindia, where they give place to the " Bhils and Nahals.

" In such a large extent of country, as might be expected, they are di- " vided into various branches, and distinguished by specific names. The " classification adopted by themselves is into twelve and a half castes or " classes, in imitation of the Hindus. These are—Raj Gond, Raghuwāl, " Dadave, Katulyā, Pādāl, Dholi, Ojhyāl, Thotyāl, Koilābhutāl, Koikopāl, " Kolām, Mādyāl, and an inferior sort of Pādāl as the half caste. The first " four, with the addition, according to some of the Kolām, are comprehended " under the name of Koitor—the Gond, *par excellence*. This term, in its " radical form of Koi, occurs over a wide area, being the name given to the " Meria-sacrificing aborigines of Orissa and to the jungle tribes skirting the " east bank of the Godavery from the apex of the delta as far up nearly as " the mouth of the Indrawati. Its meaning is evidently associated with " the idea of a hill; the Persian name of which, *Koh*, approaches it more " closely than even the Teloogoo, *Kondā*. I need scarcely, therefore, add

"kind, Boora Pennu inflicted high moral penalties, and.. "entirely withdrew his face and his immediate guardianship "from mankind. He made all who had fallen subject to "death...Universal discord and war prevailed...Diseases and "death came upon all creatures; snakes became venomous... "Man..sank into a state of abject suffering and degrada-"tion..Meanwhile, Boora and Tari contended for superiority "in fierce conflict; their terrible strife raging throughout "the earth, the sea and the sky; their chief weapons being "mountains, meteors and whirlwinds. Up to this point, the "Khonds hold the same belief; but from it, they divide into "two sects directly opposed upon the great question of the "issue of the contest betweem Boora and his rebel consort.. "The sect of Boora believe that he proved triumphant in the "contest, and, as an abiding sign of the discomfiture of "Tari, imposed the cares of childbirth upon her sex...The "sect of Tari hold, upon the other hand, that she re-"mained unconquered, and still maintains the struggle with "various success."[48] I give this interesting story of the

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"that it has no connection with the interrogative *Koi*, as some have sup-"posed, nor has Koitor any relation to the Sanskrit *Kshatriya*, as suggested by "Sir R. Jenkins. Though there are a few of the more wealthy Koitors who "would gladly pass themselves off as Rajputs, yet the great majority of "those known by that name resent, with no small vehemence, the imputation "of belonging to any portion of the Hindu community. The sacred thread "of the twice-born, instead of being an object of ambition, is to them a "source of defilement."

The passage on the Gonds and Khonds in C. Lassen's *Indische Alterthums-kunde*, vol. I, pp. 426–432 (or pp. 373–78), should be consulted as well as those in the Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, pp. 134–152, and vol. III, pp. 200 and 206, and Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 275–304. In the second volume of H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇupurāṇa* published by F. Hall, p. 163, *Shaṇḍa* is read instead of Khaṇḍa.

[48] Lieutenant Macpherson gives in his report on p. 61 a list of the Khond deities and divides them into national and local deities: "In the first class are (1) Bera Pennoo or the Earth god; (2) Bella Pennoo, the Sun god, and Danzoo Pennoo, the Moon god; (3) Sunde Pennoo, the god of Limits; (4) Loha Pennoo, the Iron god or god of Arms; (5) Joogah Pennoo, the god of Small-pox; (6) Nadzoo Pennoo, or the Village deity; the universal genius loci; (7) Sora Pennoo, the Hill god, Jori Pennoo, the god of Streams, and Gossa Pennoo, the Forest god; (8) Moonda Pennoo, the Tank god;

creation of the world and the fall of man which Macpherson ascribes to the Khonds. It reminds one, however, in many of its features of the Biblical Accounts, and fills one with wonder that such an uncivilised Indian tribe as the Khonds should have so beautiful a legend of their own.

In the human sacrifices which these tribes offered up in days not long gone by, and which even now they have not altogether abandoned, they displayed an indescribable

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(9) Soogoo Pennoo or Sidrojoo Pennoo, the god of Fountains; (10) Pidzoo Pennoo, the god of Rain; (11) Pilamoo Pennoo, the god of Hunting; (12) god of Births." Lieutenant (Captain) Macpherson's Report was reprinted under the title of "An Account of the Religious Opinions and Observances of the Khonds of Goomsur and Boad" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. VII (1843), pp. 172-199, and "An Account of the Ghonds in Orissa" in vol. XIII, 1852, pp. 216–274 of the same journal. Besides Bura and Tari there are (pp. 226–228) "inferior gods divisible into two classes, distinguished by their origin, their attributes, and the scope of their duties and authority. The gods of the first class sprang from Boora and Tari... 1, Pidzu Pennu, the god of Rain. 2, Boorbi Pennu, the goddess of new Vegetation and First Fruits. 3, Peteri Pennu, the God of increase. 4, Klambi Pennu, the God of the Chase. 5, Loha Pennu, the God of war. 6, Sundi Pennu, the God of Boundaries. 7, Dinga Pennu, the Judge of the dead . . . The third class of inferior deities are sprung from the Gods of the first two classes. They are the strictly minor and local deities of the Khonds .. The following are the chief of this class of gods. 1, Nadzu Pennu, the Village God. 2, Soro Pennu, the Hill God. 3, Jori Pennu, the God of Streams. 4, Tozu Pennu, the Family or House God. 5, Mounda Pennu, the Tank God. 6, Sooga Pennu, the God of Fountains. 7, Gossa Pennu, the Forest God. 8, Koosti Pennu, the God of Ravines. 9, Bhora Pennu, the God of New Fruits, produced on trees or shrubs." These two accounts differ in some respects. On pp. 243–256: the worship of Tari Pēnnu is described: "In the worship paid to Tari Pennu by her sect, the Chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes, branches of tribes or villages both at social festivals held periodically, and when special occasions demand extraordinary propitiations. And besides these social offerings, the rite is performed by individuals to avert the wrath of Tari from themselves and their families." According to Mr. Grant (p. 106) the Gonds worship as a rule only "Bará Deva and Dólá Deva."

Colonel Dalton says in his *Ethnology of Bengal*, on p. 281: "The Gonds are, however, found to have one common object of worship, called, according to the linguistic peculiarities of the locality, Búra Deo, Báda Deo, or Badiál Pen. Pen and Deo mean the same, but the signification of Búra or Báda I am not sure of. Major Macpherson tells us that Búra Pen, the Kandh god, means the 'god of light . .' I was credibly informed that the Gonds of Sirgūja formerly offered human sacrifices to Búra Deo."

Mr. Glasfurd, 48–52, remarks about the religion of the tribes in *Bustar* as follows: "The Mooreas, Bhuttras, Dhakurs, Gudwas, Marias, &c., all

atrocity. Yet, as an excuse for them, it ought not to be forgotten that their peculiar ideas about right and wrong made them believe that they had acquired a right of disposing of their Meriah victims, as they had bought and paid for them. The great goddess of the Earth, their principal divinity, could only be propitiated by human blood, to grant good pastures for their flocks and rich crops for their own support. The buffalo was by some Khonds sacrificed instead of the human being. These tribes depend for their living mainly on the produce of the earth which they till, for besides hunting they do not follow any other pursuit. Trading, for instance, is unknown to them.

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worship Dunteshwaree, or, as she is sometimes called, 'Maolee,' with 'Matha Devee,' 'Bhungarma,' or 'Dholla Devee,' 'Gam Devee,' Dongur Deo,' and Bheem. The higher castes worship 'Dunteshwaree' and 'Matha Devee' with the other well-known deities of the Hindoo Pantheon . . . She is the same as Bhowanee or 'Kelee' . . . Temples to Dunteshwaree or Maolee exist all over the vicinity of Jugdulpore and Duntewara. The temples to 'Matha Devee' are, perhaps, as numerous, if not more so. They are easily recognised by swings in front of the shed erected over the semblance of the goddess, which is generally a stone daubed with red, although I have more than once seen her represented by a grotesquely-carved figure dressed as a female, with a female attendant on each side . . . When small-pox appears this person (her Poojaree) becomes of great importance. . . Bhungarma, or Dholla Devee is said to be the sister of Matha Devee. She also has a swing put up before her temple, and is worshipped when cholera appears; but as small-pox is much more frequent in its visits, her worship is much neglected . . . The Jhoorias, Mooreas, and Marias do worship the above-mentioned gods, especially towards Narayenpoor, Ubujmard, Kootroo, &c. The peculiar deity of the Jhoorias is 'Unga Deo;' he is represented by a piece of wood fastened to a framework made of four sticks. . . It has been the custom for the Bustar Rajahs to have a duplicate of the Jhooria 'Unga Deo' kept at Bustar. Whenever any epidemic appears, the Unga Deo at Narayenpoor is called for, and the duplicate sent in its stead. Sacrifices are made to the new arrival, and he is requested to state whether the cholera or the small-pox, as the case may be, will soon disappear . . . The Marees of 'Ubujmard' call their god 'Pen:' this word literally means god. They have several gods, which resemble the 'Unga Deo' of the Jhoorias. The most noted of those in the Maree country under Kootroo are 'Deda Maida' at Kolnar and 'Koolung Mora' at the village of Dewaloor; they are both represented by logs of wood. . . The 'Deda Maida' at Kolnar is the favorite deity of these wild people, and in the month of May there is a festival at Kolnar, at which all the Marees from far and near congregate and spend three days in dancing, and drinking, and singing. Throughout the Dependency the grossest ignorance and superstition prevail, and hold the minds of

Contact with Hindus more highly civilised exercised a remarkably deteriorating influence on the Gond tribes, who soon began to lose their own virtues and sink to a lower social condition. Harsh treatment, coupled with spiteful scorn, renders men callous and demoralises. Ignorant and uncivilised aborigines when they are under the influence of civilised and unscrupulous persons are especially subject to such degeneration. The *Caṇḍālas* are an illustration of this assertion.

They were probably the first Gaudian tribe whom the Aryan invaders reduced to abject servitude, and who became thus the prototype of the lowest Indian helots, which condition they share with the Dravidian Pariahs. The word *Caṇḍāla* is evidently a modification of Kaṇḍāla, a tribe mentioned by Ptolemy.[49]

Manu stigmatises a Caṇḍāla as the offspring of a Śūdra man and a Brahman woman, which definition, fostering no

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the people, from the highest to the lowest, in miserable thraldom. The simple and unsophisticated Gond tribes are believed to be expert necromancers, 'and on the most intimate footing with evil spirits.' Considering their secluded position from civilized life, their gross ignorance, and the solitary jungles they live in, it is, perhaps, not to be wondered at that the people invariably impute their misfortunes to witchcraft."

Compare also the article "Gonds and Kurkus," by Mr. W. Ramsay in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, pp. 128, 129: "The Gond admits none of the Hindu divinities into his pantheon, and is moreover bound on occasions of death to slay a cow and pour its blood on the grave to ensure peace and rest for the manes of the departed. In my experience, Gonds almost always bury their dead. . . The Gond deities are numerous: hill tops deified are favorite objects of adoration." Mr. Ramsay treats on the same subject on pp. 348–50, and he observes: "It is worthy of remark that one of the ceremonies after a death consists in killing a cow and sprinkling its blood over the grave; in default of this it is said that the spirit of the departed refuses to rest, and returns upon earth to haunt its relatives in life." Allusions to the Gonds are also contained in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 224; vol. VI, p. 233; vol. IX, p. 140, and vol. X. p. 321.

Read also the remarks on the Khonds in Sir W. W. Hunter's *Orissa*, vol. II, pp. 67-102, 283-8, and the article "On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa" by Lieut. J. P. Frye, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XVII (1860), pp. 1–38.

[49] See p. 32.

doubt the prejudices of caste by assigning to the detested offspring of such persons a despised rank, does not explain the ethnological position of the original Caṇḍālas.[50] The late Rev. Dr. John Wilson was, so far as I know, the first to recognize in the Caṇḍālas the Kandaloi of Ptolemy.[51] The name of the Caṇḍālas has great similarity with that of the Rājput *Candels* (whose Gond origin is an admitted fact), *Candas*, *Candaks*, and *Candanis*, and others. The Caṇḍālas prevail in the Gaudian districts of the North, for, of the 1,779,047 Caṇḍālas who appear in the Indian Census report, 173,532 live in Assam, 1,576,076 in Bengal, and 29,439 in the Central Provinces.

Koṇḍa is even now a name common to Caṇḍālas, so that their original identity with the Gond race is likewise suggested by this circumstance.

I must also not omit to allude here to the *Kuntalas* (Kōntalas), *Kuṇḍalas* and other tribes who are mentioned in Sanskrit writings. The famous capital *Kuṇḍina* (Kuṇḍinapura) where Bhīṣma or Bhīṣmaka held his court, so celebrated

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[50] Compare Mānavadharmaśāstra, X, 12:

Śūdrādayōgavaḥ kṣattā caṇḍālaś cādhamō nṛṇām.

Vaiśyarājanyaviprāsu jāyante varṇasaṅkarāḥ.

About the Caṇḍālas compare also *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsanaparva, 2621, and J. Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. I, p. 481.

Consult also the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves*, by Rāmappa Karnik of Barkur, translated and annotated by Mr. Joseph Saldanha, Court Sheristadar at Mangalore, and printed by Dr. Shortt in the IV Part of *The Hill Ranges of Southern India*, pp. 15-37; p. 17: "Sub-division of Chandalas . . The Chandalas are subdivided as follows: *a.* Hambatar or Fammadas, *b.* Panar, *c.* Hasalar, *d.* Paravar, *e.* Belar or Medarar, *f.* Battadar, *g.* Merar, *h.* Karajar, *i.* Asadi, *j.* Holeya, *k.* Madiga, *l.* Bākada with three sub-divisions, I. Chujana Bākada, II. Turibina Bākada, III. Goddina Bākada, *m.* Nuliga, *n.* Kappata Koragar, *o.* Soppina Koragar. (This class speak a language peculiar to themselves which they won't give out under any circumstances.)"

The Hindu Law recognizes fifteen different classes of Slaves or Caṇḍālas.

[51] Read Dr. John Wilson's *Indian Caste*, vol. I, p. 57: "A Chāṇḍāla, the lowest of mortals, whose tribe is recognized by Ptolemy as that of the *Kandali* or *Gondali*, on the river Taptī, perhaps the Gonds—adjoining the *Phyllitae* of the same author, identified as the *Bhills*—or the *Goṇḍhalis*, still a wandering tribe of the Mahārāshṭra."

by his beautiful daughter Rukminī, may perhaps be connected with the aboriginal Gond race.

Khaṇḍe Rāva (Khaṇḍōbā) or *Khaṇḍōji* is, like Bhairava, an incarnation of Śiva and much worshipped by the lower classes in the Marātha country. In that district he is every where revered as a house-hold deity and numerous temples are erected for his worship. The shepherds claim him as their tutelary deity. He is most frequently represented as riding on horseback, attended by a dog and accompanied by his wife *Malsara*, another form of Pārvatī. As he generally carries in his hand a big sword, his name is popularly derived from *khaṇḍe*, sword. I regard this explanation as very problematic, and, taking him as a representative national deity, prefer to connect his name with the aboriginal Khand people of Khandesh and its neighbourhood. It is now perhaps impossible to ascertain whether his worship is connected with the existence of a deified Khand leader. No historical record on this topic has come to us. I explain the common term Khaṇḍōbā as originating from *Khaṇḍa* (khaṇḍe) + *bā*, a familiar Marāthi form for *bāpā*, father; compare Gaṇēśa *Gaṇōbā*, Mahiṣa *Māhsōbā*, Viṭṭhala *Viṭhōbā*, Vināyaka *Vinōbā*, &c.[52]

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[52] About "*Koṇḍa*, a name common to Chāndālas," see Rev. W. Reeve's *Canarese and English Dictionary*, revised by Dr. Sanderson, p. 326. The name of *Khaṇḍe Rāva* is in Molesworth's *Marāṭhi and English Dictionary* (second edition), p. 193, explained as: "खंडेराव, m. (खंड Sword, and राव) An incarnation of Shiva." The word खंड is peculiarly enough not found in this Marāthi dictionary in the sense of sword, though seven different meanings of this word are given on p. 191 and nine various renderings of खांड are contained on p. 202, without, however, mentioning that of sword. The Hindustāni کھانڈا-*khāṇḍā*, sword, is explained as a derivation of the Sanskrit खड्ग-*khaḍga*. *Khaṇḍā* in the Uriya language signifies a sword. Even if this etymology is correct, it is not at all necessary that the term *khaṇḍe* in *Khaṇḍe Rāva* has the same origin. Many Indian gods carry, like *Khaṇḍōbā* a sword, but are not called after it.

The Hindu Pantheon by Edward Moor, F.R.S., Madras, 1864, contains on pp. 285, 286, an account of Khaṇḍōbā: "What I have to relate of *Kandeh Rao* is gathered chiefly from Poona Brahmans; who state, that *Siva* became incarnate in his personage for the purpose of destroying an

It is perhaps worth mentioning here that the Gaudian Koṛagas, of whom I shall speak in the next chapter, place on a hillock a stone, which they worship, while most of the

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oppressive giant, named *Mani-mal*, at a place in the Carnatic, called *Phemer*. *Parvati*, they say, under the name of *Malsara*, accompanied her lord, who appeared as a man clothed in green. .: he is generally represented with *Parvati* on horseback, attended frequently by a dog. The giant *Manimal* made a most desperate defence against Kandeh Rao's attack, but was at length slain: whereupon all the oppressed subjects of this giant paid adoration to *Kandeh Rao*, to the number, as the story goes, of seven Kroor of people, whence this Avatāra is called *Yehl-khut*: *Yehl*, in a dialect of the Carnatic, being seven, and *Khut*, or *Koot*, being a *Mahrata* pronunciation of Kroor (100,00,000), a hundred lakh, or ten millions." About Khaṇḍōbā consult also Rev. Stevenson's article " On the Modern Deities worshipped by the Hindus in the Dekkan " in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. VII, pp. 105–112. "The first in order of the modern deities is Khandoba, as he is usually termed by way of respect, or more properly Khande Rāo. This name may have been given him from his breaking the hosts of his enemies, or from his wearing a particular kind of sword called in Marathi 'khāndā.' His Sanskrit name is Mallāri, which has been given him from the Daitya he vanquished. This name is corrupted into Mahhār. There is a legend relative to this deity called the Mallāri Mahatmya, which professes to belong to the Kshetra Kanda of the Brahmānda Purāna. It is a dialogue between Pārvati and Mahadeva, the latter of whom merely repeats what Sanat Kumāra narrated formerly to the sages engaged in performing austerities in the Naimisha forest. The scene of this romance is laid at a low range of hills called in Sanskrit the Mani Chūdā (jewel cliff) and in Marathi, Khade Pathār (table-land above the cliff). The town of Jejurī, which lies about thirty miles east from Poonah, is built close to its western extremity. At this place, according to the legend, certain Brahmans were interrupted in their devotions by a Daitya called Malla, who with his brother Mani and a great army. . .beat and ill-used the Brahmans . . .In Sir John Malcolm's account of the Bhils, in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, mention is made of a powerful tribe of these freebooters, who derive their origin from a place called Toran Malla. Their remotest ancestor, in the same account, is said to have murdered a Brahman, and carried off his daughter; and one of their patriarchs, Kunda Rānā, with his brothers, to have conquered and ruled over all the surrounding country. By some one of that tribe probably the Brahmans were oppressed when they called in the aid of some other local prince called Khande Rāo . . . The Champaka Shashti is directed to be held particularly sacred to Mallāri. It is the sixth day of the increase of the moon in the month Mārgasirsha (November-December). This is the great day accordingly at Jejurī, where Khandoba's principal temple is. It formerly stood on the top of the hill, but on being re-edified by Malhār Rao Holkār, the first famous Maratha leader of that name, whose family god Khande Rāo was, the site was changed to a level spot, but a little way from the base of the mountain. The approach is by a pretty broad flight of stone stairs . . . The third landing-place is the platform

other Caṇḍālas of the district revere a deity called *Kandiya*, who is most probably identical with Khaṇḍōbā.[53]

In a similar way I am inclined to associate the name of the Khandesh district with *Khaṇḍa.* Khandesh can be explained as signifying the Khaud country, Khaṇḍa + dēśa, *Khaṇḍadēśā* contracted into Khaṇḍēśa, Khandesh. It is also possible to interpret it as the name of the lord of the Khands, *Khaṇḍa*, + *īśá*, Khaṇḍēśa.[54]

Some religious customs can be traced to the Gonds. It is thus not unlikely that the Gondaṇa worship, in which the Marātha Brahmans and other Hindus revere Pārvatī, is of Gond origin, equally as the *Gōndaḷa* ceremony among the Kolis. In this case the tribal name of the Gaudian *Goṇḍhalis* has been substituted to call the performance after the performers, which circumstance was forgotten in course of time. The term Pariah in its wrong derivation

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of the temple . . . Inside there is the image of Khande Rāo and his wife Mhālsā, placed behind a Linga, which is raised a little from the floor . . . Although from the local nature of the worship of Khande Rāo, the surname of Rāo, and the engrafting of this worship on the more ancient adoration of the Linga, it would appear to be comparatively modern, still we cannot trace its origin by the light of authentic history."

The passage in the *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, pp. 344–346, is taken from this account, to which is added the statement that "Khande Rao or Khandoba of Ujāin was the great champion of Brahmanism in the seventh century of the Christian era." The authority of this statement is unknown to me.

About the worship of *Khaṇḍōbā* compare also the *Indian Antiquary,* vol. X, p. 286, in the article *Murlīs* and *Wāghiās.*

[53] In the *Memoir of the Origin of Slaves* we read on p. 28: "The two classes of Koragars place some stone on a hillock, worship it by performing Pūja, as the god of Koragars. The remaining classes worship a deity called Kandiya and pay her vows."

[54] About the name of Khandesh compare "Rough Notes on Khāndesh" by W. F. Sinclair, Bo.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary,* vol. IV, p. 108: "The term *Khāndesh* is of doubtful derivation. It has been supposed to refer to the title of Khān used by the Sulṭāns of Burhānpur, and has also been derived from *Kāṇh-desh,* 'land of Kṛishṇa,' (conf. Kāṇhpur); from Tān-desh, 'the land of thirst,' in allusion to its arid plains and scanty rainfall; facetiously from Kāṇṭadesh, 'the land of thorns,' in which it certainly abounds; and finally the author of the *Ayini Akbari* and other Musulmān writers allude to it as 'Khāndesh, otherwise called Dāndesh,' which might be derived from 'Dāngdeśa,' the mountain and the plain. . I am inclined myself to

from *paṟai*, drum, offers a parallel example, as I have previously explained on p. 32.[55]

If *Gondophares* can be accepted as the actual name of the well-known Parthian king who ruled in North-Western India in the neighbourhood of Peshawar, one may possibly associate his name with that of the Gaudian or Gond tribe. However, the name appears in so many variations on coins and inscriptions that it is a difficult matter to settle. On the Greek obverse of some coins we read *Yndopherres*, which Dr. Aurel Stein inclines to identify with the Old-Persian *Vindaferna*, winning glory. On the Arian-Pāli reverse *Gudaphara* or *Gadaphara* is generally found. The name of Gondophares is of additional interest as the legend connects it with the visit of the Apostle Thomas to India. The locality of the adventures of Saint Thomas was eventually transplanted to South India; and Mailapur, now a suburb of

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believe in the derivation from Kāṇh, and to suppose that it was afterwards altered by the Musulmāns to the modern form. Krishṇa, under the name of Khaṇḍobā, is at this day, and would seem to have long been, a favorite divinity in the country."

By substituting Khaṇḍōbā for Kṛṣṇa Mr. Sinclair supports my theory, though Khaṇḍōbā as a representation of Śiva could hardly be identical with Kṛṣṇa.

[55] See "An Account of the Mhadeo Kolies," by Captain A. Macintosh in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. V, pp. 108–111: "Whatever malady man, woman, or child, or even their cattle, may be seized with, the Kolies imagine it is produced by the agency of some evil spirit or offended deity .... two or three sheep are sacrificed as a peace-offering to the goddess Bhoany (Dewee) and the gods Khundobah and Bhyroo, and the Gondhul ceremony takes place afterwards."

In H. H. Wilson's *Glossary* we read on p. 182: "*Gondaṇa*, *Gondaḷa*, or *Gondli*, *Gondhala*, or *Gondal*. A tumultuous festivity in honour of the goddess Devī, celebrated, even in Mysore, chiefly by Maratha Brāhmans, it being a Maratha festival (from the Mar. *Gondhala*, tumult, bustle), consisting of music, and dancing, and recitation of mythological stories ... It is probably the same thing as the *Gondhal*."

"*Gondhalī*, incorrectly *Gondali*, and *Gondli*, or *Gondlee*, corruptly *Gonedullee*. The name of a caste, or individual of it, whose business it is to sing and dance, and perform the *Gondhal*: in some places the *Gondhali* is the village drummer, sometimes he is a vagrant musician, dancer, and tumbler, or subsists by begging."

Read also *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of His Highness the Nizam's Dominions*, vol. I, pp. 316, 317: "The *Gondhalis*.—Members of this sect..

Madras, is pointed out as the place of his last mission and of his passion. Peculiarly enough, we find that the Rāja of Mailapur, who is associated with Saint Thomas, is called *Kandappa*, a name which has some resemblance with Gandaphares, a variation of Gondophares. It must, however, be mentioned that *Kanda* or *Kandappa* is the Tamil form of Skanda, the well-known Subrahmaṇya, whose vehicle is the peacock, in Tamil *mayil*, மயில். Professor Gutschmid has identified Gundophares with Caspar, one of the three Magi who went to Bethlehem. I have already explained in my monograph on Prester John the names of the three holy kings as representing the countries whence they came. *Melchior*, king of Nubia, became thus *Malki y'ōr*, king of the Nile, *Balthasar*, king of Saba, *Bēlsazzar*, king of the Chaldaeans, and *Kaspar*, king of Tarsis in Central Asia, *Kas-bār*, the ruler of the Casia regio.[56]

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are distributed chiefly in the Bider, Naldrug, Aurangabad, Birh and Nandair districts. They are usually attached to temples, though some are wandering mendicants. Numbers of them are found at Tuljapur. They perform what is known as the Gondhal ceremony at the houses of Brahmins in the Dasara, Hanuman's birthday and the cocoanut holidays. This ceremony can only be performed by married members of the sect, and those so entitled to perform it wear a string of cowries round their necks. They bury their dead and shave their beards as a sign of mourning." See *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, p. 309: "They dance at Hindu weddings with a lighted torch in their hands."

Compare note 51 on p. 156.

[56] The variations of Gondaphares are: Gandophares, Gundopharus, Gundoforus, Yndopheres, Gudaphara, Gadaphara, Godaphara.

See on this subject *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, by Percy Gardner, LL.D., edited by R. S. Poole, LL.D.; Introduction, pp. xliii, xlvi, lxxiii; 103–107, 174. With respect to dental and lingual *d* the editor makes on p. lxx the remark: "I cannot distinguish on the coins between *na* and *ṇa*, *da* and *ḍa*." The nasal in *Gu* (*Ga* or *Go*) *daphara* has been omitted as in the name of Menander, which is spelt *Menadra*.

Read also Dr. M. Aurel Stein's *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*, p. 13.

Among the articles of the pioneers of Indian Archæology consult T. Prinsep's *Note on the Historical Results deducible from recent Discoveries in Afghanistan*, London, 1844, and his *Essays on Indian Antiquities*; H. H. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 256, 340, 342; Christian Lassen's monograph *Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige* and especially in

CHAPTER X.

ON THE KOḌAGAS, KOṞAGAS, KOṞAVAS, TODAS, AND KŌTAS.

The Koḍagas.

The *Koḍagas* or Kurgs are the inhabitants of Kurg and represent the dominant tribe of that province. They are a hardy race, independent and proud of the liberty they enjoy. A foreign dynasty of Liṅgayat Rajas ruled over them till 1834. Their country is generally called *Kuḍagu* or *Koḍagu*, which term signifies, according to my opinion, mountain-tract. The beginning of this word means mountain, and the suffix *gu* is added to its end. A Kurgman is called *Koḍagan* or *Kuḍagan*, but the term *Kuṭavan* is used in Malayālam besides *Kuṭakan* for the gutturals, as we have seen, interchange occasionally with the semi-vowel *v*. The syllable *an* indicates the pronoun of the third person masculine.

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his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. II, pp. 391–397: "In dem dritten von diesen Reichen, dessen Daseyn nur durch die Münzen uns bezeugt wird, in Arachosien war *Yndopherres* oder *Gondophares* der Wiederhersteller der Parthischen Herrschaft. Die letztere Form is die einheimische gewesen, weil sie in den Arianischen Inschriften vorkommt . . (Wo die Vocalzeichen noch vorhanden sind, ist der Name *Gudupharа* zu lesen, das *n* scheint nicht bezeichnet zu seyn, wenigstens nicht wie auf den Münzen des Menandros) . . Seine Münzen stellen uns gleichsam im Umrisse die Geschichte seiner Thaten vor . . . Zwei seiner Typen sind zweifelhafter Deutung . . . Die zweite ist ihm und seinem Nachfolger eigenthümlich. Auf dieser Münze erscheint eine Gestalt in Indischer Tracht mit einem Zepter; vielleicht ist es der König selbst. Wenn dieses richtig ist, kann daraus gefolgert werden, dass er, wenn auch nicht eigentliche Inder, was unmöglich ist, doch Unterthanen gehabt habe, deren Gebräuche nur wenig von jenen sich unterschieden, und denen er seine Achtung dadurch beweisen wollte, dass er zugleich sich ihnen in Parthischer and in Indischer Tracht zeigte."

Specially noticed should be also Sir Alexander Cunningham's writings, *e.g.*, his "Coins of the Indian Buddhist Satraps with Greek inscriptions," in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XXIII, pp. 711–13; his remarks in the *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. II, pp. 59–61, vol. V, pp. 60, 62, and vol. XIV, pp. 48, 116. See further *Die Nachfolger Alexander des Grossen in Bactrien and Indien* von Alfred von Sallet; the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 309; vol. IX, pp. 258–263; vol. X, p. 214; vol. XII, p. 7; my book *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte*, zweite verbesserte Auflage, pp. 7, 41 and 228; *Die Kirche der Thomas-Christen* von Dr. W. Germann, pp. 16, 22, 26, 100.

The derivation of the word *Koḍagu* is a disputed point among scholars. Dr. Gundert feels inclined to connect it with *koṭu*, steep, the Rev. F. Kittel connects it with the root *kuḍ*, and Bishop Caldwell gives as its meaning either *curved* or *west*. I believe that *Koḍagu* or *Kuḍaku* is in reality a name, and that the signification *West* is derived from it. To the Tamil people *Kuḍagu* is a western, but to the Malayālis it is an eastern district. We find thus that the king of *Cēra* is called in Tamil the king of the West or *Kuḍakōn* (Kuḍakō and Kuḍanāṭan), while the king of *Koṅṅu* or Cēra is in Malayālam the king of the East, and Cēṟakāṟṟu is a name of the East-wind. *Koṅṅu* signifies according to Dr. Gundert *mountain-declivity*, and, though a general name of the Cēra (or Kēraḷa) country, it is particularly applied to the Coimbatore district. Moreover, *kuḍakku* for *west* is a special Tamil expression and not found in the other kindred tongues. Even Tamil generally uses in its stead the more common term *mēṟku*. I feel therefore inclined to explain the Tamil meaning of *kuḍakku* as *west* from the situation of the Kurg country which occupies a prominent position. Just in the same way the south-wind is called in Tamil *Cōḻakam* after the southern *Cōḻa* country whence it blows.[57]

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[57] Kurg is *Koḍagu* in Kanarese, Tulu and Telugu, *Kuḍaku* and *Kuḍakam* in Tamil, and *Kuṭaku* or *Koṭaku* in Malayālam. *Kuṭavan* and *Kuṭaman* signify in Malayālam a predial slave, while *Kuṭiyan* means a slave in Kurg. The latter term may have been perhaps derived from the word *kuṭi*, house. With respect to the interchange of *g* and *v* compare in Telugu *pōgu* and *pōvu*, earring; *pagaḍamu* and *pavaḍamu*, coral; *aguṭa* and *avuṭa*, to be. Consult C. P. Brown's *Telugu Grammar*, and see p. 28.

Respecting the name *Koḍagu* the Rev. F. Kittel makes the following remarks in a note to his article "Three Kongu Inscriptions" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, pp. 99–103: "As evinced by the pronunciation of Kanarese, Koḍaga, and other peoples, the name of the country is *Koṅgu* (not Kōṅgu with the long Sanskrit *o*); an inhabitant of that country, now-a-days often identified with the Koyambuttūr (Coimbatore) district, is called a Koṅga. Thus also *Koḍagu* (Coorg) is the country, and *Koḍaga*, a native of Coorg. Koṅgiṇi, Koṅguṇi, Koṅgaṇi are Sanskṛitized forms. Though Koṅgu and *Koḍagu* more than probably have the same root (*Kuḍ*), there seems to be no historical proof for the identity of the names. Among the *Koḍagas* of our time there is a well-known family called the *Koṅga* house,—a secondary

It is not impossible that the ancestors of the present Koḍagas, unless they are regarded as aborigines, immigrated at a later period into Kurg. In those early days the Billavas and the Kuṟumbas, the two representatives of the ancient Dravidian and Gaudian tribes, were already living on these mountains, as well as the Holeyas and Yeravas, who probably had not been degraded into bondslaves and outcastes.[58]

The principal divisions among the Kurgs are the priestly or Amma-Koḍagas and the Lay-Koḍagas.[59] Both classes are of Gaudian origin, though the Kāvēri Purāṇa represents the Amma-Koḍagas as Brahmans, who had been cursed by Agastya. Brahmanic tradition assigns to the ancient Tulu priests a similar fabulous history. These are said to have been fishermen, whom Paraśurāma had elevated into Brahmans by investing them with the holy thread torn from the cords of their nets, but whom he afterwards again degraded as unbelievers. The Amma-Koḍagas were probably

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evidence as to the influence of the Koṅgas over at least a portion of Coorg. It would be of some interest to know in what document Koḍagu is first mentioned." Bishop Caldwell gives in the introduction to his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, second edition, two different explanations of the word *Koḍagu*. On p. 22 he says: "The word *Koṅgu*, one of the names of the Chera country, means, like Kuḍagu (Coorg), crooked, curved, and is evidently a name derived from the configuration of the country;" and on p. 36 he writes: "The native spelling of Coorg is usually *Koḍagu*, properly *Kuḍagu*, from *kuḍa*, west, a meaning of the word which is usual in ancient Tamil." The original meaning of Kurg is often explained as signifying *western*, but this explanation like the others proposed by the two previously mentioned scholars appears to me improbable.

[58] See *Coorg Memoirs; an Account of Coorg*, by the Rev. H. Moegling, Bangalore, 1855; the Rev. G. Richter's *Manual of Coorg* (1870) and his *Ethnographical Compendium on the Castes and Tribes found in the Province of Coorg*, Bangalore, 1887; as well as Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. III. Moegling gives on pp. 1–10 a description of the Kurg country.

[59] According to *A Manual of Coorg Civil Law*, by Captain R. Cole, p. 4, "There are four different sects or tribes amongst the Coorgs, viz., 1. *Amma*, 2. *Sanna*, 3. *Malla*, 4. *Boddu* Coorgs. Amongst these sects the *Amma* and *Sanna* Coorgs are to be found in all parts of Coorg proper, whilst the *Boddu* Coorgs are chiefly found to the north of Mercara. The *Malla* Coorgs are amalgamated with the *Sanna* Coorgs and are no longer distinguishable."

so called after *Amma Kāvēri* or Mother Kāvēri, whom they worship, though they do not assist at any ceremonies at the Kāvēri temple. In fact for a considerable period the Amma-Koḍagas do not appear to have performed any priestly functions at all. They hardly surpass their lay countrymen in education, and they live entirely on agriculture. They possess no sacred books of their own, and their influence is very limited. Some years back they could scarcely be distinguished from the other Kurgs, and they have only lately discarded their national costume, in order to imitate the Brahmans in their dress and food. They wear now the sacred thread and abstain from animal food and liquor. According to tradition, the Ammas owned once half of the Kurg country free of rent, while the other half belonged to the Lay Kurgs. But circumstances have changed much of late, and the Amma-Koḍagas are not only greatly reduced in numbers, but are still continuing to decrease.[60]

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[60] Compare *Coorg Memoirs* of the Rev. H. Moegling, pp. 24-27: "When the Brahmans for whom Parashurāma's victory opened the Western Coast, settled in their new country, they found there an indigenous priesthood. They could not destroy them; they could not, or would not, amalgamate with them. What was to be done? The Parashurāma Shriṣhti Kathe (history of the creation of Kērala by Parashurāma) has managed the difficulty. The native priesthood, the Taulava Brahmans, are represented as Brahmans, created by Parashurāma, but afterwards cursed by him. They were originally fishermen. Parashurāma elevated them to Brahmanical rank by investing them with cords, torn from their nets. Afterwards, provoked by their unbelieving presumption, he degraded them for ever. Thus the ancient priests of the Tulu country were absorbed by the Brahmanical system as Brahmans, lying under a curse. In a similar manner the Ammas of Coorg appear in this Kāvēri Purāṇa, as Brahmans indeed originally, but degraded by the curse of the Rishi Agastya... The real history of the Ammas, or Amma Koḍagas has thus been effaced, and cannot be restored. However, a few facts may be mentioned as proofs, that the Ammas are the remains of the ancient priesthood, though they know it not themselves. 1. Their common name is Amma Koḍaga, which would naturally signify: Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma, *i.e.*, the goddess of the chief river of the country, the Kāvēri. 2. They observe the great festivals of the Coorg country in the same manner as the rest of the Coorgs, but of course, as priests, performing pūja, etc. 3. They dress like the rest of the Coorgs, though wearing at the same time, the Brahmanical cord. However, on this subject my information is rather curious. It is said, that

The Lay-Kurgs were formerly a warlike race, but the long years of peace and security have to a certain extent softened their manners. Still they are strong and brave, and though now not called upon to face hostile armies, they courageously encounter the wild and fierce beasts which infest their woods and mountains.

Their acknowledged bravery and the loyalty they displayed towards Government secured to the Kurgs the distinction of being exempted from the provisions of the Disarming Act after the suppression of the Great Mutiny.

It has been asserted that polyandry exists, or has existed, among the Koḍagas, and though this practice has probably become extinct in more recent times, there is no reason for supposing that it did not once exist. Polyandry is a custom peculiar to the Gauda-Dravidian tribes, and is still found among certain races. The households of the Koḍagas, in which two or three, perhaps even four, generations live together, have been likened to those of the five Pāṇḍavas.

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having degenerated by degrees, and being at last carried away by the Turks, they ceased to put on the holy cord, and began to wear the common Coorg dress. But it appears to me, that the truth differs much from the current statement. I suppose, that they wore the Coorg-dress originally, knew nothing of Brahmanical pretensions and badges, and differed in nothing from their brethren, except their selection for the priestly office. In more recent times they seem to have inclined towards the proffered patronage of the Brahmans, and to have gradually dropped into Brahmanical habits of thought and life. A good many now wear the holy cord, having laid aside the dress of their country, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. This return to Brahmanical initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman, the late Karṇika, Timappaya. His family still exercise spiritual rule over the Amma Koḍagas, who appear to delight in the shade of Brahmanical patronage. 4. They have no Shāstra. The whole Coorg race was unlettered from the beginning. Their own priesthood also, like the priests of ancient Germany and Britain, had no need of books.'' Mr. Lewis Rice's statements, *loco citato*, pp. 227, 228, coincide with those of Mr. Moegling. The Rev. G. Richter gives in his *Ethnographical Compendium* the following description of the Amma Koḍagas on p. 21: "The *Amma Coorgs* form but a small and exclusive sect. They are said to have been the indigenous priesthood, but there is no distinct priesthood attached to demon worship. The Coorgs being demon worshippers can have had no priesthood in the Brahmanical sense and the *Amma* Coorgs may rather be considered as having been, like the *Ajjala Palyas*, the officiating *Pujaris* at

The Koḍagas are very superstitious, worshipping demons and evil spirits.

On the whole the Koḍaga is a very worthy representative of the Gauda-Dravidian race, and has no need to raise himself in the esteem of others by claiming to be an Aryan Kṣatriya.[61]

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the bloody sacrifices offered to their *Bhutas*, an office which generally the head of the family performs. Yet their name, *Amma Kodagas*, denotes that they were devotees to 'Mother Kaveri,' a river deity which is identical with *Parvati*, the wife of *Siva*. . It may be conjectured that the Brahmans coming in contact with the rude Coorg mountaineers and seeing in the dominant race a promising field to further their own interests, imposed upon them their own puranic superstition and peopled the high mountains with celebrated *rishis* or hermits, chief among them *Agastia Muni*, and brought the source of the *Kaveri* in relationship with the principal Brahmanical deities, *Siva* and *Parvati*, and to give divine authority to their proceedings they foisted upon the Coorgs the *Kaveri Purana*, a feat which may have overawed a rude and superstitious race, but which by modern criticism is discovered as a fraudulent imposition of recent date. To conciliate and win over the indigenous *Bhuta pujaris* they were admitted as a sort of inferior priests of *Kaveri Amma*, hence their name *Amma Kodagas*. In the course of time disputes must have arisen between them and the more crafty and learned *Bramanical* priests whose interests necessitated a monopoly and as legend has it, the former fell under *Kaveri's* curse and decreased, whilst the Coorgs who sided with *Agastia Muni*, were promised increased prosperity. But however obscure the history of the *Amma* Coorgs may be, the fact is that from time immemorial they perform no priestly functions whatever, and being unlettered and ignorant they exercise no spiritual influence upon the rest of the Coorgs from whom they are only distinguished by wearing the Brahmanical cord and by abstaining from animal food and fermented liquor. They do therefore not eat with Coorgs nor intermarry with them ; but the Brahmans do in no wise acknowledge them as of equal standing or even resembling them in priestly dignity. Their number does not exceed 400, and the next census will likely confirm the opinion of their steady decrease. They live on agriculture only. It is said that a class of people like the *Amma Kodagas* live in the Wynaad, with whom they claim relationship, but have now no intercourse." The legend of Paraśurāma elevating fishermen on the Tuluva shore to Brahmans by destroying the nets and forming Brahmanical strings out of their meshes, is also contained in a Kanarese *Bhūgōla*. Paraśurāma became incensed against them in consequence of their attempting to try the truth of his word.

[61] See *Coorg Annals*, pp. 27, ff : " There can be no doubt, that the Coorgs have an origin distinct from the population both of the Western coast (Canara and Malayālam), and of the Mysore tableland. Their very appearance proves this. They are a tall, muscular, broad-chested, well-favored race. Many of them do not exceed the neighbouring tribes in height of

The Koṛagas.

A greater dissimilarity can hardly exist between two tribes than is found between the Koḍagas of Kurg and the Koṛagas of Kanara, though both belong to the same Gaudian race. The free and independent bearing of the Koḍaga stands in glaring contrast to the shy and retiring demeanour

body. . Their complexion is rather fair, their features generally regular. . . The national character of the Coorgs is perhaps tolerably well understood by the people of the plains, who look upon them as a fierce, irascible and revengeful race, not easily to be managed . . . They have a strange and noxious custom, a kind of marriage-communism within the family. The wives of the brothers of one house are considered as common property. The children consequently are rather children of the family, or of the mother, than of the acknowledged father . . . Among the Coorgs the family property descends accordingly not so much from father to son, as from generation to generation, the eldest member acting as head of the house. . In former days there was another way, my informant told me, for contracting marriage, besides family agreement. Two young people of the same (district) Nāḍu, would see each other, and without asking counsel of parents or friends, agree upon a union for life. Such a covenant would be held sacred. Unfaithfulness in the case of such partners was a thing unheard of." Read also Mr. Lewis Rice's *Gazetteer of Coorg*, pp. 93, ff., 203, 218, 254. Compare Mr. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium*, p. 2: "There can be no doubt that however varied the population of Coorg may be, the dominant tribe, the Coorgs, as well as the other Hindu castes and tribes of the country belong to the Dravidian race. . . . As to their physiognomy and bodily characteristics, essentially there seems to be no difference other than what may be accounted for by civilization and social institutions. The shape of their heads is clearly *meso-cephalic* and *orthognatus* with less or more prominent cheek-bones and oval or pointed faces." P. 3: "As to traditional habits and customs amongst the people of Coorg there is a great similitude to the usages among the other Dravidian races, modified of course by the difference of climate and civilizing influences." P. 19: . . The Coorgs or *Kodagas*, as they are properly called, are the principal inhabitants of the country, and from time immemorial the lords of the soil. For the last two centuries they are known as a compact body of mountaineers who resemble more a Scotch clan than a Hindu caste. . . However, the peculiar character attached to them is doubtless the result of physical and political circumstances in which they were placed. They are a tribe more from position than genealogy and cannot be said to be of distinct origin. In the Hindu scale they are considered as Sudras. By the force of local circumstances they became like other pre-Aryan hill tribes hunters and warriors and were brought into historical prominence through the chivalrous exploits of their Raja Dodda Verajender in his struggle with Tippu Sultan for independence and his alliance with the English, and again through the insane hostility of the last Raja and the short invasion and annexation of the country by the English in 1834. Now the Coorgs are peaceful agriculturists and chiefly fill the offices of the local administration and

of the Koṛaga when he encounters a stranger in his jungles. The Koḍaga has a comparatively fair complexion, while the skin of the Koṛaga is black; the former delights to cover himself with handsome clothes, the latter prefers rags or a state bordering on nudity; while the Koṛaga woman is even contented with a partial covering of interwoven leaves. In spite of his poverty and wretchedness, the Koṛaga is a contented man and lives happy and contented so long as nobody interferes with him, and of course so long as he can satisfy his hunger and thirst. He likes meat and is fond of spirits. The dead are buried according to Mr. N. Raghavendra Row, but burnt according to Dr. Francis Buchanan. Mr. N. Raghavendra Row asserts that the

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owe their notable position to the special favor of the British Government. Their presumption to be of *Kshatria* or *Rajput* descent may flatter their natural pride, but has not the slightest foundation in history or tradition, or in the evidence derived from their language or social and religious institutions and customs. Lieutenant Connor, whose professional duties brought him into daily intercourse with them for a period of two years, 1815-1817, enjoyed the most favorable opportunities to form an unbiassed opinion of the Coorgs before any European influence had affected their habits and social position. He rejects the supposition of their being a division of the *Nairs* as having 'no pretension to rank with the higher classes of the *Soodra* tribe.'" P. 38: "The Coorgs are generally charged with the practice of polyandry, and Lieutenant Connor writes of the custom as an undoubted fact, the reason for which he fails to see. He states, 'The Codugus generally marry after the age of puberty, the nuptials of the eldest brother are first celebrated, and the lady in all cases yields a consent to become the wife of the younger ones, who, when circumstances will permit, are married successively, their spouses being in turn not less accommodating.' Upon a careful and confidential examination of the matter, I have come to the conclusion that, whatever may have been the custom of bygone ages, or whatever form it may have assumed,—Thornton in his history of the British Empire alluding to the marriage laws of the Coorgs, called it 'communism of wives'—there is no such thing now practised amongst the Coorgs as a 'general usage.'" P. 42: "Regarding the *religion* of the Coorgs the general statement already given needs some special remarks. Considering their intimate connection with local and neighbouring castes and tribes, it is but natural that their religious practices, which originally stood on the same level with those of the *Holeyas*, viz., demon and ancestor worship, have been much influenced by Malayalim, Tulu, Kanarese, Brahmanical and Lingayet superstitions. Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at demon and ancestor worship; Tulus have smuggled in their demons and are in requisition as *pujaris;* Mysoreans at certain times of the year carry *Mari Amma* shrines through the country to

Koṛaga does not like to volunteer any information about his language. "He may be induced to give an account of "his feasts, his god, and his family, but a word about his "dialect will frighten him out of his wits. At that moment "alone, he will become impolite and unmannerly. He "thinks his dialect is a shield in his hand and cannot "be parted with, and therefore keeps it as a sacred secret. "But good words and kind treatment can do something. "A few words that have been gathered with great difficulty "resemble those of the Keikadi and Naikunde Gondi tribes "of Nagpore." The unwillingness of the Soppina Koragas to give information concerning their language is also mentioned in the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves.*[62]

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have the people's vows paid to them; the Brahmans who are domiciled in Coorg have succeeded in introducing *Mahádeva* and *Subrahmanya*, in entirely brahmanizing the worship of the river Kavéri, in having temples erected and idols set up, in spreading puranic tales, and in usurping to some extent the *puja* at the places of the worship. They have been greatly assisted in these successful endeavours by the *Lingayets* and *Sivacharis*, especially in the introduction of the *Linga*. Christianity first presented to them by the Roman Catholic settlement in Virajendrapet since the days of Dodda Virajendra, and for the last 30 years offered to them by the agents of the Basel Mission... has made little progress." Read also Rev. F. Kittel's articles entitled *Coorg Superstitions*, *The Coorgs* and *Three Kongu Inscriptions* in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. II, pp. 168-171, 182, and vol. VI, pp. 99-103. The second article treats about the custom of polyandry. Compare Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, pp. 286-290.

According to the last census the number of Amma Koḍagas amounted to 475 and that of the other Koḍagas to 26,538 souls.

[62] See Mr. Ullal Raghavendra Rao's account on the Koṛagas of Canara. I have not been able to obtain a copy of the original lecture. It has been reprinted two years ago in the May number 1886 of the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, it is also *in extenso* quoted in the *Madras Census Report* of 1871, vol. I, pp. 343-345, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, pp. 195-199, and in Mr. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. III, pp. 206-210. "With a black face, forehead of moderate size, and strong body, all bespeaking contentment, *the Koragar* is separated from the rest of mankind,—alien in dress, in manners, customs and dialect. Uneducated and illiterate as he is, in his circle virtue thrives as in her proper soil. . . He has a god, and him he knows to love—him he knows to pray to, however incoherent his language be. Lying, stealing, adultery, and other social evils, he knows not. He has never appeared in a court of justice as defendant in a suit. He does drink toddy, it is true. . He does eat flesh. On what else should he live, while we have denied him every means of subsistence. ? . The Koragar, born

Little is known about their former history. The Koragas are now treated like Pariahs, though according to tradition they also were once a governing race. Dr. Francis Buchanan states that: "*Hubushica*, chief of the savages

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as a slave, is richly content with his ignorance, with his *koppu*, and with his squalid poverty. Ambition finds in him no place. He eats but the rotten flesh of the dead cattle. He clothes himself but with rags... The dress of the Koragar does not greatly differ from that which the lower classes, such as the *Billawars*, make use of during their daily labour, the only point of difference is, that the poverty of the Koragar does not allow him to replace the narrow piece of threadbare cloth, little better than a rag, by a more recent suit of clothes on festive occasions; while the other classes invariably reserve some sort of finery for gala days. The dress of the females, however, is very peculiar. While the males gird a piece of cloth around their loins, the females cover their waist with the leaves of the forest interwoven together. The custom of their nudity is attributed to different reasons; and a tradition, which has been handed down to posterity among the upper classes, who boast of the glory of the past, is hardly worthy of belief... One of these 'blacklegged' (the usual expression by which they are referred to during the night) demanded a girl of high birth in marriage. Being enraged at this, the upper class withheld, after the overthrow of the Koraga empire, every kind of dress from the Koraga women, who, to protect themselves from disgrace, have since had recourse to the leaves of the forest . . .Within his own circle, he has three divisions: 1. *The Ande Koragars.*—These are described as having a pot suspended from their neck. This class, which is the lowest, has been rarely seen since the establishment of British rule in Canara. They were considered so unholy, that they were not allowed to this on the public way; and, consequently, the pot was worn for this purpose. 2. *The Vastra Koragars.*—This appellation has reference to their wearing clothes such as were used to shroud a dead body and were given to them in the shape of charity, the use of a new cloth being prohibited. 3. *The Sappu Koragars.* —These Koragars are such as we now generally see, wearing leaves for clothes. These three divisions are named simply after their different kinds of dress." (This extract is from M. Sherring's vol. III, and the following partly also from the *Indian Antiquary*.)

"When a Koragar dies, as a matter of simple duty, reference is made to his landlord, and with his permission the deceased is buried in a place consecrated for the purpose, and in his honour four balls of rice are made and placed on the grave, which must be done within twelve months from the date of his death. Koragars were, it is said, originally worshippers of the sun... They have no separate temple for their god; but a place beneath a Kāsarkana tree is consecrated for the worship of their deity, which is exclusively their own, and is called *Kata*... The Koragars have no fixed feasts exclusively their own. Now, while liberty shines throughout the world under this Christian Government, slavery still lurks in those darkest corners where the rays of education have yet to penetrate. The *Koragars* and *Holeyas* are victims to this vestige of past despotism. The ceremony

"called *Coragoru*, or *Corar*, governed 12 years, till Kali-"yugam 2657. *Locaditya Raya*, son of Myuru Varma, "expelled the *Coragoru*, and governed Tulava, Malayala, "and Haiga 21 years, till Kaliyugam 2678."[63]

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of buying a slave needs a little explanation. The destined slave is washed, and anointed with oil, and new clothes are given him. The master takes a *bathu*, or plate, pours some water in it, and drops in it a piece of gold. The slave drinks up the water, and taking some earth from his future master's estate, throws it on the spot which he has chosen for his use, which is thereupon given to him with the trees thereon. The greater number of slaves belong to the Aliya Santanam castes, and among these people a male slave is sold for three Bhaudry pagodas, and a female slave for five pagodas; whereas the few slaves who follow the Makkala Santanam custom, fetch five pagodas for the man, and only three for the woman. This is because the children of the latter go to the husband's master, while those of the Aliya Santanam slaves go to the mother's master, who also has the benefit of the husband's services."

In the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves* of Ramappa Karnik of Barkur, which I quoted on p. 156 in note 50, p. 159, note 53, and on p. 170 concerning the language of the Soppu Koragar, contain also other interesting remarks on the Koragas on pp. 23, 24, 32, 33, 34, 35. In 11: "Mirars, Kappata Koragars, Soppu Koragars and those, who are aborigines of Ghauts feed upon carrion or carcasses of oxen, cows, calves, buffaloes and other cattle. Females of Soppu Koragars alone wear leaves of trees... Kappata Koragars and Soppu Koragars do wicker-work, sell hides to shoe-makers and secure remnants of food of all higher classes except the subdivided Chandalas. Soppu Koragars also beat drum during buffalo race and other occasions... Among the Soppu Koragars, male guests of their caste bring degradation upon them if they enter after sun-set a hut occupied by a single woman. The females of this class, failing to wear leaves, bring disrepute to the whole class."

[63] Compare *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, by Francis Buchanan, M.D., second edition, Madras, vol. II, p. 269, and pp. 271, 272: "Having assembled some of the *Corar*, or *Corawar*, who under their chief *Hubashica* are said to have once been masters of *Tulava*, I found, that they are now all slaves, and have lost every tradition of their former power. Their language differs considerably from that of any other tribe in the peninsula. When their masters choose to employ them, they get one meal of victuals, and the men have daily one *Hany* of rice, and the women three-quarters of a *Hany*. This is a very good allowance; but, when the master has no use for their labour, they must support themselves as well as they can. This they endeavour to do by making *Coir*, or rope from coco-nut husks, various kinds of baskets from *Ratans* and climbing plants, and mud walls. They pick up the scraps and offals of other people's meals, and skin dead oxen, and dress the hides. They build their huts near towns or villages. Their dress is very simple, and consists in general of a girdle, in which they stick a bunch of grass before, and another

The same incident is mentioned in the following manner in the MS. of the yet unprinted "Geography and History of Canara" compiled by the late Mr. William Lavie, an official of South Kanara, during the years 1830 to 1841: "About "900 years or more before Christ (but we must not be too "particular about dates) Hoobashee brought an army from "Anantapur consisting of the Berar, Mundale, Karamāra, "Mailla, Holeya, Ande Koraga; with these troops, whom "Buchanan calls savages, Hoobashee marched against "Angara Varma, the son of Veera Varma. They first came "to Barkūr and from thence proceeded to Mangalore, where "they were seized with the small-pox, and greatly troubled "by the ants. Subsequently they went to the south-"ward of Manjeshwar. Here Hoobashee established his "capital, and put his nephew Siddha Bhyru on the throne "in lieu of Veera Varma. He reigned only twelve years, "and then both he and Hoobashee died, owing to the en-"chantments used by Veera Varma who went to Banwāsee "in Sonda for that very purpose. After their deaths, Veera "Varma returned and drove the aforesaid army into the

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behind. Some of the men have a fragment of cloth round their waist; but very few of the women ever procure this covering. They are not, however, without many ornaments of beads, and the like; and even when possessed of some wealth, do not alter their rude dress. Some few of them are permitted to rent lands as *Gaynigaras*. In spite of this wretched life, they are a good looking people, and therefore probably are abundantly fed. They have no hereditary chiefs, and disputes among them are settled by assemblies of the people. If they can get them, they take several wives; and the women are marriageable both before and after puberty, and during widowhood. They will not marry a woman of any other caste; and they are considered of so base an origin, that a man of any other caste, who cohabits with one of their women, is inevitably excommunicated and afterwards not even a *Corar* will admit his society. The marriages are indissoluble, and a woman who commits adultery is only flogged. Her paramour, if he be a *Corar*, is fined. The master pays the expense of the marriage feast. When a man dies, his wives, with all their children, return to the huts of their respective mothers and brothers, and belong to their masters. They will eat the offals of any other caste, and can eat beef, carrion, tigers, crows, and other impure things; they reject, however, dogs and snakes. They can lawfully drink intoxicating liquors. They burn the dead, and seem to know nothing of

"jungles where they were driven to such extremities that "they consented to become slaves and serve under the former "landlords. The way in which this was done was as follows: "After washing and anointing the body with oil, new cloths "were put on the destined slave, and his future owner having "taken a *Batlu* or plate, poured some water on it and dropt "in a piece of gold. After which the slave drank up the "water. The slave then took up some earth from his future "master's estate and threw it on such a spot as he chose for "his house and garden which was accordingly given over to "him with all the trees thereon. The Karamāra were set "to watch the crops and cattle belonging to the village. "The head-men who had been appointed by Hoobashee to "the most responsible posts under his nephew's government "were taken naked towards the sea in order to be hung "there, but being ashamed of their naked state they gathered "the leaves of the Necky gida (ನೆಕ್ಕಿ ಗಿಡ), five-leaved trees, and "made a small covering for themselves in front. Thereupon "their conductors took pity on them and let them go, since "which they have continued to wear no other covering than "the leaves of the said tree." [64]

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a state of future existence, nor do they believe in *Paisachi*, or evil spirits. Their deity is called *Buta*, and is represented by a stone, which is kept in a square surrounded by a wall. To this stone, in all cases of sickness, they sacrifice fowls or make offerings of fruit or grain, and every man offers his own worship (*Pūja*); so that they have no officiating priest, and they acknowledge the authority of no *Guru*. They follow all the oxen and buffaloes of the village, as so much of the live stock, when they are driven in procession at a great festival which the farmers annually celebrate."

[64] I copied this extract from a MS. copy of Mr. Lavie's *Geography and History of Canara* kindly lent to me by Mr. J. Sturrock, Collector of South Canara, and it occurs there on pp. 21, 22. Mr. Lavie says about it: "29. The following traditionary account of the Dhērs I quote in full from a Canarese paper obligingly furnished to me by a respectable native." This extract is also contained in a note to the *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves* by Ramappa Karnic of Barkur, a friend of Dr. Buchanan. These memoirs were translated by Mr. Joseph Saldanha, Sheristadar of Mangalore, and published by Dr. John Shortt in the IV Part of *The Hill Ranges of Southern India*. The MS. copy of these Memoirs and the print of Dr. Shortt (on p. 19) acknowledge Lavie's *Geography and History of Canara* as their original

In the English translation of Rāmappa's *Memoirs of the Slaves*, Hoobashee is always called Hubashika, and the Karamāras are called Mārimans or Kappatu Koragas.

We read also in this memoir that Hubaṣika, king of the Caṇḍālas, subdued king Lōkādirāya, that the king Candrasēna, in order to get rid of Hubaṣika, proposed to him that he should marry Candrasēna's sister, and when Hubaṣika with his chief followers came, the guests were treacherously assailed and either massacred or enslaved.[65]

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source. The following account is reprinted from *The Koragars* by Mr. Ullal Raghavendra Rao from the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 196: "The following tradition gives us a very faint idea of their rule:—

"About 900 years or more B.C. (but we must not be too particular about dates), the *Habashi* brought an army from Anantapur, consisting of the Birar, Mundal, Karmara, Maila, Holeya, Ande Koraga; with these troops, whom the learned Dr. Buchanan calls savages, the Habashi marched against *Angara Varma*, the son of Vira Varma. They first came to *Barkur*, and from thence proceeded to *Mangalur*, where they were attacked by small-pox, and greatly troubled by ants. They went to the southward of *Manjeśvar*. There the *Habashi* established his capital, and put his nephew *Sidda Bairu* on the throne in lieu of Vira Varma. He reigned only twelve years, and then both he and the Habashi died, owing to the enchantments used by *Vira Varma*, who went to *Banawasi* in Sonda for that very purpose. After their death *Vira Varma* returned, and drove the aforesaid army into the jungles, where they were pursued to such extremities that they consented to become slaves and serve under the former landlords. The *Karmara* was sent to watch the crops and cattle belonging to the village. The headmen who had been appointed by the Hubashi to the most responsible posts under his nephew's government were taken naked to the seashore in order to be hanged, but, being ashamed of their naked state, they gathered the leaves of the *Nekki gida* and made a small covering for themselves. Thereupon their conductors took pity on them, and let them go, since which they have, it is said, continued to wear no other covering than the leaves of the said tree."

The Koragars have been republished in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, vol. III, pp. 824, 833. The contents of the nine lines (beginning with "The way in which," and ending with "all the trees thereon," concerning the ceremony of buying a slave) are omitted in this extract, and are found in another extract reprinted at the top of p. 172 in note 62.

The passage on p. 197 beginning with: "Although these slaves are in a degraded position" and ending with: "They are also mortgaged for three or four pagodas," forms verbatim part of § 30 on p. 23 of Mr. Lavie's MS. It is found in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* on pages 828, 829. Mr. Lavie resigned the service in 1848 and died in England in 1861.

65 The *Locaditya Raya* of Buchanan is called *Lokadiraya* by Ramappa Karnic of Barkur, in whose *Memoirs of the Origin of Slaves* in Dr. Shortt's *Hill Ranges*, Part IV, pp. 18 and 19, we read: "Formerly, a hero by name Hubashika

What makes this tradition so interesting is that it connects Hubaṣika with the Kadambas; for Candrasēna, the ruler of the Tuluva country, was a kinsman of Trinētra Kadamba. Trinētra is a favorite name in this dynasty. Candrasēna had a son Lōkāditya, who married a daughter of Trinētra Kadamba. The daughter of this Lōkāditya and of the Kadamba princess Kanakāvatī was asked in marriage by Hubaṣika, the king of the Caṇḍalas. Lōkāditya pretended to favour the suit, and invited the intended bridegroom to his capital Tripura to celebrate the marriage. Shortly after his arrival Hubaṣika and his retinue were treacherously assailed and massacred by the soldiers of Lōkāditya and Trinētra.

These accounts differ very considerably. According to some Hubaṣika died owing to the enchantments of Vīra Varma, according to others he was killed by Lōkāditya, to

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became famous amongst the Chandalas, subdued the king Lokadiraya and was ruling with his caste men. King Chendashena, with the view of getting rid of Hubashika, proposed a marriage between Hubashika and Chendasena's sister, and invited the bridegroom and his caste men to the nuptials. The invitation being complied with, a wholesale massacre of the guests ensued, many fell victims to the plot, a few escaped, others were imprisoned and made over to Brahmans to be employed in tilling their lands. As the captives belonged to the camp of the enemy, it was declared that the Chandalas should be punished by their respective masters for faults committed by them; that they should for ever remain under subordination to others; that they should possess no authority whatever; and that they should be allowed only the daily ratio of food rather than permit them to have at their disposal, the previous day, means for providing themselves with the necessaries of the next day. Thus doomed to bondage for ever, the Chandalas were transferred along with the lands to the subsequent Nādavar and Brahman purchasers . Those who had escaped during the aforesaid crisis had returned home, pursued their avocations and lived an indepeodent life . . The Soppu Koragars also appear to have been in some localities attached to land and in others to have enjoyed liberty."

With respect to the Kadambas the main printed information so far as the subject concerns us here is contained in H. H. Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection,* Introduction, pp. lix, l, ci-ciii, 95-97 (new edition, pp. 36, 60, 62, 149, 150).

I have consulted the MSS. in the Government Oriental MSS. Library on which are mostly founded the conclusions of Wilson. Read also Mr. L. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I, pp. 194, 195.

whom Buchanan ascribed the expulsion of the Koṛagas after the death of Hubaṣika. The relationship of the Kadamba princes is also given differently; still these contradictions need not invalidate the main part of the tradition concerning Hubaṣika.

If we could recognise in this prince a real historical personage, an important step would have been gained towards fixing the period of these events. The life of the first Trinētra Kadamba is placed by some at the beginning of the second century A.D., and this is the very period which the coins supply concerning the reign of *Huviṣka* or Hooerkes, king of the Korano, who would have been thus a contemporary of Hubaṣika, king of the Koṛagas.

The mighty Scythian king *Kadphises* II was succeeded in North-Western India by king *Kaniṣka* or Kanerkes, who initiated in A.D. 78 the Śaka Era, as has been first suggested by the late Mr. James Fergusson. Kaniṣka or Kanerkes was followed in his reign about 110 A.D. by Huviṣka or Hooerkes. The latter forms prevail on the coins, while the records contain the former. The Korano or Kuṣan are identical with the *Yueh-chi*, the Chinese name of this tribe, commonly known to us as Indo-Scythians.

The Gauda-Dravidian race, as I have repeatedly pointed out, was not confined to India, some of its branches having remained on the northern frontier of the Indian continent. The invasion by the Korano can thus be appropriately explained as an inroad into India made by a kindred tribe, and leads to the suggestion that *Hubaṣika*, king of the Koṛagas, may be identified with Huviṣka, king of the Korano or Kuṣan. As Huviṣka's reign falls in the first half of the second century A.D., the period of Hubaṣika's reported invasion will be fixed if Hubaṣika and Huviṣka are one and the same person.

Moreover, there are different kings of the name Trinētra among the Kadambas. The first Trinētra lived according

to native tradition early in the Kaliyuga, while H. H. Wilson places his reign in the second half of the second century A.D. *Mayūra Varma*, the *Myuru Varma* of Buchanan, either the third or the sixth king of this dynasty, had a son Trinētra Kadamba, also known as Kṣētra Varma and Candragada. He was the brother-in-law of Lōkāditya, the son of Candrasēna. Great confusion prevails in this matter.

The resemblance between the two names *Hubaṣika* and *Huviṣka* is so great, that one might suspect them to be identical. If this is the case, we must consider whether there existed only one or two or more kings of this same name. If only one king of this name ruled, his exploits must have been transferred to a subsequent period, in order to confer on the then reigning dynasty (in this circumstance on the race of the Kadambas [66]) the glory of having slain such a distinguished sovereign. If we can trace more than one ruler of the name of Huviṣka (Hubaṣika), the difficulty as to the date is removed. Yet, I feel inclined to assume that only one king of this name did exist, and that Hubaṣika's or Huviṣka's invasion is separated from Lōkāditya's reign by a long intervening period. The identity of the original Hubaṣika with Huviṣka will be of considerable historical interest, as it proves the great impression which the invasions of the Indo-Scythians made on the mind of the Indian people. The similarity between *Korano* and *Koraga*, the names of the tribes over whom Huviṣka and Hubaṣika respectively ruled, must also not be overlooked.

Mayūra Varma is credited with having introduced Brahmans to Kanara. His capital was Banavāsi, already mentioned by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 83) as **Βαναουασεί**.

The change of an *r* into a sibilant does not offer any philological difficulty, especially in Sanskrit, so that the forms *Kaniṣka* and *Huviṣka* require no particular explanation, if the original national pronounciation preferred an *r* and

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[66] See p. 264.

was Kanerkes and Hooerkes. Certain euphonic rules even necessitate the above-mentioned change in Sanskrit. The Gauda-Dravidian languages are not very strict in the use of the liquids *r* and *l*, and the letter *ḻ* is at times pronounced like an *l* or an *r*, and even, though faulty, like an *ṣ*.[67]

The Koṟagas, whom Buchanan calls *Corawar*, though treated like out-castes, yet acknowledge caste-distinctions among themselves. They are known as *Ande Koṟagas*, *Vastra Koṟagas* and *Soppu Koṟagas*. They are divided besides into five tribes. The names of two of these are lost. The others are called *Bangaranna*, *Kumaranna*, and *Mungaranna*.

I explain the word Koṟaga in the same manner as Koḍaga, both names being derivatives of *ko*, mountain. Dr. Francis Buchanan calls the Koṟagas, as above men-

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[67] About these rulers and especially about *Huviṣka* or Hooerkes, compare besides other writings the *Catalogue of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* by Percy Gardner, LL.D., edited by Reginald S. Poole, LL.D., Introduction, pp. xlix-li: "The evidence derived from the style and epigraphy of coins seems to show that Kadphises I. and Kadaphes ruled but a part of North-West India. When Kadphises came in as an invader from the north, he found Hermaeus ruling in the Kabul Valley, and reduced him to a state of dependence . . . The Yueh-chi did not rapidly extend their dominion in India . . Only on the accession of the second Kadphises did the power of the invaders become altogether predominant . . Kadphises II., Ooemo Kadphises, was a wealthy monarch, and the founder of a powerful line of Scythic kings, as to whom inscriptions give us some information. His date is about the middle of the first century A.D. His successors are the kings called on their coins Kanerkes and Hooerkes, and in the records Kanishka and Huvishka. Their rule comprised the whole of North-West India and the Kabul Valley." See further pp. 129, 158, 175; H. H. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 5, 9, 347-377; *The Archæological Survey of India* by Sir Alexander Cunningham, vol. II, p. 238; vol. II, pp. 10, 43, 44, 63-70, 88, 159, 162, 168; vol. III, pp. 30, 32; vol. V, p. 57; vol. XIV, p. 53; vol. XVI, Pref., P. IV; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI, pp. 217-19; vol. X, pp. 213, 216; vol. XVII contains the article on "Zoroastian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins" by M. Aurel Stein, Ph.D., to which I wish to draw attention, though I cannot as yet see my way to agree with him in his, at all events, ingenious conjecture of identifying the Greek P which he himself pronounces repeatedly *r* with the sibilant ṣ.

The *Banavasei* (Βαναaύσει and Βαναουασεί) of Ptolemy has been differently explained. Some take it for *Kundapur*, others for Koṅkaṇapura, Kōkanūr and Ânegundi. See Mr. T. W. McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 179.

tioned, also *Corawar.* The *Koṟavas* or *Koṟamas*, mountaineers, are indeed a tribe widely spread in Southern India. They are identical with the Kuṟuvas, of whom I shall speak later on. To the mountain climbing *Malaca*, whom I noticed on p. 21, correspond the terms *Koṟaca*, *Korca* and *Korsa* unless they are taken as modifications of Koṟava. We find these people especially in the Kanarese districts. They are well known as basket-makers.[68]

The Todas.

The Todas or Tudas, as these pastoral rulers of the Blue Mountains, or *Nīlagiri* of South India, are generally called, have to a certain extent baffled all inquiries concerning their origin. But there is no doubt that they belong to the Gaudian branch of the Gauda-Dravidian group. The supposition that the Todas are connected with the African *Ethiopian* has, I think, no foundation whatever.[69]

The question whether they are aborigines of, or immigrants into, the country they at present inhabit, has been much discussed. The probability is that, according to their traditions, they left their original abodes and settled on the Nīlagiri mountain range; but the time when this migration actually took place is shrouded in mystery. Yet, even if they ascended from the plains to the Nīlagiri hills, this circumstance does not militate against the fact that originally in their old homes they were mountaineers. At all events very many centuries must have elapsed since their settlement on the Nīlagiri. They possess, so far as we can ascertain, no trustworthy traditions, no inscriptions, nor any literature concerning their ancient history.

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[68] See p. 97.

[69] See Lieutenant-Colonel W. E. Marshall's *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, p. 4: "There is much of the 'blameless Ethiopian' about them: something of the Jew and of the Chaldaean in their appearance." "On the eve of sending this work to the press, I would beg again to urge my belief in the connection between the Drāvidian Toda and the Ethiop."

The Todas are divided into five clans, namely: Paiki, Pekkan, Kuttan, Kenna and Todi. We meet the term *Paiki* again among the *Hale-paikis* of Naga, and the *Kumāra-paikas* of North Kanara, who make toddy-drawing their chief occupation. The Hale-paikis of Manjarabad are called *Dēvara makkaḷu* or children of God, and the Paikis who take the lead among the Todas, for from them the Pālāḷ or high-priest is chosen, call themselves also *Dēr mokh*, or children of God.[70]

The derivation of *Paiki* is obscure; can it be connected with the Telugu postposition *pai*, above?

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[70] In *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, Mangalore, 1864, the Rev. F. Metz says on p. 14: "At what period the Todas first came to and settled upon the Neilgherries, we have no means of ascertaining; for they have no literature, nor any inscriptions, and such of their traditions as I have hitherto heard them mention afford no clue whatever by which this mystery can be unravelled. From their legends, and some particular words contained in their language, I am led to think that, prior to migrating to these Hills, they must, perhaps for centuries, have inhabited a range lying to the North-East, in the direction of Hassanoor, beyond the Gazelhutty pass. Part of the tribe appears to have settled in a northern direction near Collegal; for I am frequently pressed to go and visit them and bring back intelligence respecting their condition in life; prosperity with the Todas, as in patriarchal times, consisting in the number and extent of their heads." See also *An Account of the Tribes on the Neilgherries*, by J. Shortt, M.D., Madras, 1868, pp. 4-42. On p. 4 he writes: "Todawars, or Torawurs, who are reputed to be the aborigines, and, it is said, were once clad in leaves and roamed as free and unrestrained lords of the soil, leading a pastoral nomadic life. . . Todawars, or Torawurs—the literal name given to herdsmen in the Tamil language—are the principal tribe, and are believed to be the original inhabitants, as well as the territorial sovereigns of these Hill tracts. Not only do the Todars themselves claim this priority of existence and possession, but the right is conceded to them by the other Hill tribes, who, in recognition of it, always paid a tribute to their Toda lords, consisting of one-sixth of the produce in kind; but, under the British Government, this practice is being gradually discontinued. . . The Toda or Thoddur tribe consists of five distinct intersections or sub-divisions, namely (1) Peiky; (2) Pekkan; (3) Kuttan; (4) Kenna; and (5) Tody. . . (On p. 7.) The Todawars are entirely a pastoral race, and lead a peaceful tranquil life, chiefly employed in tending their cattle. They carry no weapon of offence or defence for protection against enemies of their own kind or wild beasts, except a cowherd's wand or staff, which is made of jungle wood generally, about 4½ feet long with a large knob or head." Compare further *ibidem* a *Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a Survey on the Neilgherry Mountains*, by Captain J. Ouchterlony, 1847, pp. 51-52: "This remarkable race differs in almost every essential respect from all other tribes of the

They also do not show much interest in the old cairns, kistvains, sepulchral structures, and other remains that are found scattered all over these mountains, though they claim some as their own. It is, therefore, still a matter of some doubt whether these relics ought to be assigned to them in preference to the Kuṛumbas, who may perhaps have a more legitimate title to their possession. From many indications it would appear that the people who erected these stone buildings must have been agriculturists. The Todas, on the

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natives of Hindustan, and their singular characteristics and strange habits have given rise to much speculation as to their origin and history. As no clue has however yet been discovered either in the form of monuments, coins, or even in their own traditions, by which research could be directed, all theories broached upon the subject cannot be otherwise than vain and illusory, especially those which have been based upon the assumption that the images, bones, and other relics which are found in the remarkable 'cairns,' discovered in such numbers all over the Hills, belonged to the ancestors of the Todars. . . (On p. 63.) Their occupation is purely pastoral; their only manual labor being the milking of the buffaloes, and converting portions of their milk into butter and ghee." Consult *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nīlagiris*, by the late James Wilkinson Breeks, edited by his widow; London, 1873, pp. 26 and 27: "The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now. This view is in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh, and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bētikhān, who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotē beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor, Dirkish. The question then arises: how, and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas?. . The answer could seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pútkuli, tharp, kōnu, &c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too intermittent and insignificant to be depended on for subsistence. Probably they were then expert in the use of the bow." Read further *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, by

other hand, are now shepherds, and lead a simple pastoral and nomadic life. They do not devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil, an occupation which the Badagas, who immigrated at a later period, especially follow. Yet the assumption that the Todas have always led a pastoral life, if substantiated, seems to speak against the connection of the Todas with such structures. However, it is quite possible that the sickles found in the cairns may have been used for other than agricultural purposes.[71]

Lieutenant-Colonel William E. Marshall, London, 1873, pp. 2–8 and 136, and *A Manual of the Nīlagiri District*, by H. B. Grigg, Madras, 1880, pp. 183-202. Compare about the *Paiki* Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introduction, pp. xxxiii, xxxiv, and Metz, p. 35.

[71] See Rev. F. Metz, *ibidem*, p. 13 : "Some few of the Todas maintain that the cairns are the work of their ancestors, but these are men who have been examined by Europeans. The majority, and especially the most respectable of them, do not hold this opinion, and it would be a strange anomaly indeed in a people so proverbial for their respect for the dead, to allow, as the Todas do, these places of interment to be rudely disturbed and desecrated by the hands of strangers, did they believe them to be the receptacles of the ashes of their forefathers. Many of the circles constructed of loose stones which have been taken to be deserted temples of this tribe, were doubtless nothing more than buffalo-pens." And on p. 124 : "During the 13 years that I have labored amongst and mixed with the hill-tribes, I have never found the Todas in any way interested in the cairns, whilst the fact of their making no objection to their being opened, taken in connection with the circumstance of the contents frequently consisting of plough-shares, sickles and other implements of husbandry, showing that the cairns were constructed by an agricultural race, which the Todas never were, are to me convincing proofs that they are not the work of the Todas of a past generation." The Rev. Mr. Metz states that such kist-vains are called *Mōriaru mane*, house of the *Mōrias*, and recognises in the latter the Mauryas or Usbeck Tatars. Is it perhaps possible to connect the term *Mōriaru* with the Mar tribe? Peculiarly enough *Mēr* is the Toda expression for the Kūndahs, as in the Toda name *Mērkōkāl* for Kotagiri, *i.e.*, the Kota village (Kōkāl) of the Kūndahs, see Breeks, p. 36. Compare Captain Congreve's article : *The Antiquities of the Neilgherry Hills*, including an Inquiry into the Descent of the *Thautavars or Todars*, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1847, vol. XIV, No. 32, pp. 77-146. Lieutenant-Colonel Congreve contends that the Todas were the constructors of the old cairns and he gives on pp. 84, 85 his reasons for it : "1st. The shape of the cairns: a Circle of stones similar to that of the cemeteries of the Thautawars at this day. 2nd. The basins and other utensils, knives, arrow-heads, shreds of cloth, mingled with charcoal and bones found in the cairns are precisely the same articles buried at the funeral of a modern Thautawar. 3rd. In both cases these things are deposited

Some of their legends connect the Todas with the Rākṣasa king *Rāvaṇa*, others with his great antagonist, *Rāma*. The ancestors of the Todas are said to have been the palanquin bearers of Rāvaṇa; if so, they belong to the Gauda-Dravi-

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in holes under large slabs in the middle of the cemeteries. 4th. The numerous figures of buffaloes, some with bells round their necks, made of pottery, found in the cairns are monuments of the antiquity of the Thautawar custom of sacrificing buffaloes decorated with bells at funerals. 5th. In every case I have observed a Thautawar village situated contiguously to the cairn, manifesting some connection. 6th. The Thautawars claim to be the original proprietors of the land, a claim acknowledged by the English, as well as the Native inhabitants of the Hills. 7th. The prevailing opinion amongst the latter that these cairns belonged to the early Thautawar people. 8th. The absence of any inscription on any of the vessels dug out of the cairns, considered with reference to the fact of the Thautawars having no written language. 9th. The circumstance of some lascars attempting to open a cairn in search of treasure being compelled to desist in their enterprize by the Thautawars of an adjoining village." Dr. Shortt, in the article above mentioned, says on p. 45: "The Todas themselves attribute the cairns found on the Neilgherries, sometimes to a people who preceded them, at others to the Kurumbas, and that they formed their burial places . . . It is generally believed by the Natives that these cairns and cromlechs are the work of the followers of the Pandean Kings, and that they at one time ruled on the Neilgherries also. The Todas and Badagas likewise believe this, while some of them attribute them to the Kurumbas. The Rev. Mr. Metz is also of the latter opinion, and I am inclined to coincide with this gentleman." See also J. W. Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiris*, pp. 72–110; p. 95: "The Peranganād cairns, lying between Kotagherry and Kodanād, differ less from those at Tunēri; the figures are generally smaller and rougher, and the colour darker, but the urns are often very fine, with strong glaze of mica . . It is, however, remarkable that the rougher remains are found in the division in which lie the two (probably) oldest Toda mands, and the only cairns claimed by the Todas.. (On p. 96.) At one time, they were generally assigned to the Todas; and Colonel Congreve wrote an elaborate essay to prove the Scythian origin of this people and their claim to the cairns. His large theories, and occasionally incorrect facts, discredited his cause rather unduly, and of late years the cairns have been generally attributed either to the Kurumbas or to an extinct race. Those who held these views, however, seem to have been unaware of, or to have overlooked, the significant fact that the Todas even now burn their dead in a circle of stones and bury the ashes there. Now, not only may the circle of stones be called the fundamental idea of cairns and barrows, but some of them consist of insignificant circles of stones, hardly to be distinguished from Toda *Āzārams* except by the trees or bushes which indicate their greater age... (On p. 97.) It will be seen that these old *Āzārams* (supposing them to be *Āzārams*), shew one or two marked points of approximation to the cairns. 1st. They prove that metal ornaments and objects

dian race, of whom Rāvaṇa was an ancient representative. This report is more likely to be true than that which describes them as Rāma's followers who eventually settled in the south.[72]

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of value were in old times actually buried by the Todas, instead of being, as now, only offered to the flames and taken away. 2nd. These objects include iron spears, chisels, and styles? at present unused by the Todas, but common in the cairns. The spears were of rather different shape from most of those figured. An old Toda, who had had possession of the spear of Kotēn, but professed to have lost it, told me that it was something like these, but longer. The style is very like some used in Malabar, hollow at the top; one cannot, however, imagine that *writing* was ever a Toda accomplishment; it may have been used for marking pottery. 3rd. The receptacle for the ashes and remains, instead of being indifferently placed at any side of the circle, was, in three cases out of four, at the north-east edge... (On p. 99.) Against the theory that the cairns belong to the Todas, it has been urged that they do not claim them. This is not strictly correct; they *do*, as has been shewn, claim some. But even if the statement were entirely true, it is not of much consequence with a people like Todas. I have known a Toda, while pointing out the *Āzāram* in which a funeral ceremony then going forward was to terminate, profess entire ignorance of the object of some other stone circles close at hand, obviously old *Āzārams* belonging to the same mand; so that their disclaimer of the cairns carries little weight. It has been further stated that the cairns contain agricultural implements, and must therefore have belonged to a comparatively civilized people. Except the curious shears, which may have been used for various purposes, the only agricultural implements which have appeared in these investigations are sickles. These may have been used for cutting grass and bushes, and it is singular that, although the Todas do not now use any tool of the kind, they burn with the dead the *Kafkatti*, a large curved knife, apparently intended for some such purpose, although, except in one instance, the cairn sickles are of different shape. The *Kafkatti*, when committed to the flames, is bound round with cotton cloth, traces of which are often found on the razors in the cairns. On the whole, I think it is more satisfactory to assign the cairns to the Todas than to an unknown race." Read also Mr. H. B. Grigg's *Manual of the Nīlagiri District*, pp. 229–247; about the origin of the remains, see p. 241; and about the sculptured cromlechs consult this passage: "As regards the third class of monuments, none of the present hill inhabitants of the Hills are capable of executing sculptures of even so elementary a degree of art as those on the cromlechs." Mr. M. J. Walhouse has in the third and fifth volumes of the *Indian Antiquary* written some articles on the funerals, &c., of the Todas, and in vol. VI., p. 41, he says: "At any rate it is clear that these circles (Āzārams) are claimed and formed by the Todas."

[72] See Captain A. Harkness's *Description of a singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 24, 25: "They have some tradition bearing reference to a period about the time of Ravan,

The Todas have five kinds of priests, of whom the *Pālāḷs* are held in the greatest sanctity. The Pālāḷs, who are five in number, belong to the highest class of the Todas and have charge of the sacred bells, which they carry to every *Mand* or hamlet. They subsist on the milk of the sacred herd, and have a *Kavalāḷ* as their attendant. The other priests of lower degree are the Varḻāḷ, Kokvali, Kurpuli and Pāli-kārpāḷ. The temples, which are of two kinds, are called *Boa* and *Pālci*, the former being sugarloaf-shaped and the latter like an ordinary house. There are, at present, only four Boas in existence; they may have originally belonged to some other race, as the Todas do not appear to hold them in very great respect, and their ministering priests belong only to the second rank.

The Todas have a large pantheon, but they revere particularly a hunting god called *Bētuḳan*, the son of Dirkish, the son of Ēn, the first Toda. His temple is at Nambala-kōd, in the Wainād. Besides him they worship *Hiriadēva*, whose representative is the sacred buffalo-bell, which hangs from the neck of the finest buffalo of the sacred herd.[73] The buffalo is indigenous only in the south-east of Asia,

when they say they inhabited the low country. One among these is that their forefathers were the subjects of Ravan, and that, being afterwards unable to bear the severities imposed on them by the successful Ravan, they fled to these mountains as a place of refuge, driving their herds before them, carrying their females and children on their shoulders, and vowing to wear no covering on their heads till they had wreaked their vengeance on their oppressors." Congreve, *loco citato*, p. 110, says on the contrary: "The Thautawars have a tradition that their ancestors were subjects of Ravannah with whom they fled before Ramah." About the legend of the Todas having been the palanquin bearers of Rāvana, see Mr. H. B. Grigg's *Manual*, pp. 202, 252 and 256. About their coming with Rāma consult the Rev. F. Metz, *ibidem*, p. 46: "The Brahmins of the plains maintain that the Todas were followers in the train of Rāma when he came from the North to avenge himself on Ravana and that desiring independence they deserted, and fled to the Hills; but of this tradition the Todas themselves know nothing"; read also p. 65; and Mr. Grigg's *Manual*, p. 258.

[73] Read Mr. J. W. Breeks' *Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nīlagiris*, pp. 13-17; and Mr. H. B. Grigg's *Manual*, pp. 192–196.

i.e., in South India, Burma and parts of China. It is not a native of the North-West. The most valuable property of the original inhabitants must have been formed by the herds of these animals, which were and are still highly esteemed and regarded worthy of carrying the symbol of the deity. The worship of the buffalo is a most striking feature and can only be traced to very ancient times. The buffalo figures also in *Māhiṣmatī*, a town founded by king *Mahiṣmat*, whose name implies that he was rich in buffaloes. The worship of the fire, or of *Agni*, prevailed here, and women were allowed unrestricted liberty in the choice of their husbands. The city was situated in the plateau south of the Gōdāvarī, most probably on a tributary of the Krishṇā. King *Nīla* of Dakṣiṇāpatha reigned here. He is mentioned as an ally of Duryōdhana, though he was killed in battle by the son of Drōṇa.[74] The people of king Nīla are called the *Māhiṣakas*, and are mentioned in the Ślōka previously to the *Kōlvagirēyas*, the inhabitants of *Kōlva* or *Kōlagiri*. This circumstance places the Māhiṣakas locally in proximity with the Gond tribes. Mysore or *Mahiṣāsura*, the country named according to tradition after the buffalo-shaped Asura Mahiṣa, may have been a part of king Nīla's empire. The Nīlagiri mountains and Mysore are conterminous. The name of the Asura *Mahiṣa* is in this case also used as representing the

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[74] Compare the *Udyōgaparva* XVIII, 23, 24 of the Mahabhārata:

Sa ca samprāpya Kauravyam tatraivāntardadhe tadā,
tathā Māhiṣmatīvāsī Nīlō Nīlāyudhais saha 23.
Mahīpatō mahāvīryair Dakṣiṇāpathavāsibhiḥ. 24.
and *ibidem*, Drōṇaparva XXXI, 24,25.
Sa plutaḥ syandanāt tasmān-Nīlaścarmavarāsibhṛt
Drauṇāyanēḥ śiraḥ kāyāddhartum aicchat patattrivat. 24.
Tasyōnnatāṁsam sunasam śiraḥ kāyāt sakuṇḍalam
Ballēnāpāharad-Drauṇiḥ smayamāna ivānagha. 25.

See Christian Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. I, pp. 681–683 (or 567-569 in the first edition).

About the town *Mahiṣmatī* (Mahēśvara) on the Narmadā in Indore compare the article "Maheśvara in Mālwā" by Rāoji Vāsudeva Tullu, M.A., in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV. (1875), pp. 346–348.

people of the *Mahiṣas* or *Mahiṣakas*, a circumstance to which I have previously on p. 14 drawn attention in the case of the demons Bala, Malla and others.

The word *Mahiṣa* has when combined with the Marāthi *Bā* for *Bāpa*, father, assumed the form of *Mahsōbā*, and the demon Mahsōbā is to this day held in high veneration among the cultivators and the lower classes of the population. A stoneblock generally covered with red-lead colour and standing in a circle of other stones serves as his representative. The structure resembles in this respect the rude stones worshipped by the Kuṟumbas. Of these I shall speak later on. The worship of the buffalo to which the Todas still adhere is very interesting and may perhaps indicate the origin of this ancient tribe. Some Gond tribes also sacrifice the buffalo. This subject deserves to be fully enquired into.[75]

Like other primitive races of Turanian or Scythian origin, the Todas revere the great luminaries of the sky, the Sun and the Moon, besides the Fire. They have a very

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[75] Durgā or Bhavānī killed the buffalo-shaped Asura *Mahiṣa*, the well-known *Mahiṣāsura*, after whom Mysore is called.

According to the legend in the Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa *Diti* had lost all her sons, the Asuras, in the battle between the Gods and the Asuras. With the object to anihilate the Gods she assumed the shape of a buffalo, and underwent such dreadful austerities in order to propitiate Brahma, and to obtain a son, that the whole world was shaken in its foundations and what was worse, the sage Supārśva, was disturbed in his quiet hermitage. He therefore cursed Diti to bring forth a buffalo instead of a human-shaped son. Brahma mitigated this curse by confining the buffalo form to the head and allowing the remainder of the body to be like that of a man. This offspring was called Mahiṣāsura who defeated the gods and ill-treated them, till they appealed for help to Viṣṇu and Śiva, who jointly produced a beautiful representation of Bhavānī, the *Mahiṣāsuramardanī*, who slew the monster.

The *Gazetteer of Aurangabad* mentions *Mahsōbā* on pp. 347 and 358: "Mahishasura, who was slain by Parvati, and in honor of whom the feast of Dassura is celebrated, is probably Mahsoba, a demon much worshipped by the lower classes and especially by the cultivators, for the purpose of rendering their fields fertile. The image is like a natural Linga, consisting of any rounded stone of considerable size, found in the corner or to the side of a field. This when covered with red-lead becomes Mahsoba, to which prayers are addressed, and cocoanuts, fowls, and goats are offered (p. 347). . On the southern side of the Chauki pass, in the Lakenwāra range between Aurangabād and Phulmari, there is a shrine of Mahsoba, consisting of a

dim idea of the divine powers; they possess hardly any religious rites; but they firmly believe in the existence of a life after death, in a heaven for the good and a hell for the bad.

The ceremonies at births, marriages and funerals are very curious and have often been described. They burn their dead with the face downwards, a custom which prevails still among the aborigines of some parts of Central India. The Todas go always bareheaded, as also do the Khonds. The habit of polyandry peculiar to the Gauda-Dravidian race is also prevalent among the Todas.

The interest which this tribe has excited is mainly due to their fine and striking appearance so different from that of other races and to their dwelling in a most picturesque country. The Todas are regarded by the other hill tribes as the lords of the soil, and as such exact a tribute (*gūdu*) from them. How they obtained this supremacy is unknown, and the acquisition of their influence is the more remarkable, as, unless they have greatly changed since their first appearance, they are not a war-like race, and could not have forced their way into these hills with the aid of arms. The fact that the Todas enjoy this peaceful supremacy proves them to be very ancient, if not the aboriginal inhabitants of these Hills. The Todas are steadily decreasing in numbers and, according to the last census, numbered only 689. Their reputation as sorcerers stood them in good stead and perhaps frightened into submission those who might otherwise have molested them. The Todas alone among the hill tribes

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block of stone surrounded with smaller pieces, and all covered with red-lead. During the jatra which is held in the month of Chaitra, and lasts for four days, people of all castes, but especially the Kunbis, flock from a circle of a hundred miles, and offer many sheep in sacrifice."

The buffalo was the carrier of Yama, and he is therefore also known as *Mahiṣadhvaja* and *Mahiṣavāhana*. Skanda is known as *Mahiṣārdana*, and one of his Mātṛis is called *Mahiṣānanā*. Mahiṣa or Māhiṣa, Mahiṣaka or Māhiṣaka are names of people. *Mahiṣasthalī* is the name of a place, *Māhiṣya* that of a mixed caste, and *Māhiṣika* besides meaning a herdsman is also used in the sense of a man who lives by the prostitution of his wife.—See p. 154.

are not afraid of the Kuṟumbas, who are generally shunned as wizards.

Very many conjectures have been ventured to explain the term *Toda* or *Tuda*. The *d* in this word is, according to Bishop Caldwell and the Rev. Mr. Metz, *dental* and not *lingual*, as the Rev. Dr. Pope is inclined to believe, for he spells it *Tuḍa*. Dr. Pope does so probably to support the derivation he proposes. He connects the name of the Toda with the Tamil word *Tōḻam*, herd, and derives from it a problematic word *Tōḻan*, in the sense of herdsman. The modern Tamil *Toḻu*, a fold for cattle, is the root of *Toḻuvam* which is again contracted into *Tōḻam*. *Tōḻuvar* signifies according to the dictionaries agriculturists, but the word *Tōḻar* in this meaning is not given. Besides, the *o* in Tōḻar is long, while that in Toda is short. Moreover, the people who keep these cattle-stalls are not herdsmen, but agriculturists. On the other hand the Todas are a pastoral, and not an agricultural tribe.[76]

Having met with no explanation which satisfies me, I venture to propose one myself. I believe that the *t* in Toda or Tuda is a modification of an original *k*, and that the real name is Koda or Kuda. This I explain as a derivation of

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[76] See Dr. Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary*, p. 636, where *Toḻuvar* தொழுவர் is explained as agriculturists, மருதநிலமாக்கள். In Col. Marshall's *Phrenologist amongst the Todas* the first note on p. 1 is as follows: "Todan. Tamil, Toṛavam and Tōṛam = *a herd*. And thus Toṛavan or Tōṛan= *herdsman*. (Pope)." Compare Bishop Caldwell's Introduction *Comparative Dravidian Grammar*, p. 37: "Dr. Pope connects the name of the Todas with the Tamil word *Toṛa*, a herd; but the *d* of Tuda is not the lingual *d*, but the dental, which has no relationship to *ṛ* or *ḻ*. The derivation of the name may be regarded as at present unknown." The Rev. F. Kittel writes to the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 205: "In Part XXIX of the *Indian Antiquary*, p. 93 *seq.* the name of a well-known small tribe on the Nīlagiri is given as 'Toḍa.' The lingual ḍ in this word is not in the mouth of the Nīlagiri people, these pronouncing it 'Toda.' The same remark is to be applied to the word '*Kōṭa*' on p. 96; the true spelling of this name is '*Kōta.*' The word 'Toda' may mean 'man of the top,' scil. of the hills. 'Kōta' can be derived from various Drāviḍa roots; it is difficult to say what its true meaning is. Certainly it does not mean 'cow-killer,' as some have thought."

ko or *ku*, mountain and *Koda* or *Kuda* signifies then a mountaineer. The change of *k* into *t* is perhaps not very common, yet it takes place occasionally. The Tamil *kēḷ* to ask, is, *e.g.*, *tal* in Gondi; the Irula *kālage*, below, corresponds to *tāḻa* in Tamil and Malayālam; the Kurg *kidatu* and the Tamil *kiḻē*, below, is *tirt* in Tulu. The town *Kondōta*, mentioned by Ptolemy, is likewise called *Tondōta*, and the district *Khandesh* is also known as *Tandesh*. The same change can be observed in the middle of a word, as the Sanskrit *tilaka* frontal mark, becomes optionally *tilakam* and *tilatam* in Tamil, and *sāttvika* is altered into *cāttuvikam* or *cāttuvitam*.[77]

Peculiarly enough, when inquiring into their name, I was informed by various Natives and even by some Todas that the Todavar தொதவர் are also called Kodavar கொதவர்.[78]

And this statement which supports my conjecture is upheld by several names of persons and places. I take thus Kodanād, which lies near Kōtagiri, and is the seat of one of the Pālāḷs containing some of the most ancient Todamands in the sense of denoting the district of the Kodas.[79] One of

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[77] The generally accepted derivation of Telugu or Telinga is from *Trilinga*, but this remains doubtful as the term Trilinga is a corruption of Trikalinga, to which the *Modogalingam* of Pliny corresponds: "Insula in Gange est magnæ amplitudinis gentem continens unam, *Modogalingam* nomine;" Hist. Natur. Lib. VI, cap. 22. If Telinga is a modified form of Kalinga, this word would provide another example of the interchange between a *k* and *t*. About *Tandesh*, see p. 159, n. 54.

The *t* is occasionally chosen as the representative of all the others consonants, Kaumārila is thus playfully changed into *Tautātita* in Vedāntadēśikācarya's *Tattvamuktākalāpa*, and pāduka into *tātuta* in the *Pādukasahasra* of the same author.

[78] T. C. Maduranāyaka Pillai, the clerk of Major-General Morgan, has told me of his own accord that he has often heard the Todavar call themselves and be called Kodavar. Some Kōtas whom I asked confirmed this evidence. A few Todas told me the same. They might have said so to please me, but they had no reason for so doing, as I had not expressed to them any opinion on that subject.

[79] Kodanād lies on the north of Paranganād. It contains one of the oldest mands and between it and Kōtagiri are found the sculptured Cromlechs of Hlai ūru. Some derive the name of Kodanād from *kōḍan*, the Toda word for monkey, which corresponds to the Kōta term *kōḍe*, and the Badaga, Kuṟumba, and Irula *korangu*. But the presence of the common

the ancestors of the Todas is called Kotēn,[80] and the Hulikaldrug is also named Kodātha-betta, after the god Kodātha.[81]

The Todas have many customs which are also met with among other tribes, *e.g.*, among the Kols. But this coincidence does not prove the existence of any relationship. The same rites and practices often prevail among totally different people who live at a great distance from one another. The singular custom by which the youngest son becomes heir to the property in opposition to the law of *primogeniture* is observed by the Todas in South India as well as by some Holstein peasants in North Germany.

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brown monkey *koḏan* (*tūruni* being the black monkey) is hardly a distinctive feature of any district on the hills. It is perhaps possible that the Todas changed the initial letter of their original name in order to avoid any allusion to that of the monkey.

[80] About Kotēn read Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiri*, pp. 34, 36, 37, 97, 99. Kotēn is said to have brought the Kōtas up to the hills, though they are also represented to have been born on the hills, p. 36 : "Kotēn went to the Kundahs, and established a *Tiriari* and *Pālāḻs*, and placed the Kotas at the Kundah *Kotagiri*, called by the Todas Mērkōkāl" . . . 37. "After this, Kotēn went to a Kurumba village in Bāni Shīma, and on his return, when bathing in a stream, a hair of a golden colour came to his hand ; he followed it up stream to find the owner of the hair, and saw a Swāmi woman, by name Tērkosh, whom he married. After this, Kotēn returned home to his mand near the Avalanche. Kotēn slept on a deer skin, wore a silver ring, and carried a spear, bow, and arrow. On the night of his return he went to sleep, and in the morning nothing was found of him but his spear and ring and some blood on the deer-skin. He and Tērkosh were transformed into two hills, . . on the Sisapāra side of the hills, to which both Kurumbas and Todas pay occasional ceremonial visits. The Kurumbas light a lamp on the hill Tērkosh. When the Todas see these two hills, they sing the song about Kotēn. (Thus five gods are connected in these traditions with different hills, *viz.*:—Dirkish, Kodātha, Pūrsh, Kotēn, and Tērkosh. If the Todas originally deified every hill, not an unnatural worship for mountaineers, the number of their gods, otherwise astonishing, is accounted for. The Todas, in common with the other hill tribes, still offer ghee to be burnt to Maleswaramalē)."

[81] About Kodātha read *ibidem*, p. 35 : "One day the Gods took counsel, saying 'why does the kite come here, let us drive him out'; so one of them, Kodātha, took the kite home to Kodātha-betta (Hulikaldūrga), and pushed him over ; the kite, in falling, caught hold of a bamboo, with which he returned, and struck Kodātha's head, so that it split into three pieces."

Though it is difficult as yet to decide definitively the ethnological status of the Todas, I believe I have been successful in assigning them to the Gaudian branch of the Gauda-Dravidian race.

The Kōtas.

Next to the Kuṛumbas and Todas the Kōtas are the most ancient inhabitants of the Nīlagiri range. According to Toda tradition Kotēn introduced them to these hills. Though they are regarded as the Pariah element among the hill-tribes, it is possible that they were originally more nearly related to the Todas, whom they call their *annatamalu*, *i.e.*, brothers. They have many customs in common with the Todas, *e.g.*, that which constitutes the youngest brother as heir of the house, a practice which seems also to prevail among the Kurumbas. They recognize no caste distinctions, but are sub-divided into *Keris* or streets. They are a very industrious tribe and devote themselves to agriculture and to various sorts of handicrafts. They excel as carpenters, smiths, tanners, basket-makers, &c. They acknowledge the Todas as the lords of the soil, and pay them tribute (*gūdu*). They are well-formed, of average height, not bad featured and fair-skinned. They live in seven villages, one of which is in the neighbourhood of Gūḍalūr.[82] The last census fixes their

[82] Compare Dr. Shortt's *Account of the Tribes of the Neilgherries*, pp. 53–57: "This tribe ranks next to the Todas in priority of occupation of these hills. They have no caste, and are in this respect equal to the Pariahs of the low country; and as a body, are the most industrious of the hill tribes, giving much of their time and attention to agriculture and handicraft, &c. . . . They also employ themselves as *Curriers*, and are highly esteemed in the plains for the excellent leather they cure . . . They acknowledge the Todas as lords of the soil. . . At the same time they exact from each hamlet of the Badagas within certain distance of their own village, certain annual fees, which they receive in kind for services rendered as handicraftsmen, &c., in addition to that of ceremonial or festive occasions for menial services performed . . . In confirmation of their having followed the Todas as settlers on these Hills they hold the best lands, and have the privilege of selecting the best whenever they wish to extend their holdings. They are well made and of tolerable height, rather good featured and

number at 1,122 souls, 55 Kōtas are assigned to the Bombay Presidency.[83]

It seems probable that the Todas and Kōtas lived near each other before the settlement of the latter on the Nīlagiri. Their dialects too betray a great resemblance, and, if my conjecture concerning the original name of the Todas is confirmed, their names at first were also much alike.[84] The Kōtas are the only hill people who are not afraid of the Todas, and they treat them occasionally even with bare courtesy, though, as a rule, a Kōta, when meeting a Toda and Badaga, lifts both his hands to his face and makes his obeisance from a distance. They do also not, like the other hill-tribes, stand in awe of the mysterious power of witchcraft, with which the Todas are credited.

According to a tradition of theirs they lived formerly on Kollimalai, a mountain in Mysore.[85] They possess, like most Hindus, a tradition concerning their special creation. Their god, Kamatarāya, perspired once profusely and "he "wiped from his forehead three drops of perspiration, and "out of them formed the most ancient of the hill-tribes, viz., "the Todas, Kurumbas, and Kotas. The Todas were told to "live principally upon milk; the Kurumbas were permitted

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light-skinned, having a copper color, and some of them are the fairest-skinned among the Hill tribes. They have well formed heads, covered with long black hair, grown long and let loose, or tied up carelessly at the back of the head. . . The women are of moderate height, of fair build of body, and not nearly so good-looking as the men." Read also Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiris*, pp. 40–47; and Metz, pp. 127–132.

[83] The Census mentions 3,232 *Kotamali* in the North-Western Provinces, 1,112 *Kotakas*, 572 *Kotayas* and 1,076 *Kottharas* in Madras.

[84] See Rev. F. Metz, *loco citato*, p. 127: "The close affinity existing between the language of the Todas and that of the Kotas leads me to believe that both these tribes came from the same quarter, and that they probably settled on the Neilgherries at about the same period."

[85] See Metz, *ibidem*, p. 127: "According to one of their traditions, the Kotas formerly lived on a mountain in Mysore, called Kollimalé, after which they named the first village they built on the Neilgherries. They now occupy seven tolerably large villages, all of which are known by the general name of Kotagiri, or Cow-killers' hill."

"to eat the flesh of buffalo calves; and the Kotas were "allowed perfect liberty in the choice of their food, being "informed that they might eat carrion, if they could get "nothing better, and beef also, though it is repulsive to all "Hindu notions." [86]

It is wrong to connect the name of the Kōtas with cow-slaying and to derive it from the Sanskrit *gō-hatyā*. This derivation seems to have been suggested from *Kohatūr*, one of the corrupted forms of the name of the Kōtar or Kōter. According to the late Mr. Breeks, in his *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiris*, p. 40: "The Todas call them Kuof, or cow-people;" but singularly enough the Toda word for cow is *danam*, like the Kuṟumba and Badaga *dana*. Dr. Pope on the other hand goes so far as to contend that the Todas had no word for cow; a statement which I regard as extremely venturous. However in both circumstances, if the Todas have no term for cow, or if that term is *danam*, they could not have called the Kōtas, *Kuof* or cow-people. Moreover, the Kōtas would not call themselves by such a name, nor would the Todas and the other hill-tribes who have no knowledge of Sanskrit apply a Sanskrit word to designate their neighbours. The derivation of the term *Kōta* is, as clearly indicated, from the Gauda-Dravidian word *ko*, (*ku*), mountain, and the Kōtas belong to the Gaudian branch.[87] It is a peculiar coincidence

[86] Metz, pp. 27 and 128: "The Kotas are the only of all the hill tribes who practise the industrial arts, and they are therefore essential almost to the very existence of the other classes. They work in gold and silver, are carpenters and blacksmiths, tanners and rope-makers, umbrella-makers, potters, and musicians, and are at the same time cultivators of the soil. They are, however, a squalid race, living chiefly on carrion, and are on this account a bye-word among the other castes, who, while they feel that they cannot do without them, nevertheless abhor them for their filthy habits. All the cattle that die in the villages are carried off by the Kotas, and feasted on by them, in common with the vultures, with whose tastes their own precisely agree; and at no time do the Kotas thrive so well as when there is murrain among the herds of the Todas and Badagas."

[87] See Breeks, p. 40: "The name is found differently spelt. Kota, Kotar, Kotēr, Kohatūr. The derivation is uncertain. Kohata or Gohata,

that according to the statement of Mr. Ramiah, Deputy Superintendent of Mysore, the "Lingayet Pañchālas (workers in metals) and Huttagars are called Kotars in this part of the country (Harihar), and they worship Kāma (god) and Kurymena (goddess)." To this remark Mr. Breeks [88] adds: "Also that a caste of the same name exists in Mārwār and Guzerat." Dr. Fr. Buchanan makes a similar remark about the goddess of the Pañcālas.[89]

The occupation and the worship of the Mysore Kōtas confirmed to a certain degree the tradition of the Nīlagiri Kōtas when they contend that they came from Mysore.

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cow-killer, has been suggested, but this seems doubtful. The Todas call them Kuof, or cow-people." Read also Mr. H. B. Grigg's *District Manual*, pp. 203–213. On p. 203 he says: "The name is differently spelt Kōtu, Kōter, Kōtar, Kōhatur and Kotturs. Its derivation is doubtful. The Todas call them *Kuof* or cow-men, and, arguing from this word, some connect it with *Kō* (Sans.) cow, and *hatya*, *i.e.*, cow-killing. The first part of the derivation is probably correct. They are emphatically men of the *cow*, as opposed to the *buffalo*, the animal of the Tōda. The latter they are never allowed to keep; the former they keep, but do not, for superstitious reasons, milk." Compare note 76 on p. 190 where Rev. F. Kittel also decides against the explanation of *Kota* as cow-killer.

The Rev. Dr. Pope peculiarly enough declares on page 261 of his Tuḍa Grammar in Lieut.-Colonel Marshall's *Phrenologist amongst the Todas*: "*N.B.*—No Tuḍa word for cow, plough, sword, or shield." Yet according to Rev. F. Metz's Vocabulary of the Toda Dialect in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XVII (1857), p. 136, and to Mr. Breeks' Vocabulary, on p. 113, the Toda equivalent for cow is *danam*. Rev. F. Metz, *loco citato*, gives *nēkhel* as the Toda word for plough, and *uṛthbini* (pronounced *uḻthbini*) for to plough.

88 See Breeks' *Primitive Tribes of the Nīlagiris*, p. 47.

89 See Dr. Fr. Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, Madras, 1870, vol. I, p. 477: "The deity peculiar to the caste (of the Panchalar) is *Camachuma*, or *Kalima*, who is, they say, the same with *Parvati*, the wife of *Siva*." Compare Breeks' *Primitive Tribes*, p. 44: "The chief Kota festival, however, is the annual feast of Kāmatarāya, called *Kambata* or *Kamata*." Read also Grigg's *Manual*, p. 205: "The Kōtas had, it is said, formerly but one deity Kāmatarāya, but they also worship his wife (Kahasuma or Kalikai), each is represented by a silver plate. The god is also called Kambata and Kāmata." *Kāmata* may be of Sanskrit origin. Kāmadēva is a name of Śiva, and Kāmākṣi one of Durgā or Kālī. కామాటము '*kāmāṭamu*' signifies in Telugu workman.

CHAPTER XI.

ON THE KUṚAVAS (KUṚUVAS, KUṚUMAS), KOṚACARU, KUṚUS (YERAKULAS), KAURS, KUNNUVAS.

The above-mentioned names are representative terms of various kindred tribes who live scattered in this country. While a considerable majority of their relatives in Northern India have embraced agricultural pursuits and form a preponderant element of the rustic population, many of their cousins in Southern India still cling to their old mountain homes, or roam as migratory hordes over the country, or are leading a pastoral life as shepherds.

For the sake of lucidity I shall consider these tribes under separate heads and begin with the wandering Kuṛavas.

ON THE KUṚAVAS (KUṚUVAS, KUṚUMAS), KOṚACARU, &c.

These wandering tribes are known over the greater part of India as Kuṛavas (Koṛavas) or Kuṛumas. They are also known as Koṛacaru (Korcaru, Korsaru or Kuṛuciyar), which term may be either a variation of Koṛava, the *v* being changed into *c*, or, as has been suggested, may be explained as a mixed compound from *koṛa* mountain and the Sanskrit root *car*, to go, so that it means hill-walkers. In this case their name reminds one of their Dravidian brothers the Malacar (Malasar). Dr. Francis Buchanan by calling the Koṛagas of South-Kanara Koṛavas, identifies them with the latter. At another place, however, he names the Koṛavas also Koramas.

In consequence of their roving life and the begging and cheating propensities which so many Kuṛavas exhibit, they are much disliked and shunned.[90] They wander continually

[90] Compare Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, second edition, vol. I, pp. 174, 175: "The *Coramas*, or *Coramaru*, are a set of people considered by the *Brāhmans* as an impure or mixed breed. They make baskets and trade in grain and salt to a considerable extent; but none of them can read or write.

from one place to another, gaining a precarious livelihood by making and selling wicker baskets of bamboo and reed grass, or mats and other household utensils of bamboo. Some of them also know how to prepare metal wires of steel, copper, and iron. They are famous bird-catchers, clever snake-jugglers, and very experienced hunters. If nothing else offers, they pierce the ears of children to insert ornaments, or tattoo the limbs of persons who desire this embellishment of their body. Most of their women are fortune tellers, while the men profess often to be conjurors.

They live, in general, in small camps of moveable huts, which are sometimes stationary near large towns; but they are often in a state of daily motion, while the people are following the mercantile concerns. The *Coramas* consist of four families, *Maydraguta*, *Cavadiru*, *Maynapatru*, and *Satipatru*. These are analogous to the Gōtrams of the Brāhmans; for a man and woman of the same family never intermarry, being considered as too nearly allied by kindred. The men are allowed a plurality of wives, and purchase them from their parents. The agreement is made for a certain number of *fanams*, which are to be paid by instalments, as they can be procured by the young woman's industry; for the women of this caste are very diligent in spinning and carrying on petty traffic. When the bargain has been made, the bridegroom provides four sheep, and some country rum, and gives a feast to the caste, concluding the ceremony by wrapping a piece of new cloth round his bride. Should a man's wife prove unfaithful, he generally contents himself with giving her a beating, as she is too valuable to be parted with on slight grounds; but, if he chooses, she may be divorced. In this case, he must assemble the caste to a feast, where he publicly declares his resolution; and the woman is then at liberty to marry any person that she chooses, who is willing to take her. The *Coramas* do not follow nor employ the *Brāhmans;* nor have they any priests, or sacred order. When in distress, they chiefly invoke *Vencaty Rāmana*, the *Tripathi Vishnu*, and vow small offerings of money to his temple, should they escape. They frequently go into the woods and sacrifice fowls, pigs, goats, and sheep, to *Muni*, who is a male deity, and is said by the *Brāhmans* to be a servant of *Iswara;* but of this circumstance the *Coramas* profess ignorance. They, as usual, eat the sacrifice. They have no images, nor do they worship any. Once in two or three years the *Coramas* of a village make a collection among themselves, and purchase a brass pot, in which they put five branches of the *Melia azadirachta* and a coco-nut. This is covered with flowers, and sprinkled with sandal-wood water. It is kept in a small temporary shed for three days, during which time the people feast and drink, sacrificing lambs and fowls to Marima, the daughter of *Siva*. At the end of the three days they throw the pot into the water."

Read also Abbé J. A. Dubois' *Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India*, third edition, Madras, 1879, pp. 335–338: "The

They generally bury their dead in solitary and unknown places at night, and the traces of their dead disappear so completely that the Natives have a common saying: "Nobody has seen a monkey's carcass or the corpse of a Kuṟava," and if anything is irretrievably lost the fact is intimated by the proverb: "It has gone to the burial place of the Kuṟavas and to the dancing room of the wandering actors."

As a rule they do not acknowledge the priestly supremacy of the Brahmans, nor do they worship Hindu divinities, unless Hinduized to a certain extent. However, many

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vagrants called Kuravers are divided into three branches. One of these is chiefly engaged in the traffic of salt, which they go, in bands, to the coasts to procure, and carry it to the interior of the country on the backs of asses, which they have in great droves. . . The trade of another branch of the Kuravers is the manufacture of osier panniers, wicker baskets, and other household utensils of that sort, or bamboo mats. This class, like the preceding, are compelled to traverse the whole country, from place to place, in quest of employment. . . The third species of Kuravers is generally known under the name of *Kaḷḷa-Bantru* or robbers; and indeed those who compose this caste are generally thieves or sharpers, by profession and right of birth. The distinction of expertness in filching belongs to this tribe. . . The Kaḷḷa-Bantru are so expert in this species of robbery (of cutting through the mud wall an opening sufficiently large to pass through), that, in less than half-an-hour, they will carry off a rich lading of plunder, without being heard or suspected till day-light discloses the villainy."

See Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. III, p. 142: "*Koravar*, a tribe of thieves and vagabonds wandering about the districts of the Carnatic. This tribe is common to several districts. Among the Tamils these people are called Koravars, but by the Telugus, Yerakalas. In North Arcot they mortgage their unmarried daughters to pay their creditors when unable to pay their debts. In some districts they obtain their wives by purchase, giving a sum varying from thirty to seventy rupees. The clans into which they are divided do not intermarry. In Madura and South Arcot the Koravars are hawkers, petty traders, dealers in salt, jugglers, box-makers, breeders of pigs and donkeys; and are a drunken and dissolute race." Compare J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madura*, Part II, p. 69, about the *Kuravans*.

Consult further Dr. Edward Balfour "On the Migratory Tribes of Natives in Central India" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. XIII, 1844, pp. 9–12: "The *Korawa*. This migratory people arrange themselves into four divisions, the Bajantri, Teling, Kolla, and Soli Korawas, speaking the same language, but none of them intermarrying or eating with each other. Whence they originally migrated it would be difficult perhaps now to come to a conclusion, nor could it be correctly ascertained how far they extend. The Bajantri, or Gaon ka Korawa, the musical or village Korawa, are met

revere Vēṅkaṭēśvara of Tripati, or Śiva and Kālī in their cruder forms, the latter especially as *Mariamma;* Gurunātha, a village god, whose presence is indicated by a rude stone situated under a tree, is also an object of their veneration, though some Kuṟumbas claim him as their special god. Their own elders generally fill the position of priests.

They practise polygamy and are said to pawn their wives for debt. Their family disputes are decided by arbitrators, but they often nurse their quarrels to such an extent that an interminable law suit is called a Kuṟava's strife.

They have different sub-divisions in various parts of the country, either according to their various clans or the occupation they follow, and the latter soon becomes a tribal distinction. Dr. Francis Buchanan mentions a classification

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with in Bejapore, Bellary, Hyderabad and throughout Canara. . . Their food differs from that of the Hindoo as well as the Mahomedan; they never eat the cow or bullock, but the jackal, porcupine, hog and wild boar, deer and tigers are sought after and used by them. They deny that robbery is ever made a regular mode of earning a subsistence; an honesty, however, that the people among whom they dwell give them but little credit for. . They live by thieving, making grass screens and baskets. The men likewise attend at festivals, marriages, and births, as musicians, which has obtained for them the name of Bajantri. . . The women, too, earn a little money by tattooing on the skin the marks and figures of the gods, which the females of all castes of Hindus ornament their arms and foreheads with. . The age for marrying is not a fixed time; and, different from every other people in India, the youth of the female is not thought of consequence. . . . It is not unusual to have two, three, or four wives in one household, among this people. . . This people live virtuously; the abandonment of their daughters is never made a trade of, and other classes speak favorably of their chastity. They respect Brahmins; though they never . . seem to respect the gods of the Hindoo mythology. . . The Teling Korawa (generally known as Kusbi, Korawa, Aghare Pal Wale, prostitute Korawas) gain a livelihood by basket-making and selling brooms, in making which their wives assist; but their chief means of subsistence is in the prostitution of their female relatives whom, for that purpose, they devote to the gods from their birth. . The goddess, in whose service the lives of the Teling Korawas' devoted women are thus to be spent, has her chief shrine near Bellary. They never devote more than one of their daughters; the rest are married and made honest women of . This branch bury their dead, and the food that was most liked by the deceased is placed at the head of the grave. The most favorable omen of the state of the departed soul is drawn from its being eaten by a crow; less auspicious if by a cow; but if both the crow and cow decline to

based on the family system, while Abbé Dubois gives another derived from occupation, and Dr. Balfour prefers one of local origin.

In the census report these people are arranged under different heads, and their aggregate number amounts to nearly 175,000.[91]

On the Kuṟus (Yerakulas) and Kaurs.

Another tribe who are acknowledged as a separate class of the Kuṟavas are the *Yerakulavāṇḍlu* or *Yerakalavāru*, who call themselves *Kuṟu*, *Kuluvuru* or *Kola*, while the Tamil people designate them as *Kuṟavar*, whom they resemble in their manners and customs.[92] They live in

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eat it, they deem the dead to have lived a very depraved life, and impose a heavy fine on his relatives for having permitted such evil ways."

About the name consult *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, by H. H. Wilson, p. 294 : "*Koracharu*, also *Korcharu*, *Korvaru*, or *Korsaru*, &c., corruptly *Korchoor*. The name of a tribe in the Karnatic, whose business is making bamboo mats and baskets, or who carry betelnuts from market to market : they live in the hills and forests.

"*Koravarava*, *Koramaravanu*, or *Koravonu*, or abbrev. *Koravar*, *Koramar*. . . The name of a low tribe in Mysore, of which there are three branches— *Kalla-koramar*, who are professed thieves ; *Walaga-koramar*, who are musicians ; and *Hakki-koramar*, who are a migratory race, and subsist by making baskets, catching birds, &c. : they are hill and forest tribes and have a dialect of their own : (the name may be only a local modification of *Kola*, or *Cole*, the hill tribes of Hindustan)." On p. 305 : "*Kuruchchiyan*, or *Kuruman*, Mal. A class of people inhabiting the hills in Wynād."

91 According to the Census Report of 1881, there were registered in India 7,875 *Kurumar* in Madras, 1,071 *Gorcha* in the North-Western Provinces, 24 Hakikoraw in Hyderabad, 11,864 *Korachar* in Mysore, 110,473 *Koravar* in Madras and Travancore, 597 *Korchar* in Bombay, 3,448 *Koruviavasayar* in Madras, 14,106 *Korvi* in Bombay, 1,001 *Kuravandlu* in Madras, 31,644 *Kura* in the Central Provinces, 14 *Kuravar* in the Central Provinces, and 3,135 *Kurwai* in Hyderabad, &c.

92 Consult H. H. Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 560, 561 : "*Yerkullevar*, (?) Tel. probably for *Erukuvāḍu*, pl. *Erukuvāṇḍlu*, and the same as those corruptly termed *Yerkelwanloo*, *Yera-kedi*, *Yerakelloo* (ఎఱుకవాడు). The designation of a wild migratory tribe who subsist on game and all sorts of flesh : they make and sell baskets and mats, and are considered as outcastes : both men and women pretend to be fortune-tellers and conjurors : they are also said to be called *Koorshe-wānlu*, *Yerkel-wanloo* (*wānlu*, or more correctly *vāṇḍlu*, being only the plural of *vāḍu*), *Yera-kedi*, and *Yerakelloo*, but to be known amongst themselves as *Kuṟṟu* ; they are possibly the same who appear

like manner under tents fixed by bamboo poles and covered with mats made of reed grass. They are also continually roaming about, avoiding villages and towns and preferring to pitch their tents in some open ground a few miles distant from inhabited places, only to strike them again after a few days' stay. They thus wander over Hyderabad, the Ceded Districts, and other adjacent provinces. Their tents of which every family possesses a separate one, with a few

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among the predial slaves in Kūrg under the name of *Yerrwanroo*, *i.e.*, *Erra-vāndlu*, ? red men, or *Yevaru* q.v. or *Yerlan*, or *Erehlen*, (?) also specified amongst, the servile races of Kūrg."

Further see "The Migratory Races of India," by Assistant Surgeon Edward Balfour, Madras Army, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. XVII (1857), pp. 4-9: "The *Coorroo*. This seems to be a branch of the *Korawa* people, two divisions of whom . . were described by me in an article on the Migratory Tribes of India . . This wandering race occupy the Ceded Districts and are called by Mahomedans 'Koorshe Wanloo;' Telings give them the names of 'Yerkel wanloo,' 'Yera keedi,' and 'Yera kelloo,' and the Aravas know them as Coortee; but their designation among themselves is Coorroo, the *rr* being pronounced by them with a loud thrilling sound. I believe them to be a branch of the Korawa people from the similarity of their customs, and from their using similar articles of diet, but the term *korawa* was quite new to this community, who, although familiar with the appellations of the Mahomedans and Hindoos, told me that Coorroo was the only name they ever designated themselves by . . They live in huts constructed of mats, very neatly woven from a long grass, named in Telagoo "zamboo," which grows in the beds of tanks, and which they spread over a bamboo frame work. They are incessantly on the move, wandering about the country, and they never reside inside of towns, but pitch their little camps on open plains three or four miles from some inhabited place. They rarely remain above two or three days in one spot and their journeys are of considerable length. The value of one of their huts would hardly amount to half a rupee (one shilling), asses, goats and pigs constitute their wealth; the two last of these they use as food and sell for money in towns. They, likewise, earn a little by selling grass mats and baskets made of canes and bamboos, the handy-work of the men, but which are sold by the women. . . Each family in their communities lives apart in its own hut, constructed, as above-mentioned, by the mats woven by themselves.. The men informed me that they usually marry about the time that their mustaches appear (18 years of age ?) with women who have attained maturity, and a bride is never taken to her husband's hut before two months after this period of her life. They marry one wife only, but they can keep as many of their women as they choose. The greatest number, however, that any of my informants remembered to have seen in one man's hut, was one wife and three kept women; this latter class being in general widows. . .

asses, goats, and pigs represent their property. They earn besides a precarious living by selling grass-mats and cane or bamboo-baskets, which are made by the men, but hawked about and sold by the women. In their wanderings they sometimes commit all sorts of robberies and often are troublesome dacoits and highway robbers.

Accounts vary about their marriage customs. According to some, the *tāli* or marriage string is bound round the

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The marriage ceremony consists in sprinkling rice and turmeric over the bride and bridegroom's head; and after it is over the bride returns to her parents and remains with them for five days... The Coorroo attaches much importance to the purity of their unmarried females, but they regard a want of integrity in their married women as a trivial matter.... They drink all sorts of intoxicating drinks, but never use opium or any of the preparations from hemp.. They never use the flesh of the horse, jackall, tiger, cheetah, or crow; but they eat the hog, mouse, rat, wild rat, and fowls.. It is difficult to say what their religion is. They do not bind on the *tali* in marriage, or use any of the Hindu sectarian marks on their foreheads, neither do they revere the Brahmans or any religious superior, nor perform any religious ceremony at any Hindu or Budhist temple, but they told me that, when they pray, they construct a small pyramid of clay which they term Mariammah and worship it. But though they seem thus almost without a form of religion, the women had small gold and silver ornaments suspended from cords round their necks and which they said had been supplied to them by a goldsmith from whom they had ordered figures of Mariamma. The form represented is that of the goddess Kali, the wife of Siva. They mentioned that they had been told by their forefathers that, when a good man dies, his spirit enters the body of some of the better animals as that of a horse or cow, and that a bad man's spirit gives life to the form of a dog or jackall; but though they told me this they did not seem to believe it. They believe firmly, however, in the existence and constant presence of a principle of evil, who, they say, frequently appears... When they die the married people are burned, but the unmarried are buried quite naked without a shroud or kufn, or other clothing, a custom which some other castes in India likewise follow. . . The Coorroo people are naturally of a bamboo-color, though tanned by the sun into a darker hue. Their faces are oval with prominent bones, their features having something of the Tartar expression of countenance... The dialect spoken by the 'Coorroo' as their lingua franca, in their intercourse with the people of the country, is the Teloogoo, and I was surprised to find them entirely ignorant of the Canarese language although living exclusively among the Canarese nation."

Compare also Mr. H. E. Stokes' account of these people in the *Manual of the Nellore District*, compiled and edited by Mr. John A. C. Boswell, M.C.S., pp. 154–157: "These people (the Yerukalas) wander from place to place, as they find it easy to gain a living, pitching their huts generally in open places near villages. Their property consists principally of cattle and asses,

neck of the woman; according to others this is not the case. This discrepancy may be explained by some having adopted the usual Hindu customs, while others still keep aloof from them. With respect to their religious worship the same observation may hold good. There is no doubt that originally they did not worship any Hindu deities, nor did they in consequence perform any religious ceremonies at any Hindu shrine, nor revere the Brahmans as their religious superiors. In fact the

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and they act as carriers of salt and grain; they cut firewood in the jungles and sell it in the villages; they also gather and sell a leaf called karepaku (the black margosa); they eat game, flesh of all sorts, and jungle roots. They all, both women and men, pretend to tell fortunes; these people, like all the wandering tribes of the district, are basket-makers. . . They are stout men and very hardy in constitution. Like the Yanadies they tie their hair in a knot over the forehead. Lieutenant Balmer, in his letter to the Collector, dated 22nd May 1865, No. 317, writes the following as to the Yerukalas: 'The crimes they are addicted to are dacoity, highway robbery, and robbery; they are the most troublesome of our wanderers.'.. The gods whom they chiefly worship are Mahalakshmi and Venkatesvara (to whom the Trippati temple is sacred), and they also sacrifice to the pitris, or manes of their ancestors. They state generally that all gods worshipped by Hindus are worshipped by them. The old men of the tribe are priests. Each tribe or family has a god, which is carried about with the encampment. One, which I have seen, was a piece of wicker-work, about five inch square, cased in black canvas, one side being covered with white sea-shells imbedded in a red paste. It was called Polaperamma. Polygamy is practised among the Yerukalas, and the number of wives is only limited by the means of the husband. There is no polyandria, nor is there any trace of the custom, which sometimes is found among rude tribes, of the brothers of a family having their wives in common. The marriage string is always tied round the neck of the wife. The females are said not to marry till they are full grown. The ceremony usually takes place on a Sunday, *puja* having been made on the Saturday. Rice mixed with turmeric is poured on the heads of the married couple; the marriage string is tied on, and the ceremony is complete. During the lifetime of her husband a wife may not marry another man, but after his death she may if she wishes. . . A man supports all his children by all his wives. If he has a great number, the brothers will take some of them; but when they are grown up they return to their father's family. Sons so reared will, through gratitude, support their uncles in old age. . . I have collected a number of words and phrases of the Yerukalas among themselves—a language which is unintelligible to the Telugu people. The most cursory glance at these is sufficient to produce the conviction that it is a Tamil dialect. It has been considerably mixed, as is to be expected, with Telugu and Canarese, but in its structure it is plainly Tamil. The Yerukalas understand Tamil when spoken, and it is superfluous to state analogies between their dialect and Tamil, inasmuch as

old men of the tribe are to this day their priests. They mainly worship Māriamma or Pōlēramma, an image of whom generally accompanies each tribe in its wanderings. The god Vēṅkaṭēśvara of Tripati is also held in respect by a great many. They generally keep a lamp burning night and day in their encampments before which they offer up prayers.

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the former is nothing but a patois of the latter, in which Telugu and Canarese words are freely used. There can be no doubt as to the fact that the Yerukalas are a Tamil tribe, but there are some points connected with the name and language which seem to throw further light on the question. The name has two forms in Telugu, one Yerukuvandlu, said by Brown and Campbell to be derived from 'Erugu' to know, and to have reference to their fortune-telling powers, and one Yerukulavandlu; the first of this word is evidently not a plural of 'Yeruku,' but a distinct word. This seems to be recognized by Brown and Wilson, who conjecture that 'Yeru' is a prefix to be connected by the word 'erra' red. . . The Yerukulas in this district state that their tribe name in their own language is 'Kurru,' also, Kola; and I think there can be no doubt that the 'Yer' or 'Yeru' is a mere prefix and that 'Kala,' Wilson's 'Kullevar' represents tho real name of the tribe. To connect 'Yer' or 'Yeru' with the Telugu 'erra,' red, seems quite meaningless; it might perhaps be compared with 'Yervaru' mentioned by Wilson, or which seems more plausible to suppose it to be the word 'Yeruku' (which, as has been said, is one designation of the tribe in Telugu, compounded with the real tribe name 'Kurruvandlu,' or Kolavandlu, when, according to a common euphonic law in Telugu, the two '*k's*' would coalesce and the word becomes Yerukkalavandlu. The second 'k' would easily be dropped, and the word assume its common form Yerukalavandlu. I have been unable to find that there are any traditions among these people as to the country from which they came; one of them indignantly repudiated the notion of a Tamil origin. The language, however, and the tribe name 'Kurru' seems to me unmistakeably to point to the identity of this tribe with the well-known Kuravar or Koravar of the Tamil districts."

The *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H. H. the Nizam's Dominions* contains in vol. I, pp. 326–28, an account of the Yerakulavāṇḍlu: "The *Yarkalwars* are a nomad tribe living in huts made of palmyra leaves or reeds. They are found in some of the eastern districts of the Dominions. They live on the flesh of swine, game and carrion, and a little grain they may get in barter for the mats and baskets they construct. They snare birds with bird-lime, and they have a small breed of dogs with which they kill hares. They kill most of the dogs when young, but retain the bitches, to which, when they are intended for hunting, they give a certain root that renders them barren. . Brahmans will not approach the Yarkalwars but the Jangam of the Lingayets is more pliant, and on the occasion of a death, for a present of some grain, he attends and blows his conch. Their marriage ceremonies consist in a headman whom they elect for the occasion, and place on a

The explanation of their by-name *Yerukulavāṇḍlu* (Yerukalavāṇḍlu, Yerakalavāṇḍlu or Yerikalavāṇḍlu) offers some difficulties. Scholars like C. P. Brown and H. H. Wilson are inclined to take *yeru* in the meaning of *erra*, red; but there does not seem sufficient ground for this derivation. It is true, and I have elsewhere alluded to the fact, that Scythian tribes use occasionally terms signifying color, in order to represent political positions; black, *e.g.*, indicating, under these circumstances, dependence and servitude, and white liberty and sovereignty. I have not observed, however, this

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throne of turf, putting rice on the heads of the young people, and uttering some mystic words; a pig is then killed, the flesh is cooked and eaten, and ample as their experience must be of the qualities of every kind of flesh, they are unanimous in declaring that pork is superior to all. They then jump about, beat their bellmetal vessels, and the whole concludes by the whole party, male and female, getting drunk. One of their customs is very peculiar. On the occasion of a birth the husband is looked on as the subject of compassion, and is carefully tended by the neighbours, as if he and not the wife had been the sufferer. Like all vagabonds they are regarded with suspicion, and with some reason, as they affect to possess a divining rod in the shape of the frond of the wild date, by which they may discover on the outside of the house where property is placed within . . . Although despised as a carrion-eating caste, the ryots do not hesitate in cases of sickness to consult them. Then the divining rod is produced, a Yarkalwar woman holding one end while the other is given to the person seeking advice, a long string of words is rattled over, the result of the disease foretold, and the particular shrine is indicated where an offering is to be placed, or the offended Sakti named, whose wrath is to be appeased by sacrifice . . . They speak a corrupt Tamil."

Compare also a " Brief Sketch of the Yerukala Language as spoken in Rajahmandry " in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1879, pp. 93–102. Messrs. A. G. Subrahmanyam Iyer, B.A., and P. Srinivasa Rao Pantulu, B.A., asked, under the direction of Rev. Mr. J. Cain, a Yeruka a series of questions and drew up the paper. Mr. Cain published afterwards a similar but shorter paper in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IX (1880), pp. 210–212. The brief sketch contains, among others, the following statements: "The Yerukulas do not seem to have any distinctive tribal or national name. In conversation with each other they call themselves 'Kuluvaru, evidently from the Sanskrit 'kula,' merely signifying 'our people' while to strangers they speak of themselves as Yerukalavaru, a name most probably given them by their Telugu neighbours (Telugu ఎఱుక) in allusion to their supposed skill in palmistry, which they practise as a means of livelihood. The Yerukula in question was not able to say when his people settled in Rajahmandry. He only knew that a long time ago they came from the west... Their customs are generally of a very simple character. They burn their

custom among the Gauda-Dravidian tribes of India, though the term *erra*, red, is occasionally used in names, *e.g.*, in that of the *Erra Gollalu.*[93]

There is also no reason for connecting the two initial syllables *Yera* of *Yerakalavāṇḍlu* with the Yeravas of Kurg. These are a distinct tribe and do not belong to the Kuṟavas, of whom the Kuṟus or Yerukulavāṇḍlu are a branch. The name Yerava is in reality only another form of Parava.[94]

A similar remark must be made as to the propriety of deriving the name of the Kuṟus from the Telugu words

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dead with little ceremony... There appears to be little doubt that the language belongs to the Dravidian family. The following collection of words and phrases seems to show conclusively that of these languages it bears the closest affinity to Tamil although possessing words, allied to Telugu and Canarese."

[93] See my monograph *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage and Geschichte*, p. 121, note 1 : " Die mongolischen Völkerschaften pflegen nämlich, wie bekannt, dem eigenthümlichen Stammesnamen eine Farbe, wie schwarz, weiss, etc., voranzusetzen,und hierdurch die politische Lage der Horde, ob sie unabhängig oder abhängig sei, anzudeuten."

[94] See " Ethnographical Compendium on the Castes and Tribes in the Province of Coorg," by the Rev. G. Richter, pp. 9, 10 : " Of the hill-tribes the *Yeravas* stand lowest and seem to have been in remote ages in a servile relation to the *Betta Kurumbas* . . They are immigrants from Wynad, where the same class of *Yeravas* is said to be found. Their language is related to that of the *Betta Kurumbas* and understood by the Coorgs. . . The *Yeravas* bury their dead with their clothes on lying flat the head eastward ; but according to the statement of an intelligent *Yerava* maistry, who was also the headman of his gang, the women are buried in a sitting posture in a hole scooped out sideways from what would have been an ordinary grave, so that the earth over head does not touch her."

Read also *Mysore and Coorg*, by Lewis Rice, in vol. I, p. 351 : " *Yerava.* These are only found in Mysore District, in the taluks forming the southern frontier ; they are said to have originally belonged to Wainad, where they were held in slavery by the Nairs. They resemble the African in features having thick lips and compressed noses. They speak a language of their, own." In vol. II, p. 94 : " Yerra Ganga and Challava Ganga, two men of the Yerralu tribe," to this the note is added : " A wandering tribe identical with or closely related to the Korachars. They are known in Coorg as Yeravas." And in vol. III, on pp. 214, 215 : " Yeravas, also known as Panjara Yeravas, 5,608 males, and 4,908 females. . . From the description given of the Yeravas, it is probable they would have been more correctly classed with Holeyas among the outcastes. They are said to be originally from Wainad, where, like the Holeyas in Coorg, they were held in slavery by the Nairs. They are met with almost entirely in Kiggatnad and Yedenalkad

erike, *eruka* or *eruku*. The Telugu terms *erike* or *eruka* knowledge, in the sense of astrology or of palmistry, and *eṛuku*, hunter, do not offer an explanation of the tribal name *Kuṛu*. It is highly probable that the name and the occupation of the fortune-telling Kuṛuvāṇḍlu or Kulavāṇḍlu induced the Telugu people to call this tribe Yerukulavāṇḍlu, Yerakalavāṇḍlu or Yerikelavāṇḍlu, including in these terms both their tribal name and their profession, and that this nickname, once substituted for the real tribal surname, supplanted the latter in course of time. I prefer this explanation to the conjecture suggested by Mr. H. E. Stokes in his interesting account of these people. Taking *Eruku* as a Telugu designation of this race, he adds to it their tribal name by dropping the last vowel of the first part of the compound, so that the word becomes *Yerukkalavandlu*. Peculiarily enough the term *Erukukula* occurs in reality as quoted in the note below, but apparently in the meaning of hunter. No race takes, as a rule, its name from a foreign language, and Telugu is a strange dialect to the Kuṛus, whose real idiom is rather akin to Tamil. In this language the expression Yerukalavas is ignored, and this tribe is called simply by the term Koṛavar.[95]

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taluks. They speak a language of their own, a dialect of Malayalam, and live with the Coorgs, but always in separate huts in or near jungle. They are much sought after as labourers."

It is evident from the above that Mr. Rice's statements contradict each other. If *Yerra Ganga* and *Challava Ganga* were Kuṛuvāṇḍlu or Yerukulavāṇḍlu, they could, according to my opinion, not have been Yeravar.—Moreover Mr. Rice calls them "men of the Yerralu tribe," and the Yeravar are not, as I believe, known as Yerralu. Mr. Rice was induced to this identification by Mr. Stokes' remarks, to which he refers. In this case it appears very doubtful whether *yerra* in *Yerra Ganga* is a tribal distinction at all, it seems rather to be a personal proper name.

[95] See the *Telugu and English Dictionary* by Charles Philip Brown, p. 126: "ఎరికె or ఎరుక knowledge, acquaintance, fortune-telling. ఎరికలది or ఎరికలసాని a female gypsey, a witch. ఎరికలవాడు a fortune-teller: ఎరికలవాండ్లు gypsies. See ఎరుకలు. ఎరుక mountaineer, a savage. ఎరుకచెప్పుట to tell fortunes. ఎరుకు adj. Belonging to gypsies, or to hillpeople. ఎరుకు-

It is hardly necessary after this to contradict two other statements, namely that the term *Kulavāru* is derived from the Sanskrit word *kula* and that the original tribal name of this race was *Kala*. The falseness of the first is obvious, while the real tribal designation, as has been proved, is *Kulu*, *Kola*, or *Kuṟu*. *Ko* (*ku*), mountain, is, indeed, the root to which the name of the Kuṟuvas, Koṟavas, Koṟamas, Kuṟuvāṇḍlu or Kolavāṇḍlu must be traced. According to the last census 48,882 Yerukulavāṇḍlu live in the Madras Presidency, 9,892 in Hyderabad, and 30 in the Central Provinces, or altogether 58,804 in India.

These Kuṟus must not be confounded with the Kolarian *Kūrs*, who live on the Mahadeva hills and in the forests watered by the Tapti and Narbada. The Kūrs are better known as Muāsis.[96]

On the other hand, it is by no means improbable that the Kaurs of the Central Provinces stand in some relationship to the Kuṟavas, as they appear to belong to the Gonds.

రేడు a highland chief. ఎరుకులవాడు a gypsey, ఎరుకలది a gypsey wench. This tribe of fortune-tellers speak a peculiar jargon or cant: and when they pitch their camps near towns, they herd swine. ఎరుకలసాని a woman of this tribe: a *witch*." Compare also *Śabda Ratnākaram*, a dictionary of the Telugu Language, compiled by B. Sītārāmācāryulu, Madras, 1885, pp. 150-151. "ఎఱుక . దే. వి. 1. తెలివి. . . 5 జోస్యము . . . ఎఱుకు. దే. వి. 1. కిరాతుడు 2. వ్యాఘుఁడు. చ. .ఎఱుకుకులంబునందు జనియించియు ధర్మవుతెల్లనిమ్మగా, నెఱిఁగెదు."

[96] See the Rev. Stephen Hislop's *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, pp. 25–27: "We come now to a race in language at least quite distinct from any that have engaged our attention—a race in that respect not allied to the Dravidian stock, but to the family which numbers among its members the Kōl nation. With the name of this last-mentioned nation, the word *Kūr*, or *Kul*, as it ought properly to be pronounced, is evidently identical. .. The Kūrs were found on the Mahadeva Hills, and westward in the forests on the Tapti and Narbadda, until they came into contact with the Bhils. On the Mahadeva Hills, where they have been much influenced by the Hindus, they prefer the name of Muāsi, the origin of which I have not been able to ascertain." Compare also Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Caste*, vol. II, p. 126, and Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of India*, pp. 151, 221, 230.

They resemble in their customs the aboriginal tribes of the jungles, revere Gond deities, and avoid all intercourse with Brahmans. With the Kuṟumbas they have in common the peculiar habit that all males are clean-shaved when a death takes place among their connections. Their features have a thorough Turanian aspect, their color is darkish, their noses are broad, and their lips rather thick. They assert, and their neighbours all round support them in their claim, that they are the survivors of the Kauravas who, after the battle of Kurukṣētra, fled to the south and took refuge in the hill tracts of Central India.[97]

On the Kunnuvas and Kunavāris.

Dr. Shortt mentions, on p. 85 in the fifth part of his "Hill Ranges of Southern India," the "*Manadies, Coonoovars*

[97] Read Colonel Dalton's *Ethnology of India*, pp. 136–138: "In a paper entitled 'Notes of a Tour in the Tributary Māhals,' published in the *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, I introduced them as a dark, coarse-featured, broad-nosed, wide-mouthed, and thick-lipped race, and it was natural to conclude from this that they were one of the aboriginal tribes. . .They are decidedly ugly, but are taller and better set up than most of the people described in this chapter. The Kaurs form a considerable proportion of the population of Jashpur, Udaipur, Sirguja, Korea, Chand Bhakar, and Korba of Chattisgarh, and though they are much scattered, and the various divisions of the tribe hold little communication with each other, they all tenaciously cling to one tradition of their origin, that they are the descendants of the survivors of the sons of Kuru, called Kauravas in Purans, who, when defeated by the Pāndavas at the great battle of Kurukshetrya, and driven from Hastināpur, took refuge in the hill country of Central India. They not only relate this of themselves, but it is firmly believed by the people of all castes of Hindus, their neighbours, who, notwithstanding their dark complexions and general resemblance to the offspring of Nishāda and some anti-Hindu practices, do not scruple to regard them as brethren. . . I was informed that the Kaurs were divided into four tribes—(1) the *Dūdh Kaurs*, (2) *Paikera*, (3) *Rettiah Kaurs*. The Kaurs of Udaipur described by me in the paper above quoted belong to this class. They rear and eat fowls, and have no veneration for Brāhmans. The village barber is their priest, and officiates as such at marriages and other ceremonies. At births, marriages and deaths, the males affected by the casualty and all connected with them of the same sex are clean-shaven all round. Some villages maintain, besides, a Byga priest, or exorcist for the Dryads, Naiads, and witches. The Paikera Kaurs therefore, who are, I think, the most numerous, cannot be regarded as Hindu in faith . . (4) the *Cherwa Kaurs* . . . The Dūdh Kaurs alone preserve the true blood of the Kuru race . . . They have none of them in the tracts mentioned, attained

(Mountaineers), or *Koravurs*" among the tribes of the Paḻani Mountains. He contends that "the Manadies or Coonoovars were the chief landed proprietors, possessing large herds of cattle, and, when compared with the other tribes, seem to be in easy circumstances." According to Mr. Nelson (Part II, p. 34): "The *Kunnuvans*, or as they are also called "Kunnuva Vellālans, perhaps from the word *Kunru* a "hillock, are supposed to be a caste of lowland cultivators who "came up from the Coimbatore plains some three or four "centuries ago and settled upon the Palani mountains as "has been shown." Whether the *Kunnuvas* were originally Dravidian Veḷḷāḷas who adopted the surname Kunnuva as a distinguishing clan-title, or whether the name Veḷ-

to the dignity of landlord either as zamīndār, or jāgīrdār. I am told, however, that the Zamīndār of Korba in Chattisgarh is a Kaur. All this makes me inclined to separate them from the aboriginal tribes of Central India, and to think that there is some foundation for their tradition; but, as I cannot efface their Turanian traits, and from all I have seen of them must regard those traits as the predominating and original characteristics of the tribe, I find myself in the dilemma of having to come forward as the propounder of a new theory, and, in opposition to the Mahābhārat, to suggest that the war of the Paudavas and Kauravas was not a family quarrel but struggle for supremacy between an Aryanand Turanian nation!" Compare also the Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. II, p. 155: "The Kaurs are usually regarded as aborigines, although claiming to have been originally connected with the Tuar tribe of Rajpoots in the North-Western Provinces.. Nevertheless, their customs are not like those of Rajpoots, but like the aboriginal tribes of jungles. They worship Doolar Deo and Boorha Deo, Gond deities, and, as a class, avoid intercourse with Brahmans. Their marriage ceremonies are performed in the presence of the elders of the village, and they bury their dead. The Kaurs are good and industrious cultivators." The Kaurs are also mentioned in Mr. N. Ball's *Jungle Life in India*, pp. 296, 300, 322.

Compare with the above Justice Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p. 40: "In this region of India, it only remains to mention one more Aboriginal tribe, called Kaurs, found in the extreme west of the Chota-Nagpore Agency about Korea, Oodeypore, and the adjoining parts of the territory of Nagpore proper, the Pergunnah of Korbah of Chatteesgurh. They are described as a very industrious, thriving people, considerably advanced in civilisation. They now affect Hindu traditions, pretend to be descended from the defeated remnants of the Kooroos who fought the Pandavas, worship Siva and speak Hindee, but in appearance they are ultra-aboriginal, very black, with broad noses, and thick lips, and eat fowls, &c., bury most of their dead, and contemn Bramins; so that their Hindooism is scarcely skin-deep."

ḷāḷa was given them as landed proprietors, because the land-owners of the plains were so called, it is impossible to decide now. It is, however, an interesting coincidence that the Kunnuvas who inhabit the Paḻani hills are called and call themselves *Mannāḍi.* This compound is formed of மன், *man*, a contraction of *malai*, mountain, and *nāḍu*, country. *Mannāḍu* signifies thus mountain-country, and *mannāḍi*, mountaineer, as *Malaiyāḷam* denotes the country, and *Malaiyāḷi*, the inhabitant of Malabar.[98]

Besides *malai* another word *maṇ* occurs in the sense of mountain. *Maṇ* in Tamil signifies not only earth, but also mountain.[99] In the former sense it is identical with the Telugu *mannu*, and in the latter with *mannemu* or *manyamu*. *Mannedora* and *manyaḍu* denote a highland chieftain, and *manyaḍu* is a title of some Velama Rajas, while the hill-people are called *Mannevāru.* If the *Mons* of Pegu are called by the Burmese *Talaings*, who according to Sir Alexander Cunningham " must have emigrated from Telingana," the conjecture of connecting this term *Mon* with the Telugu *Mannemu* and the Tamil *Maṇ* appears permissible.

Considering that *Maṇkulattār*, *Gaṅgakulattār* and *Indrakulattār* are the three principal divisions of the Veḷḷāḷas, it seems now doubtful whether the term *maṇ* in *Maṇkulattār* should be explained as meaning earth or mountain.[100]

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[98] See Dr. John Shortt's *Hill Ranges*, Part V, pp. 85–89. On p. 85 we read: " When a Manady marries, the whole tribe is represented on the occasion and to avoid unnecessary expense, marriages are generally put off until two, three or more can be celebrated at once . . . (On p. 86) The young man advances and ties the marriage string with the *Thalee* or symbol around the bride's neck; to complete the ceremony, a Poliar is called upon to announce a blessing on the new married couple." Read also *ibidem*, Part VI, pp. 42–46; on pp. 42–43: " The inhabitants of these High Ranges are Mudavars and . . the mixed population of the villages in Unjenaad known as Kunuvers, Munnadies, and others may be considered inhabitants." Compare Mr. J. H. Nelson's *Manual of the Madura Country*, Part II, pp. 33–36.

[99] See Dr. Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary*, p. 841: மண், s. The earth . . . 3. Hill, mountain.

[100] See p. 34, n. 29, on the term *Mannepuvāṇḍlu*, highlanders, being used to designate the Telugu Pariahs or *Mālalu*, and p. 106, n. 100, on the terms *Veḷḷāḷa* and *Velama.* The Muhammedan rulers in India conferred

These remarks have been made with a view to introduce here the inhabitants of the Kunāwar district, which is situated in the Himalayan mountain range. The people of this country are generally known as Kunets or Kanets, but call themselves *Mon*. Sir Alexander Cunningham remarks: "With respect to the name of *Mon*, which is given to the "Kunets or Khasas by the Tibetans, it does not appear to be "a Tibetan word, as it is used by the Kunets themselves to "designate the ancient possessors of the hills, whom they "acknowledge to have been their own ancestors." On very slight, and, as I think, on very suspicious linguistic evidence does General Sir Alexander Cunningham connect the Mons of Kunāwar with the Kolarian Mundas, and thus with the Kolarian population of India. I, on the other hand, regard these Kunawāri Mons together with the Kulindas as a branch of the Gaudian tribe of the Gauda-Dravidian race, and even Sir Alexander Cunningham cannot deny the possibility of "a Gondish affinity for the Kunets." I have a very high respect for the earnest, indefatigable, and ingenious researches of the late chief of the Archæological Survey of India, but no single individual, however gifted, can write so much without occasionally committing errors, and if I disagree at times with General Sir Alexander Cunningham's statements and conclusions, I must acknowledge at the same time the great obligations I owe to him in common with all who consult his excellent writings.[101]

occasionally the title *Manya Sultan* on Velama chiefs and other princes. *Manya* in this sense stands for Manyadora, and has nothing in common with the Sanskrit word *Manya* from *man*, to consider.

[101] See Sir Alexander Cunningham's *Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XIV, pp. 125–135; more especially p. 127: "All the ancient remains within the present area of Kunet occupation are assigned to a people who are variously called Mowas, or Mons, or Motans, and all agree that they were the Kunets themselves . At Dwāra Hāth there are numbers of monuments like tombs built of large flat tiles, which the people attribute to the *Maowis* or *Monas*. These I take to be the monuments of the ancient Kunindas or Kunets before they were driven from Dwāra Hāth to Joshimath . (P. 128). In Dhāmi and Bhāgal and in all the districts along the Satlej there are numerous

If the Kunets or Kunawaris are, as I believe, of Gaudian origin, the circumstance of their being called *Mon*, mountaineer, gains in importance; for this name can then be derived from a Gauda-Dravidian word. I feel inclined to derive the name of the inhabitants of Kunāwar, *i.e.*, of the ancient Kulindas and the modern Kunets, from the root *ku*, mountain. The etymology of the Madura term *Kunnuvar* from *Kunnu*, mountain, is evident, and is confirmed by the meanings of the other two names of this tribe, *i.e.*, *Koṛavar* and *Mannāḍikal.* Yet, it is doubtful, whether *Kunnava* is an original name or was afterwards adopted.

One of the peculiar features of the social habits of the Kunets is their strict adherence to the old Gauda-Dravidian custom of polyandry. Polyandry, it is true, does not actually prevail among the Southern Kunnavas, but a woman can take in succession as many husbands as she likes, though she is allowed only one at a time.

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remains of old stone buildings, many of them foundations of squared stones, all of which are attributed to the Maowis or Mons, the former rulers of the country I think it therefore very probable that the *Mons* of the Cis-Himalaya may be connected with the *Muṇḍas* of Eastern India, who are certainly the *Monedes* of Pliny, as well as with the *Mons* of Pegu. As these last are called *Talaings* by the Burmese, it would seem that they must have emigrated from Telingana, I would also suggest that the true name of Mongir was most probably *Monagiri*, and that the country of the *Mundas* or *Monedes* once extended northward as far as the Ganges at Mongir." See Csoma de Korosi, Geographical Notice of Tibet in *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, vol. I, p. 122 : "The hill people of India who dwell next to the Tibetans are called by them by the general name of *Mon*, their country *Mon Yul*, a man *Mon-pa* or simply *Mon*, and a woman *Mon-mo*) . (Pp. 131-132.) The language of the Kunets, like that of the Khas, just described by Mr. Hodgson, is a corrupt dialect of Hindi, but it still retains several traces of a non-Aryan language. Thus the word *ti*, for water of stream, is found all over the Kunet area. The word is not Tibetan, but occurs in the Milchang dialect of Lower Kunāwar. It is clearly connected with the *di* and *ti* of the E. Koch and Moch tribes, and with the *da* of the aboriginal Kolish dialects of Eastern and Central India, the Munda, Santhal, Ho, Kurī and Saur or Savara. Thus within the Kunet area are the following large streams. (1) Rāwa-ti, or Rāvi River. (2) Nyung-ti, or Biās River . (P. 133). Several of the great rivers of Northern India have the Kolisḥ affix *da*, as Pad-dā, Narma-dā, Bahu-da, etc. . . Dā-Muda, Da-Sān, Altogether I think the evidence of language, so far as it goes, points decidedly to a Kolish rather than to a Gondish affinity for the

No doubt these two tribes of the North and the South resemble each other strangely in their names and in their customs, but I am far from trying to force on them for these reasons any closer relationship than that which has from the first existed between them, namely that both of them formed part of the large Gauda-Dravidian race. Both are here mentioned together, as they afford an interesting example of similar sounding and nearly identical names being borne by two distinct, distant, and yet originally kindred tribes.[102]

CHAPTER XII.

On the Kuṟubas or Kuṟumbas.

Remarks about the name Kuṟumba.

The Kuṟubas or Kuṟumbas who form the subject of this enquiry represent the most important of all those tribes that have been already mentioned in this chapter, owing to the influential part they have played in the History of India, and the position they still occupy among the people of this country. However separated from each other and scattered

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Kunets and other mixed races of North-West India." The linguistic evidence so far as the Kunets are concerned is very weak, in fact *nihil*. Nothing proves that the *ti* of *Rāvati*, the Sanskrit Airāvati denotes river; and that a word like *da*, water, should in one and the same language be used in the same connection both at the beginning and the end of compounds as in *Bāhu-da*, *Narma-dā*, *Dā-Muda*, and *Da-Sān*, is against linguistic rules. About the Kolarian terms for water, *dā*, *doi*, *di*, *dat*, *ti* and *tui* compare Hislop's Papers, p. 27.

102 Read Mr. J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madura*, Part II, pp. 34-35: "In this way a woman may legally marry any number of men in succession, though she may not have two husbands at one and the same time. She may however bestow favors on paramours without hindrance, provided they be of equal caste with her. On the other hand a man may indulge in polygamy to any extent he pleases, and the wealthier Kunnuvans keep several wives as servants particularly for agricultural purposes. Among the Western Kunnuvans a very curious custom is said to prevail. When an estate is likely to descend to a female on default of male issue, she is forbidden to marry an adult, but goes through the ceremony of marriage with some young male child, or in some cases with a portion of her father's dwelling-house, on the understanding that she shall be at liberty to amuse herself with any man of

among the Dravidian clans with whom they have dwelt, and however distant from one another they still live, there is hardly a province in the whole of Bharatavarṣa which cannot produce, if not some living remnants of this race, at least some remains of past times which prove their presence.

Indeed, the Kuṟumbas must be regarded as very old inhabitants of this land, who can contest with their Dravidian kinsmen the priority of occupation of the Indian soil. The two rival tribes have in reality become so intermixed with each other, that according to the temporary superiority of the one or the other, the same district is at different times known as Vala(va)nāḍu and Kuṟumbanāḍu, while in some instances, when both tribes live more apart from each other, we find a Vallavanāḍu bordering on a Kuṟumbanāḍu.

In some parts of this country the Kuṟumbas are even now considered as the oldest existing remnant of the earliest stratum of the population. Some tracts and places of the Indian realm still bear their name, while some localities had their names changed after the collapse of the Kuṟumba supremacy. The well-known Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, of which Kāñcīpuram was once the capital, is said to have been previously called Kuṟumbabhūmi or Kuṟumbanāḍu. Kuṟumbaṟanāḍu forms still an integral portion of Malabar, and the forest-clad mountainous district of the Nīlagiri has preserved in many localities the ancient name of the Kuṟumbas. It may not be inappropriate to mention here that Valanāḍu

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her caste, to whom she may take a fancy: and her issue, so begotten, inherits the property, which is thus retained in the woman's family. Numerous disputes originate in this singular custom; and Madura Collectors have sometimes been puzzled not a little by evidence adduced to show that a child of three or four years was the son or daughter of a child of ten or twelve. The religion of the Kunnuvans appear to be the *Saiva*, but they worship their mountain god Valapan with far more devotedness than any other."

Compare also Sir W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. V, pp. 482-483: "In physique, the Kunāwāris are tall, athletic, well-made, and dark-skinned; while their character stands high for hospitality, truthfulness and honesty . . Polyandry everywhere exists in its fullest form."

is now known as the name of a district round Kāñcīpuram, and that Vaḷḷuvanāḍu is bordering on Kuṟumbaṟanāḍu.[103]

Before entering further on the discussion concerning the ethnology and history of the Kuṟumbas, I feel it incumbent on me to make a few linguistic remarks, which apply to the whole chapter. I have already derived their name from *kuṟu*, an enlarged form of *ko* (*ku*), mountain. A Kuṟuba or Kuṟumba signifies thus a mountaineer.

The terms Kuṟuba and Kuṟumba are originally identical, though the one form is in different places employed for the other, and has thus occasionally assumed a special local meaning. I have previously proved that even the wandering Koṟavas are direct offshoots from the same stem, in spite of their being now distinguished from the bulk of the Kuṟubas or Kuṟumbas by occupation and caste. Mr. H. B. Grigg appears to contradict himself when, while speaking of the Kuṟumbas, he says that "in the low country they are "called Kurubas or Cúrubáru, and are divided into numerous "families, such as the 'Âné' or Elephant, Náya or Dog, "Málé or Hill Kurumbas." Such a distinction between Mountain-Kuṟumbas and Plain-Kuṟubas cannot be established. The Rev. G. Richter will find it difficult to prove that the *Kuṟubas* of Mysore are only called so as shepherds, and that no connection exists between these Kuṟubas and the Kuṟumbas. Mr. Lewis Rice calls the wild tribes as well as the shepherds *Kurubas*, but seems to overlook the fact that both terms are identical and refer only to the ethnological distinction. Instead of *Kuruba* he uses also occasionally *Kurumba*. In the Tamil language all the Kuṟumbas are

103 Or Veḷanāḍu. Near Chingleput in Vaḷanāḍu lies Vaḷḷam with an ancient temple on the top of the hill and Vaḷam in Tanjore is also situated on a height. I am not ignorant of the fact that the term *Valanāḍu* is generally explained as the *extensive* or *excellent district*. (See F. M. Ellis' *Mirāsi* Article, p. 229, and Mr. Nelson's *Manual*, Part II, p. 49.) In Mr. Nelson's *Manual of Madura* the Vallama Nāḍu in Tanjore is mentioned in Part II, on pp. 28 and 57 and "the Vella (Vala) Nādu, near Kāñchipuram (Conjeveram)," on p. 44, the *Vala Nāḍu* or excellent district of Madura on p. 49.

called *Kuṛumbar*, and, as we shall see hereafter, they are divided into *Aṇḍa* or *Aṇḍai-Kuṛumbar*, *Kambali-Kuṛumbar*, *Kuṛumba-Iḍaiyar*, *Cuṇṇāmbu-Kuṛumbar*, *&c.* The ethnological origin of Kuṛuba, shepherd, is proved by the occurrence of such terms as *Kuṛi-Kuṛuba*, Sheep-Kuṛuba, *Handi-Kuṛuba*, Pig-Kuṛuba. The Kuṛubas or Kuṛumbas embraced the occupation of herdsmen to such an extent, that the tribal designation became in course of time a professional one. In English the term *shepherd* is on the other hand used in such a general sense, that the original meaning of shepherd, as a herd of sheep, the German *Schafhirt*, is quite forgotten. The expression *Kuṛi-Kuṛuba* would mean *sheep-shepherd*, if the original signification of Kuṛuba were really shepherd.

Now it happens that one of the principal occupations of the Kuṛubas or Kuṛumbas is that of tending sheep, and by a peculiar coincidence *kuṛi* or *koṛi* is a common Gauda-Dravidian term for sheep, from which can also be derived the word *Kuṛuban*, in the sense of shepherd. In fact the term *kuṛuba* in Kanarese, *kuṛuban* in Malayālam and Tulu, and *golladu* or *gollavāḍu* in Telugu denote a shepherd, but the Tamil *kuṛumban* in the sense of shepherd refers only to the Kuṛumba shepherd, and the sheep peculiar to the Kuṛumbas is called *Kuṛumbāḍu*, in Tamil குறும்பாடு. So far as the Telugu *gollaḍu* is concerned, I must at once remark that I think it incorrect to connect this word with the Sanskrit term *gō*, cow. Golladu or Gollavāḍu is derived from *golla* the Casus Constructus (*taṭamu*) in the plural of *goṛṛe*, sheep, plural *goṛṛelu* or *gorlu* changed into *gollu*. I have been since informed by reliable authority that in the Telugu-speaking districts the term *gollavāḍu* is particularly applied to herdsmen of sheep or shepherds. The Kuṛumba herdsmen are styled in Tamil *Kuṛumba Iḍaiyar*, and in Telugu *Kuṛumba Gollalu*.[104]

[104] Compare Mr. Grigg's *Manual of the Nīlagiri District*, p. 208, Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium*, p. 11 (see note 108 on p. 230), and Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. III, pp. 20, 49, 57, 207, 208, 214, 216.

But we have also to deal with another word which resembles *kuṟu* mountain; this is the term *kuṟu* short, which occurs in Tamil, Malayālam, Tulu, Kanarese and Telugu. Peculiarly enough a large percentage of the Kuṟumbas, more especially those who inhabit the hill-ranges have a short almost dwarfish figure, so that the etymology may appear appropriate in their case. A similar derivation from the Malayālam *ceṟu*, small, in Tamil and Telugu *ciṟu*, is actually suggested to explain the name of the praedial slaves of Malabar, the ill treated *Ceṟamas* or *Ceṟumas*. This tribe is in reality called after their native country *Cēra*, of which they were, so far as we know, the original rulers, until they were suppressed and finally reduced to abject slavery by their present masters, the Nairs. The Kuṟumbas have shared a similar fate in many places. The *Ceṟamas* can therefore be compared with their fellow sufferers, the *Kuḍamas*.

The stunted growth of animals and plants in cold, wet and high elevations is a well-known natural law, to which the human species has also to submit. In consequence of their loneliness and comparative physical weakness, the small

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In the late Mr. C. P. Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* we find *gollata*, గొల్లత, given as signifying a woman of the cowkeeper caste, and *gollatamu*, గొల్లతము, as the cowherd class. This is, I think, not quite correct. Later Telugu Lexicographers have adopted and perpetuated the mistake of Mr. Brown. The same meaning is contained in Kanarese dictionaries, as Kanarese also possesses the word *golla*, as a caste of herdsmen. The Kanarese term is most likely taken from Telugu. Mr. W. Logan speaks in his *Malabar Manual*, vol. I, p. 114, of the Koruba Golla as herdsmen. Compare Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. II, pp. 433, 434: "Sheep are an object of great importance, and are of the kind called *Curi* in the language of Karnata. They are kept by two castes, the *Curubaru* and *Goalaru*. A man of either caste, who possesses a flock of sheep, is by the Mussulmans called a Donigar. The *Curubaru* are of two kinds; those properly so called, and those named *Handy* or *Cumly Curubaru*. The *Curubaru* proper, and the *Goalaru*, are sometimes cultivators, and possess the largest flocks; but they never make blankets. . . The flocks contained by the former two castes contain from 30 to 300 breeding-lives."

The Gollas of *Aurangabad* appear to be identical with the wandering Kuṟuvas; for according to the Gazetteer of that district (p. 309): "The Gollars move about with droves of asses, or are employed as goatherds. They

mountaineers, when they meet their taller but less clever neighbours of the plains, display often a spiteful distrust, use poisonous arrows and frighten them by their mysterious proceedings into abject superstition. This is the reason why the Kuṛumbas of the Nīlagiri Hills are so shunned; and why dwarfs in general are treated with suspicion, as is shown by the well-known native proverb: "One may trust a thief, but not a dwarf."

When pointing out the different meanings of the word *paḻḻi*, I specially drew attention to the fact that it signified originally a Dravidian village or town, and remarkably enough the Gaudian Kuṛumbas also possess similar terms, which must have been at first applied to their villages. I speak of *kuṛicci*, a village in mountainous regions, and *kuṛumbu*, a village situated in desert tracts.

Moreover to the Dravidian Paḻḻavan, as chief of the Paḻḻa people, corresponds the Gaudian *Kuṛuppu*, the Kuṛumba headman in the Kuṛumbaṛanāḍu of Malabar.

On the sub-divisions among the Kuṛumbas.

The Kuṛumbas represent a very numerous community, who are subdivided into many classes. Most of these subdivisions indicate either the place of their habitation, or the pursuit and profession they follow to gain their livelihood. In some cases these professional terms have become tribal names. In the various provinces of the Indian Empire and in the different vernaculars of this country distinct names are given to the several subdivisions, so that the same class is called differently in sundry districts; the Tamil and Kanarese descriptions differ thus in their nomenclature.

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rear dogs, hunt jackals, iguanas, and wild animals, and live in the neighbourhood of towns and villages. The women beg, and are said to be great thieves."

In the last Census Report the Gollas are divided into Erra, Gauda, Kadu, Kannadi, Karna, Kuruba, Mushti, Pūja, Pūri, Peddeti and Uru Gollas, Kurumbas and Yadavulu. They are classed as Dravidians, and number 1,258,786 souls.

The Kuṛumbas are as jealous about their social position as the other Hindus.[105] They have fought and are still fighting when the opportunity occurs with great pertinacity against any real or imaginary encroachments on their rights of precedence. Very serious disturbances used to take place at the great annual festival held about February in the Śiva shrine at *Muḍukuturai* in the Kollegal Tālūk, where about 50,000 people assemble on the banks of the Kāvēri, and

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[105] About the ensigns compare pp. 63, 64, n. 59.

See Mackenzie Collection, No. 9, C.M. 763, XII; No. 11, C.M. 765; No. 14, C.M. 768, VIII; No. 20, C.M. 774, X, and Dr. Francis Buchanan's *Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, vol. I, pp. 274–276, 312, 379–381, 389; vol. II, pp. 3, 40, 155, 156, 433–436. In vol. I, pp. 274–276 he says: "The *Curubaru* are an original caste of *Karnāta*, and, wherever they are settled, retain their language. They are divided into two tribes, that have no communion, and which are called *Handy Curubaru*, and *Curubaru* proper. The last again are divided into a number of families; such as the *Any*, or elephant Curubaru; the *Hal*, or Milk Curubaru; the *Colli*, or fire C.; the *Nelly C.*; the *Sāmanta C.*; the *Coti C.*; the *Asil C.*; and the *Murhindina Curubaru*. These families are like the *Gōtrams* of the Brāhmans; it being considered as incestuous for two persons of the same family to intermarry. The proper *Curubas* have hereditary chiefs, who are called *Gaudas*, whether they be headmen of villages or not, and possess the usual jurisdiction. Some of them can read accompts, but they have no book. The proper duty of the caste is that of shepherds, and of blanket-weavers; and in general they have no other dress than a blanket. A few of those who are rich have betaken themselves to the luxury of wearing cotton cloth next their skin; for all castes and ranks in this country wear the blanket as an outer garment. The dress of the women resembles that of the females of the kingdom of *Ava*. The blanket is put behind the back, and the two upper corners, being brought forward under the arms, are crossed over the bosom, and secured by the one being tucked under the other. As their blanket is larger than the cloth used by the women of *Ava*, the dress is more decent. The *Curubaru* were, besides, *Candachara*, or militia; cultivators, as farmers, as servants, and as gardeners; *Attavana*, or the armed men who serve the *Amildars*; *Anchay*, or post-messengers, and porters. They are allowed to eat animal food, but in most places are not permitted to drink spirituous liquors. In other places this strictness is not required, and almost everywhere they intoxicate themselves with palm-wine. The women are very industrious, and perform every kind of work except digging and ploughing. Even after the age of puberty they continue marriageable, and can only be divorced for adultery. In this caste the custom of *Cutiga*, or concubinage, prevails; that is, all adulteresses who are turned away by their husbands, and have not gone astray with a strange man, and all girls and widows, to whom a life of celibacy is disagreeable, may live with any man of the caste who chooses to keep them. They are looked down upon by their more virtuous sisters; but

Government had to interfere and to arrange that the Kuṛumbas and the Gaṅgaḍīkāras should attend the fair on different days, so as to prevent their meeting each other. On another occasion the Kuṛumbas collected and spent about 10,000 rupees to obtain from the records in Kāñcīpuram documentary evidence in confirmation of their claims. One of the disputes between the Kuṛumbas and the Gaṅgaḍikāras concerns the question who are the Indraśūdras and who the

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still they are admitted into company, and are not out-casts. Among the *Curubaru*, the children of concubines do not form a separate caste, but are allowed to marry with those of a pure breed. By a connection with any man, except a *Curuba*, a woman becomes an entire out-cast. The men take several wives; and, if they be good workers, do not always divorce them for adultery; but as they thus incur some disgrace, they must appease the anger of their kindred by giving them an entertainment, and the *Guru* generally interposes his authority to prevent a separation. The *Curubas* believe, that those men who die without having been married become *Vīrikas*, to whose images, at a great annual feast, which is celebrated on purpose, offerings of red cloth, *jagory* rice, &c., are made. If this feast be omitted, the *Vīrikas* become enraged, occasion sickness, kill the sheep, alarm the people by horrid dreams, and, when they walk out at night, strike them on the back. They are only to be appeased by the celebration of the proper feast. The peculiar god of the caste is *Bir'-uppa*, or father *Biray*, one of the names of *Siva*; and the image is in shape of the *Linga;* but no other person prays to *Siva* under his name, nor offers sacrifices to that god, which is the mode by which the *Curubas* worship *Bir'-uppa*. The priests who officiate in the temples of this deity are *Curubas*. Their office is hereditary, and they do not intermarry with the daughters of laymen. In some districts, the *Curubas* worship another god, peculiar, I believe, to themselves. He is called *Battay Devaru*, and is a destructive spirit. They offer sacrifices to him in woods, by the sides of rivulets, or ponds. The carcasses of the animals killed before the image are given to the barber and washerman, who eat them. Besides these, the *Curubaru* offer sacrifices to the *Saktis*, and pray to every object of superstition (except *Dharma Rāja*) that comes in their way. They are considered too impure to be allowed to wear the *Linga*, as their *Guru* does. This person is called a *Wodear*, or *Jangama;* but he is married, and his office is hereditary. His title is *Rāvana Sidhēswara*, and he originally lived at *Sarur*, which is near *Kalyānapattana*. At his visits he bestows consecrated ashes, and receives charity. He has a fixed due on marriages, and sends his agents to collect it. At some of their ceremonies the *Panchānga* attends, and acts as Purohita." On page 312 Buchanan says: "The *Curubas* here (in Tumkūr) say, that at a temple of *Bhairawa* at *Hervay Samudra*, which is near *Mercasera*, to the north of this place, and where one of their caste acts as *Pūjāri*, the image represents a man sitting on horseback with the *Linga* round his neck, and a drawn sword in his hand, they offer sacrifices to this image and eat the flesh. The family of *Rāvana* have now spread all over the country; but *Sarur* is still considered as the proper family

Śukraśūdras; the Kuṛumbas claiming to be *Indraśūdras* and calling the Gaṅgaḍikāras *Śukraśūdras*, and *vice versâ*. The former expression indicates the issue of married, and the latter that of unmarried women.

They carry an enormous white umbrella and a flag with the figure of a bull, and of this umbrella they proudly say that it covers the world. It is therefore known as *Jagajampina sattige.*

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seat. Their *Guru* has the power of restoring any out-cast to the enjoyment of full communion. They have a book peculiar to the caste called *Jiraga Chapagodu.* It is written in the language of *Karnāta*, and gives an account of the tribe. The Curubaru buy their wives, a girl of a good family costs from 30 to 40 *fanams*; a girl of the bastard or *Cutiga* breed costs 15 *fanams*, or 10*s*." On pp. 379–81 he describes the Kāḍu and Beṭṭa Kuṛumbas: "The *Cad' Curubaru* are a rude tribe of *Karnāta*, who are exceedingly poor and wretched. In the fields near villages they build miserable low huts, have a few rags only for covering, and the hair of both sexes stands out matted like a mop, and swarms with vermin. Their persons and features are weak and unseemly, and their complexion is very dark. Some of them hire themselves as labouring servants to the farmers, and, like those of other castes, receive monthly wages. Others, in crop season, watch the fields at night, to keep off the elephants and wild hogs . . Their manner of driving away the elephant is by running against him with a burning torch made of bamboos. . . The *Curubaru* have no means of killing so large an animal . . The wild hogs are driven out of the fields by slings . . These poor people frequently suffer from tigers, against which their wretched huts are a poor defence; and, when this wild beast is urged by hunger, he is regardless of their burning torches. The *Curubaru* have dogs, with which they catch deer, antelopes and hares; and they have the art of taking in snares peacocks, and other esculent birds. They have no hereditary chiefs, but assemble occasionally to settle the business of their caste. They confine their marriages to their own tribe. The *Gauda*, or chief man of the village, presides at this ceremony, which consists of a feast. During this the bridegroom espouses his mistress, by tying a string of beads around her neck. The men are allowed to take several wives, and both girls after the age of puberty, and widows are permitted to marry. In case of adultery, the husband flogs his wife severely, and if he be able, beats her paramour. If he be not able, he applies to the *Gauda*, who does it for him. The adulteress has then her choice of following either of the men as her husband. They can eat everything except beef; and have no objection to the animal having died a natural death. . . They do not drink spiritous liquors. None of them take the vow of *Dāsēri* nor attempt to read. Some of them burn, and others bury the dead. They believe that good men, after death, will become benevolent *Dēvas*, and bad men destructive *Dēvas*. . . The spirits of the dead are believed to appear in dreams to their old people, and to direct them to make offerings of fruits to a female deity, named *Bettada Chicama*; that is, the little mother of the hill. Unless these offerings are made, this goddess occasions sickness;

I have been informed that there exist as many as 23 Kuṛumba subdivisions.

The Mackenzie Manuscripts contain in this respect valuable information about the Tamil Kuṛumbas, while Dr. Francis Buchanan supplies interesting accounts of the Kanarese Kuṛumbas. Among such distinctions may be mentioned the *Malai* or *Beṭṭa Kuṛumbas*, who are confined to the mountains, and the *Kāḍu Kuṛumbas*, who dwell in forests. It is probable that the *Muḷḷu Kuṛumbas*, who are

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but she is never supposed to do her votaries any good. She is not, however, appeased by bloody sacrifices. There is a temple dedicated to her near *Nunjinagodu*; but there is no occasion for the offering being made at that place. There is also in this neighbourhood (of *Hegodu Devana Cotay*) another rude tribe of *Curubaru*, called *Betta*, or *Malaya*, both words signifying mountain, the one in the *Karnāta*, and the other in the *Tamil* language. . . They are not so wretched nor ill-looking as the *Cad' Curubaru*, but are of diminutive stature. They live in poor huts near the villages, and the chief employment of the men is the cutting of timber, and making of baskets . . . . The *Betta Curubaru* have an hereditary chief called *Ijyamāna*, who lives at *Priya-pattana*. . . In this tribe, the concubines, or *Cutigas*, are women that prefer another man to their husband, or widows who do not wish to relinquish carnal enjoyment. Their children are not considered as illegitimate.

"Girls are not considered as marriageable until after the age of puberty, custom that by the higher orders is considered as a beastly depravity. The men may take several wives, but never marry a woman of the same family with themselves in the male line. The *Betta Curubaru* never intoxicate themselves; but are permitted to eat every kind of animal food except beef, and they have no objection to carrion. They never take the vow of *Dasēri*, and none of them can read. Some of them burn, and others bury their dead. They understand nothing of a future state. The god of the caste is *Ejuruppa*, who seems to be the same with *Hanumanta*, the servant of *Rama*, but they never pray to this last-mentioned deity although they sometimes address *Siva*. To the god of their caste they offer fruit, and a little money; they never sacrifice to the *Saktis*. Their *Guru*, they say, is of the caste *Wotimeru*, and from their description would appear to be of those people called *Satananas*." On p. 389: "*Bhairawa Dēvaru* is the god of the *Curubas*, and is a malevolent male spirit . . . . The *Pujari*, or priest, is a *Hal Curubaru*, who can neither read nor write." Compare further vol. II, pp. 3, 42, 433–436: "The Curubaru are of two kinds; those properly so called, and those named *Handy* or *Cumly Curubaru*. The *Curubaru* proper, and the *Goalaru*, are sometimes cultivators, and possess the largest flocks; but they never make blankets. The *Handy Curubas* abstain entirely from cultivation, and employ themselves in tending their flocks, and manufacturing the wool. . . The *Handy Curubaru* . . . are a caste living in the *Harapunya-hully* and *Chatrakal*

found in the Nīlagiri Mountains, are so called from *muḻḻu*, thorn, as they live among the jungle; if so, the term is to some extent synonymous with *Kāḍu Kuṟumbas*. Some think that the word *muḻḻu* may apply to their arrows, as these sturdy, well-made mountaineers are never seen without their bows and arrows. As regards their neighbours whom the Rev. F. Metz, otherwise a great authority on this subject, calls *Naya Kurumbas*, and Mr. Grigg *Náya or Dog Kurumbas*, I have ascertained on reliable authority that their name is in reality not *Nāya* but *Nāyaka Kuṟumbas*, and that they are held in respect by the neighbouring tribes. The *Muḻḻu*

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districts, and are of Karnâta descent. . . All those who have settled in that (*Marattah*) country being horsemen, they are called *Handay Ravalar*, a name pronounced Rawut by the Mussulmans, and by them frequently applied to every kind of *Curubas* . . . The deities, whom this caste consider as their peculiar objects of worship, are *Bira Deva*, and his sister *Mayava*. *Bira* is, they say, the same with *Iswara*, and resides in Kailasa . . There is only one temple of *Bira*, which is situated on *Curi Betta*, or the sheep hill, on the banks of the Krishna, near the Poonah. There is also only one temple dedicated to *Mayava*. It is near the Krishna, at a place named *Chinsuli*. Once in ten years, every man of the caste ought to go to these two temples; but a great many do not find leisure for the performance of this duty. These deities do not receive bloody sacrifices, but are worshipped by offerings of fruit and flowers. The priests (*Pujaris*) at both these temples are *Curubaru*, and, as the office is hereditary, they of course marry. . Besides the worship of the deities proper to the caste, the Curubas offer sacrifices to some of the destructive spirits, such as *Durgawa*, *Jacani*, and *Barama Deva*. . . The *Curubaru* have no trouble from *Pysachi*; and ordinary *Butas*, or devils, they believe, are expelled by prayer addressed to the deities of the caste. At *Hujiny*, in the *Harapunya-hully* district, resides *Ravana Siddheswara*, the *Guru* of this caste." In his description of Malabar, Buchanan speaks in vol. II., pp. 156–158 of the Curumbalum or Catalun in Kuṟumbaṟanāḍu: "Another caste of *Malayala*, condemned to slavery, is called in the singular *Catal* or *Curumbal*, and in the plural *Catalam* or *Curumbalun*. They reckon themselves higher than the Churman, Polian, or Parian. The deity is worshipped by this caste under the name of *Malayadēvan*, or the god of the hill, and is represented by a stone placed on a heap of pebbles. This place of worship is on a hill, named *Turuta Malay*, near *Sivapurata*, in *Curumbara Nada*. To this place the *Catalun* annually go, and offer their prayers, coco-nuts, spirituous liquors, and such like, but make no sacrifices, nor have they any kind of priest. They pray chiefly for their own worldly happiness, and for that of their relations. The spirits of good men after death are supposed to have the power of inflicting disease, and are appeased by offerings of distilled and fermented liquors, which the votary drinks after he has called upon the spirit to take such part of them

Kuṛumbas live particularly on the eastern side of the hills in their middle belts, while the *Nāya* or *Nāyaka Kuṛumbas* inhabit generally the lower slopes of this range as well as of the Wynaad. It appears that the latter are identical with those who are elsewhere called *Jēnu Kuṛumbas*, or Honey Kuṛumbas, because they gather honey for their own use as well as for sale. These Jēnu Kuṛumbas are also found in Kurg.

About the Kuṛumbas of the Nīlagiri-Mountain-range, we are favoured with various pretty accurate accounts. Among these deserve special mention the writings of the late Rev. Ferdinand Metz [106] of the Basel Lutheran Mission, who

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as will pacify his resentment. The dead bodies of good men are burned, but those of bad men, in order to confine their spirits, are buried ; for, if they escape, they are supposed to occasion great trouble. It is not customary, however, to make any offerings to these evil spirits. This caste has no hereditary chiefs ; but disputes are settled by the elders who never inflict a severer punishment than a mulct of some *Betel-leaf*. . The tradition here is, that *Cheruman Permal* divided the whole of *Malayala* among four families, who were called *Rājās*, but whose dominions were afterwards subdivided amongst innumerable petty chiefs, and younger branches of the original families. These four families, however, always maintained a superiority of rank, which they at this day retain. They are, the *Coluta-nada Rājā*, commonly called *Cherical*; the *Venatra*, or *Rājā of Travancore ;* the *Perumburupa*, or *Cochi Rājā*, and the *Ernada*, or *Tamuri*. The dominions of the latter were originally very small. The same story concerning them is told here (*Pyur* or *Eivurmalay*) that was related at Calicut. In process of time the *Curumbara* family, who seem to have been a branch descended from the *Cochi Rājās*, seized on a part of *Coluta-nada*, which included all the northern parts of *Malayala*. Among other usurpations, this family seized on *Eivurmalay*, of which they were afterwards stript by the ancestors of the three *Waunamar*. Another Kshatriya family called *Cotayhutty* (*Cotiote*), who seem to have been descended from a younger sister of the *Curumbara Rājās*, seized on another portion of *Coluta-nada* lying between *Tellicherry* and the *Ghats*. The *Curumbara Nada Rājās* became extinct in the *Malabar* year 954 (1778-1779), five years after *Hyder* invaded the country."

About the Kuṛumbas of Southern India consult also Abbé Dubois' *Description of the People of India*, second edition, p. 342, and the *Manual of Madura* by Mr. J. H. Nelson, Part II, pp. 64, 65.

[106] Compare Rev. F. Metz *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 115–126 : "The Todas divide the Kurumbas into three classes—The Mullu Kurumbas, the Naya Kurumbas, and the Panias. The two latter live in the Wynaad. The Panias are not looked upon as sorcerers, as are the other two classes, and are chiefly employed as the laborers of the Badagas who

spent the best part of his life in intimate intercourse with the hill-tribes, among whom he commanded the highest respect for the genuine kindness he showed to them and the utter unselfishness he displayed towards the amelioration of their position. Very valuable information is also contained in the writings of the late Colonel Ouchterlony, in the *Account* of the late Mr. J. Wilkinson Breeks, Commissioner of

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have settled in the Wynaad. Each Badaga district has its own Kurumba priest, who comes up at the ploughing season, and sows the first handful of grain; and at harvest time also before the sickle is put to the crop. And if a standing crop should at any time be attacked by insects, he is sent for, and has to go through the ceremony of lowing like a calf, which the Badagas believe has the effect of killing the insect. . The Mullu and Naya Kurumbas are believed to possess the power of killing men by sorcery, and so greatly are they feared that, if a Badaga meet a Kurumba in a jungle alone, death from sheer terror is not unfrequently the consequence. . . The cairns and cromlechs found in various parts of the hills, . . were, I think, probably the work of the ancestors of the Kurumbas. . . During the 13 years that I have labored amongst and mixed with the hill-tribes, I have never found the Todas in any way interested in the cairns, whilst the fact of their making no objections to their being opened, taken in connection with the circumstance of the contents frequently consisting of parts of plough-shares, sickles, and other implements of husbandry, showing that the cairns were constructed by an agricultural race which the Todas never were, are to me convincing proofs that they are not the work of the Todas of a past generation. The Badagas and Kotas, on the other hand, are to a certain degree afraid to approach them . . I was once on a preaching excursion in a district near the southern boundary of the hills, and not very far from the principal Kurumba village, called Mulli, and after the labors of the day felt a curiosity to open a cairn which happened to be in the neighbourhood. Much to my surprise however the Badaga headmen present would not permit me to do so, not on account of any objections they had themselves to make, but because, as they said, it was the residence of the god of the Kurumbas, who came up frequently from Mulli in order to worship the god of their forefathers. This is the only occasion on which I have ever known any of the hill tribes venerate a cairn, as the depository of the ashes of a deceased ancestor; but, viewed in connection with what I have already stated, I think it is sufficient to justify the supposition that the Kurumbas of old, when masters of the tableland may have constructed these remarkable cemeteries; and this consideration is further borne out by the fact that the common tradition among Todas, Badagas, and Kotas, is that they are the graves of a very wicked race of people, who, though diminutive in stature, were at the same time powerful enough to raise the large blocks of granite of which the walls of Hoolicaldroog are built; and that God drove them from the hills on account of their wickedness—a description which would well apply to the case of the Kurumbas, who, in addition to being feared and detested, are as a race much stunted in their

the Nīlagiris, in the reports of Deputy-Surgeon-General Dr. John Shortt, and in the exhaustive and valuable *Manual of the Nīlagiri District* compiled by Mr. H. B. Grigg, late Assistant Commissioner of the Nīlagiris.[107]

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growth. The cromlechs were doubtless the work of the same people as the cairns. . The Kurumbas call their deity Kuribattaraya, meaning, Lord or possessor of sheep and to him they now and then sacrifice a goat or a fowl."

[107] Compare Dr. Shortt's Article on the Kurumbas in the *Hill Ranges of Southern India*, Part I, pp. 47–53 : " *Kurumbas*—From குறும்பு (Kurumboo) mischief, the characteristic of a class of savages who are supposed to be the aborigines of Southern India, from which the term Kurumba is derived. A tribe, who call themselves, and are recognized as Kurumbas, having three sub-divisions among them, viz. :—1. Mullu Kurumba. 2. Naya Kurumba. 3. Panias Kuramba. . . The *Mullu Kurumbas* chiefly occupy the middle belts of these hills, while the other two divisions are confined to the lower slopes, or are inhabitants of the Wynaad jungles, but the tribe generally is recognized as mountaineers. . The Kurumba tribe are small in stature, and have a squalid and somewhat uncouth appearance from their peculiar physiognomy, wild matted hair, and almost nude bodies. . They are as a body sickly-looking, pot-bellied, large-mouthed, prognathous, with prominent out-standing teeth and thick lips—frequently saliva dribbles away from their mouths. . . The men show great agility in climbing and descending hills, trees, &c. The women have much the same features as the men, only somewhat softened in expression, and slightly modified in feature, with a small pug nose, and surly aspect. . Their villages are termed *Motta*. . They have no furniture. . They have no marriage ceremony. . Those Kurumbas who live on the Hills officiate as priests to the Badagas. . The Badaga will do nothing without the presence of a Kurumba, so that each district has its own Kurumba priest. . He is supposed to be well versed in the use of herbs, and prescribes for all ailments; implicit confidence is placed in his skill, and he is remunerated either in money or grain, and sometimes both. The Kurumbas also officiate as priests at their marriages and deaths. . . The Kurumbas, as a body, keep the other tribes in great dread of witchcraft, not even excepting the Todas, who look upon the Kurumbas as great adepts in the power and skill of bewitching or destroying men, animals, or other property. . . The Kurumbas are also employed as musicians by the Toda and Badaga tribes on all ceremonial and festive occasions ; they play on the flute and tom-tom very dexterously to the admiration of the Todas and Badagas. . They withstand the endemic diseases of the locality pretty well, and are not subject to fever. . They hold some crude notions of a superior being, whom they designate under a variety of names, with no distinct idea as to who or what he is. . The Kurumbas are superstitious, and while they keep all the other tribes on these Hills in awe, they themselves fear the Todas, believing that they possess supernatural powers over them. They are said to hold in respect, and make offerings at, the different cairns and cromlechs met with on these Hills, and from which it is believed that these cairns and cromlechs are the work of their ancestors. Against this, their weak and dwarfed stature is brought

So far as the Kuṟumbas of Kurg are concerned, we are mainly indebted to the Rev. G. Richter who wrote an *Ethno-*

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forward as an objection, as most of these cairns and cromlechs are built of huge stones, such as it is believed the Kurumba tribe could not move in the absence of suitable appliances. . . Some of the Todas do attribute the cairns and cromlechs to the Kurumbas."

Consult further the late Mr. James Wilkinson Breeks' *Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nīlagiris*, pp. 48-66 : "In the Tabulated Census Returns they are entered under the following castes or divisions :—Eda Kurumban, Karmadiya Kurumban, Kurumban, Kurumban Okkiliyan, Male Kurumban, Pāl Kurumban. . They generally, however, say they have no caste, but are divided into *bīgas* or families, which do not intermarry. It is difficult to get a complete account of the tribal divisions recognised by them. One man will name you one (his own) ; another two divisions ; another three, and so on. The headman of the village enumerated four :—1. *Betta Kurumbas* who live on the slopes, and near the Mysore ditch. 2. *Kambale Kurumbas*, who make blankets (cambly), and live in the low country, in the Konguru (Coimbatore). 3. *Mullu Kurumbas* (he did not know where they lived). 4. *Anda Kurumbas*, who, like himself, live on the eastern slopes. Pāl Kurumbas are also vaguely mentioned sometimes. . Some Kurumbas whom I have met with, profess, in answer to inquiries, to worship Siva, and occasionally women mark their forehead with the Saiva spot. Others, living near Barliār, worship Kuribattrāya (lord of many sheep), and the wife of Siva under the name of Musni. They worship also a rough round stone under the name of Hiriadēva, setting it up either in a cave or in a circle of stones like the so-called 'Kurumba Kovil' of the Badagas, which the latter seem to have borrowed from the Kurumbas. . They do not consider the stone as a *lingam*, although they profess to be Saivites. . Each Badaga *Grāma*, with its group of villages, keeps a Kurumba priest called *Kāni Kurumba*. . The office is hereditary. In April and May, before sowing time, a goat or young male buffalo is supplied by the cultivators, and the Kāni Kurumba is summoned to make the sacrifice. Surrounded by the villagers, the officiating priest cuts off the head of the animal, and sprinkles the blood in three directions, east, west, and south, and also on a water-worn stone, which is considered as a "*hutu* (natural) *lingam*." No words are spoken, but after the sprinkling, the Kurumba clasps his hands behind his head, shouting *Do, Do, Do*, three times and bows the head to 'Mother Earth.' The priest gets the head, and the Badagas the body, of the goat, which is taken home and eaten. In the Jakāneri Grāma this ceremony is performed at the cromlech ; in Tenād, at a rude circle of stone surrounding a water-worn stone for a *lingam*. They call the place the 'Kurumba Kovil' (Kurumba Church)... The Kurumbas near Rangaswāmi's Peak told me that some Kurumbas buried their dead, but that they themselves burned theirs, and that the nearest relatives next day took some boiled rice in a cloth and a small round stone, and perhaps a bone from the funeral pile, and deposited them for the dead in the *Sāvumane* (death-house) belonging to the *Motta*. At Barliār they do the same. These *Sāvumanes* are small cromlechs of three upright stones and a covering slab ; they said they did not now make them, but that they used those made by their forefathers. . They knew of no god peculiar to the Kurumbas, nor

graphical Compendium . . of Coorg ; but the *Gazetteer* of *Mysore and Coorg* by Mr. Lewis Rice should also be consulted.[108]

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had they any temple, but at a certain season they took offerings of plantains to the *Pujāri* (a Tamil man) who attended on Maleswara (lord of the mountain), the god who lived on a hill known by that name."—I take the *Eda* to be the *Iḍaiya Kuṟumba.*

Compare with these extracts Colonel Ouchterlony's *Geographical and Statistical Memoir . . of the Neilgherry Mountains,* pp. 62, 63 in Dr. Shortt's *Hill Ranges,* Part I, and Mr. H. B. Grigg's Chapter on the Kuṟumbas in his *Manual of the Nīlagiri District,* pp. 208–217.

[108] About the Kuṟumbas of Kurg consult Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium . . . of Coorg,* pp. 11–15. "The Kurumbas of Coorg are closely connected with those of the jungles of Sonth-Mysore and with the Kurumbas of the Nilgiries, . . but there is now no intercourse between them, nor have they any connexion with the shepberd caste of Mysore, the *Kurubas* who live in the open country in mixed villages and tend cattle, sheep and swine and also weave cumblies, whence they are called *Halu-*, *Kuri*, *Handi-* and *Cambli Kurubas.* The *Kurumbas* in Coorg are divided into two distinct sections, the *Jénu* and the *Beṭṭa Kurumbas.* The *Jénu Kurumbas* are found in the north and south-east of Coorg scattered in the jungles. They have no fixed abode but wander about from place to place in search of honey, hence their name, *Jénu* meaning honey in Kanarese. . In appearance the *Jénu Kurumbas* are not unlike the *Betta Kurumbas ;* but the men do not tie their hair in a knot, and from carelessness it often gets matted. . The women who dress like the Canarese *Vokkaligas* tie their rather curly hair into a knot at the back of the head. Those I saw had regular features and might have been taken for *Vokkaligas.* Also in their wedding ceremonies they conform to those of the *Vokkaligas,* but worship *Kari Kali* at Kutta like the Coorgs. . . The name *Beṭṭa* or *Kadu Kurumbas* is derived from their abode. . A short flat nose, which in the women is turned up with deep indentation at the root, prominent lips, small dark deep-set eyes do not enhance the personal attractiveness of the *Beṭṭa Kurumba,* yet he is a harmless good-humoured fellow and industrious at his work as long as it pleases him. He loves above all things personal freedom and independence and is quite in is native element when roaming about on a hunting expedition as tracker of large game. . . In their religious practices they are devoted to demon worship and once within three years they bring the usual offering (*Kanike*) of money, fowl, cocoanut and plantains to *Kuttadamma* or *Karinkali* (Black Kali) at *Kurchi* near the south-east frontier of Coorg. The eatables are shared between the *pujari* who is a Vokkaliga, and the devotee. At the *Kuttadamma Jatri* (March-April) the *Betta Kurumbas* perform a dance accompanied by drum and gong ; they also wear small round bells (*gejje*) below the knee and in a stooping posture with outstretched arms and clenched fists they vigorously move round. They do not venerate snakes, but kill them, nor do they apply *Vibhuti* or sacred ashes. The *Betta Kurumbas* are divided into two sections or gotras, the *Mundpadi,* literally families belonging to three hamlets, and the *Yelpadi* or families belonging to seven hamlets, and as among the higher castes of Hindus, members of the same *gotra,* do not intermarry . . . Their principal *Bhutas* are *Ajja* and *Kuda.* . . In case of sickness what remedies are known to the elders are applied and vows made to the demon, *Kuttadamma,* and fulfilled on recovery.

According to their rank the first to be considered are the *Aṇḍa Kuṟumbas* who superintend the administration. Next follow the *Kuṟumba Okkaligas* or agricultural Kuṟumbas whom we find mentioned in the Nīlagiri Census Report. Though the number assigned to them is very insignificant, the circumstance of their being reported at all is highly interesting, for it supplies a link to connect them with a respectable and influential class of people in Mysore, the well-known *Okkaligaru*. *Okkalu*, pronounced Vokkalu, signifies in Kanarese 'tenancy,' *okkalatana*, husbandry, and *okkaliga*, a farmer or cultivator. Dr. Buchanan calls this caste, which is very numerous in Mysore, also *Cunabis*. These I shall eventually identify with the Kunbis, Kumbis (Kurmis) or Kuḍumbis, the agricultural class to which Śivāji, the great Maratha chieftain belonged who with his Kuḍumbis of Kuḍumba or Kuṟumba extraction effected such a change in the political aspect of India, some two hundred years ago. The sentence in the text of Buchanan leaves it doubtful, whether he referred to the *Cunabis* as an ethnological or professional distinction. Not all, perhaps not even the majority of the Okkaligas of Mysore are of Kuṟumba origin. With the exception of the abovementioned Gaṅgaḍikāras and the Noṇaba Okkaligas, the others appear to have been later settlers in Mysore. Their name implies only an occupation, but it is a remarkable fact that many Okkaligas, who do not cultivate the soil are engaged in similar pursuits such as the Kuṟumbas embrace. Both tribes for instance have a predilection for a military life, and, what is more suggestive still, both communities are under the same Gurus, or spiritual superiors, the chief of whom resides at Kaṅgundi in

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Their dead are buried, the corpse being placed sideways with the head to the west. A widow may be remarried to a relative of the deceased husband, but not to a stranger . . Of the Mysore and Nilgiri *Kurumbas* it is said that they eat the flesh of the cow, but those in Coorg abhor it."

The Rev. G. Richter is, according to my opinion (see p. 217), mistaken in his tribal distinction between the Kuṟumbas and the Kuṟubas.

Bara-mahal. The Pūjāri of the Beṭṭa Kuṟumbas in Kurg is also an Okkaliga. The last Census Report fixes their number at 711,622 souls. The Mysore Okkaligas have some peculiar customs, not the least extraordinary among them being that which prevails among the women of the Morasa Okkaligas, who cut off the ring and little fingers of their right hand, before they celebrate the marriage of their eldest daughter.[109]

The shepherds are known as *Kuṟumba Iḍaiyas*, *Kuṟumba Gollas*, occasionally also as *Kuṟi Kuṟumbas* and even as *Haṇḍe Kuṟumbas*. Others keep pigs, this do the widely-spread *Handi-Kuṟumbas*, who must not be confounded with the Haṇḍe Kuṟumbas; the *Pāl* or *Hāl Kuṟumbas* sell milk; the *Kambali Kuṟumbas* weave and sell woollen blankets, which they themselves wear in a peculiar fashion; and the *Cuṇṇāmbu Kuṟumbas* prepare and sell lime. The *Kuṟumba Vēḍas* or hunting Kuṟumbas are well known in the Tamil country,[110] while the *Āne Kuṟumbas* seem to have obtained their name from their cleverness in way-laying and hunting elephants. The *Kaḷḷa-Kuṟumbas* lived not so long ago an easy life as thieves and robbers. Most likely they formed part of the warrior class and took to marauding in times of peace for want of other occupation, and in order to support them-

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[109] See Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 180, 181: "The Ruddi are one of the tribes of *Sūdra* caste, which being much employed in agriculture are called *Woculigaru* in the language of *Karnata*, and *Cunabi* in that of the Decany Mussulmans... They are divided into two sects by a difference of religion; one party worshipping *Vishnu*, and the other *Siva*; but this does not prevent intermarriages. Those who worship *Siva* are followers of a kind of *Jangamas*; but do not wear the *Linga*. The people with whom I conversed seemed to consider them as the same with tho *Jangamas* of the *Pancham Banijigas*, but this caste informed me, that they were distinct, and that the Gurus of the *Ruddi* were the same with those of the *Curubaru*, whose chief resides at Cangundy in the Bara-mahal." Compare Mr. L. Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I, pp. 337, 338, 340, vol. III, pp 208, 209, also the *Ethnological Compendium* of the Rev. G. Richter, p. 13, and pp. 260–264.

[110] See Mackenzie Collection, No. 11, C.M. 765, Sect., new copy, vol. III, p. 298, where the *Aṇḍa*, *Iḍaiya*, *Kambali*, *Cuṇṇāmbu* and *Vēda-Kuṟumbas* are mentioned, and also No. 14, C.M. 768, Section VII.

selves. The circumstances, however, are now changed, and the Kaḷḷas in Pudukōṭa are no longer the dread of their neighbours.

Among the Kuṟumbas of the *Maṇḍayam Tālūk* are found the following nine divisions : the *Pāl, Haṇḍe, Muḷḷu, Kambaḷi, Sāda, Javāḍu, Sōmavāra, Bestvāra* and *Ādityavāra Kuṟumbas.* These last three designations appear like nick-names, for they are peculiarly enough names of days of the week.

Besides these there are mentioned the *Kuṟumbas*, whose name Buchanan connects with *koḷḷi*, fire, but whom others call *Kāli-Kuṟubas* or *Kalle-Kuṟubas* after the Goddess Kālī. The *Nelli Kuṟumbas* (?) ; the *Asil Kuṟumbas* (? from *asal*, pure) ; the *Kōti Kuṟumbas* (? perhaps from *kōti*, monkey) ; the *Sāmanta Kuṟumbas* (? connected with the Sanskrit word *sāmanta* in the meaning of chief) ; the *Mūrhiṇḍina Kuṟumbas* (? of three groups), whose name reminds one of the *Mundpadi* and *Yelpadi* sections of the Beṭṭa Kuṟumbas in Kurg, who belong to three or to seven hamlets, according to Rev. G. Richter's *Compendium*, p. 13. It is very doubtful whether the *Pania Kuṟumbas*, who inhabit the Nīlagiri mountains and whom Rev. F. Metz counts among the Kuṟumbas, should be regarded as Kuṟumbas. The other Kuṟumbas do not treat them at all like relations ; nor do they, and this is a point of importance, inspire the other native tribes with that superstitious fear, which renders the *Muḷḷu* and *Nāyaka Kuṟumbas* so terrible. They also do not resemble the other Kuṟumbas in their outward appearance. Their abject state of servitude (hence their name *pania*, from *pani*, work) would not absolutely militate against their being Kuṟumbas, though these people have generally contrived to maintain a certain amount of freedom, for the Curumbalun or Catalun of the Kuṟumbaṟanāḍu in Malabar were, according to Dr. Buchanan's description, held in slavery.[111]

The Kuṟumbas are said to belong to the *Havyaka* Gōtra,

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[111] See note 105 on pp. 225, 226.

and to the *Rēṇuka* or *Rēvaṇa* Sūtra. According to legendary report the Kuṛumbas form the offspring of the family of *Unne*, this being a tadbhavam of *Ūrṇā*, sheep-wool. Their connection with the sheep is traced to a curse of the celestial buffoon *Bhṛṅgī*, who, being dissatisfied with the Pramathas, the attendants of Śiva, is said to have cursed and turned them into sheep; saying:

Pramathā Bhṛṅgiśāpēna kavayō'pyavayō'bhavan.

This curse was eventually removed by Rēṇukārādhya or Rēvaṇasiddha, an incarnation of a servant of Śiva, and the high-priest of the Liṅgayats.

Some of the Kuṛumba hill-tribes have been reduced by the hard life they lead to a dwarfish and monkey-like appearance, but that this exterior is to a great degree due to these unfavorable circumstances and that it improves under better conditions is exemplified by the following statement of Dr. Shortt: "Whilst the appearance of this tribe is so "uncouth and forbidding in their own forest glens, they are "open to wonderful improvement by regular work, exercise, "and food; of this ample evidence is to be seen at the Gov- "ernment Chinchona Plantations at Neddiwuttum, where a "gang of Kuṛumbas, comprising some twenty individuals, "are employed as laborers, receiving their wages in grain "for the most part. They appear to give satisfaction to their "employers, and in their general appearance they cannot "be recognized from other natives, except perhaps by that "peculiar physiognomy characteristic to the tribe and their "somewhat slight conformation and dwarfed stature. They "have not the pot-belly, do not gape, nor is the dribbling "saliva or blood-shot eyes, common to their brethren of the "jungles to be found among them." [112]

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[112] Read Dr. Shortt's *The Hill Ranges of Southern India*, Part I, pp. 52, 53. Compare also Mr. W. F. Sinclair's 'Remark' in the *Indian Antiquary* (1877), vol. VI, p. 230: "In the Kaladgî district the Shepherd caste are called Kurubhars.... What is the meaning and derivation of *Kurubhar*, and is it

ON THEIR RELIGION, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

According to the most trustworthy native authorities, the Kuṟumbas had originally no special god, nor idols, nor any peculiar religious belief of their own. This state of things was eventually changed with the rise of proselytizing religions, such as Buddhism, Jainism, and with the desire of the majority to conform to Hindu or Brahmanic customs.

Their earliest objects of religious worship, however, appear to have been rough rounded stones, which somehow inspired them with a belief as representing the great superhuman powers. The weird aspect of the imposing immovable stone-hills, which braved the strongest storms amidst torrents of rain and flashes of lightning impressed most probably these children of nature to such an extent, that mountains, rocks and even smaller pieces of stones appeared to them the most appropriate representation of the deity. It may be perhaps added, that such kind of material is most easily set up and does not require any art to adjust it. This stone-worship has survived among the Kuṟumbas to the present day. A stone to which worship is paid stands often in caves or in the middle of circles, likewise formed of stone, but it must not be regarded as a Liṅga. The stone circle with its centre-piece is known among natives as a *Kuṟumba Kōvil* or temple of the Kuṟumbas. This stone is in the Nīlagiri district remembered as the Hiriadēva or Great God. The Kuṟumbas of the Nīlagiris offer presents of plantains to the Pūjāri of the Malēśvara idol on a high cliff which overlooks the Bhavāni valley, while those of Malabar worship similarly their hill god Malayadēva.[113] Occasionally we meet with a stone-block under a tree, which is revered as Gurunātha.

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the same word as *Kurambâ*, the name of Nilgiri hill-tribe? The latter, I believe, is a race of dwarfs; the shepherds here are a fine breed of men; yet the difference can hardly be greater than that which exists among the Bhills."

[113] See pp. 225 n. 105, 229 n. 116, Breeks' *Tribes*, pp. 52 and 55, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. II, p. 155.

The meaning of the name of this village god has hitherto defied identification, but is, I believe, now pretty clear. I think that *Guru* stands for Kuṟu, the original form of Kuṟuva or Kuṟumba, and that Gurunātha in Telugu *Gurunāthuḍu* is in reality identical with the god of the Kuṟus or Kuṟumbaṣ.

As the bulk of the Kuṟumbas are shepherds or *Kuṟi-kuṟumbas* and as their property is represented by the flocks of sheep they possess, their god is often called the Lord or King of the Sheep Hill or *Kuṟi-beṭṭa-rāya.*[114]

Like other nations the Kuṟumbas also have repeatedly changed their religion, and very many different beliefs are prevalent among them. At an early age a considerable fraction of the Kuṟumbas adopted the Jaina faith and became eventually bigoted adherents of this sect. It seems in fact that their fanatical efforts to spread and to ensure the general adoption of this religion have been among the chief causes of the collapse of their power in the central districts of the Madras Presidency, *i.e.*, in the country round Kāñcīpuram. The campaign of Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa was specially undertaken to crush the threatening supremacy of Jainism, and the religious element played in it as important a part as the political.[115] The ascendancy of Śaivism was the most important result of the war, but Jainism is by no means extinct among the Kuṟumbas. The Liṅgayats claim also a considerable number of adherents, and *Rēṇukārādhya or Rēvaṇa Siddhēśvara* is their high priest in certain parts of Mysore.[116] Rēṇukārādhya is said to have chosen in Śriśaila the Kuṟumba leader *Padmarasa* (from *Padma* and *Arasu*,

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[114] About *Gurunātha* see p. 200, and consult pp. 225 n. 105, 226 n. 106, and 229 n. 107, where the Rev. F. Metz's *Kuribattaraya*, Mr. Breeks' *Kuribattrāya*, and Dr. F. Buchanan's "temple of *Bira* which is situated on *Curi-betta*, or the Sheep Hill" are mentioned.

[115] See a petition of the Jains of Kumbakōṇam, Cittūr, Vṛddhācalam and other places who complained about their losing their temples through Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa and Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa.

[116] Rēvaṇasiddha or Rēṇukārādhya is said to have resided on the Kailāsa mountain.

king) or Padmaṇṇa as his disciple and alienated him from Jainism. Śiva is revered under various forms, most frequently as Bhairava, but also as Vīrabhadra, and the temple of the god '*Bīra* on *Curibetta*' is most probably his shrine.[117] *Ejuruppa* I take to be *Iruḻappan*, the god of darkness; *Barama Deva* is perhaps Brahma if not Paramēśvara;[118] Durgawa, *Yacani* (*Yakṣaṇī* or more correctly Yakṣiṇī), *Mayava* (Māyavā) and *Musni* (?) are mentioned as the deities revered by the Kuṟumbas; and Durgā, Māyavā and Musni are worshipped as the wives of Śiva. In Kurg the monster *Kuttadamma* or *Karinkāli* (black Kālī) is revered by the Kuṟumbas.[119]

It seems that *Śakti*, as well as *Bhūta* or demon-worship exists in some Kuṟumba communities, though the authorities do not agree with respect to the Bhūtacult.[120]

Rāma is not adored by the Kuṟumbas, and *Dharmarāja*, the favorite deity of the Paḻḻis and other Dravidian races, shares the same fate, which fact must be regarded as very significant.[121]

The Mackenzie Collection contains an interesting description of the manner in which *Vīrabhadra* is worshipped by the Iḍaiya Kuṟumbas who belong to the Yādava race.[122] Vīrabhadra is generally regarded as an Avatāra of Śiva, who, according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, proceeded from the mouth of Śiva to spoil the sacrifice of Dakṣa, and who is described as " a divine being with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes,

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[117] See p. 225 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 275, 312, 389; vol. II, pp. 435, 436.

[118] See pp. 224, 225 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 381; vol. II, p. 436.

[119] See pp. 225 n. 105, 230 n. 108, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. II, p. 436, and Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnographical Compendium*, p. 13.

[120] See pp. 225 n. 105, 230 n. 108, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 271; vol. II, p. 381, and Rev. G. Richter's *Ethnogr. Compend.*, p. 13.

[121] See p. 222 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 276.

[122] See Mackenzie Collection, No. 9, C.M. 763, XII, in the new copy, vol. IV, pp. 76, ff., and Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, pp. 368, 369.

a thousand feet; wielding a thousand clubs, a thousand shafts, holding the shell, the discus, the mace, and bearing a blazing bow and battle-axe."[123] It is now, I believe, impossible to decide whether the Vīrabhadra of the Kuṟumbas represents a national, or is a Hindu divinity. According to our MS. the Kuṟumbas have no national worship, but revere only one deity whom they call *Vīra*, *Vīralu*, or *Vīrabhadra*. His feast is celebrated once a year, on new moon day of the Tamil month *Tai*, or about January. The idol is kept shut up in a box in a special room during the whole remaining time of the year. On the anniversary of the festival the box is reverently opened and the idol, which is made of brass, is taken out of it. The image is about a span long, and is placed in an upright position on a cloth spread over the floor, after it has been thoroughly cleaned with tamarind juice and well washed. The figure of the idol is then dressed in clothes, and flowers are placed on its head. Incense is burnt in front of it. Some raw rice is then cooked with milk and water in a new earthen pot, and presented to the idol on a plantain leaf. Plantains, betel-leaf and nuts, are besides offered, and cocoanuts are broken in its honor. After the ceremony is over, the idol is carried back to its usual place, and the people sit down to their meals. The feast lasts three consecutive days, but eight days before its commencement the worshippers take an oil bath, abstain from all sensual enjoyments, prepare their food in clean unprofaned vessels, do not eat flesh but bathe daily. He who has observed all the prescriptious most conscientiously, is placed in front of the idol, and the cocoanuts are broken on his head. The man who breaks the cocoanut, keeps it. If the man's head begins to bleed by the breaking of the cocoanuts, he is suspected of having committed some offence, and thus to have incurred pollution. He must bathe again, and the trial with the cocoanuts is repeated a second time. If his head

[123] See H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇu Puraṇa*, vol. I, pp. 128–132.

should begin to bleed again, he is finally rejected as impure. Whoever passes the test, becomes the *Pūjāri* for the time being. After this ceremony the Kuṟumbas dance together, beat drums and blow trumpets.

At the great festivals in Pudukōṭa the Kuṟumbas perform a similar ceremony in the presence of the Mahārāja, when the image of *Vīralakṣmī* is carried in procession and worshipped.

Some Kuṟumbas believe in a life after death, while others deny a future existence. They differ also in their way of disposing of their dead; some burn, others bury the corpses. The good, according to some, become after their death, benevolent spirits, while the bad assume the shape of evil spirits; and those who die unmarried become Vīrikas. But it seems that even the spirits of the good require some stimulant to keep them quiet, and unless they are appeased by liquor, in their anger they inflict various diseases. Some burn the good but bury the bad, as the spirits of the latter thus confined in the ground cannot escape and make mischief.[124]

The Kuṟumbas have the peculiar habit, already noticed when speaking of the Kaurs,[125] of shaving their heads entirely when they have to attend a funeral of any of their community. This custom of the Kuṟumbas was once the cause of a great calamity.[126] The Kuṟumbas had made themselves extremely unpopular by their intolerance. During the reign of the Rājas of Vijayanagara the Kuṟumba Iḍaiyas were powerful in several other places, especially in Nerumpūr, Śālapākkam and other similar strongholds. The Kuṟumbas, either actuated by religious zeal or wishing to annoy their dependents, tried

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[124] See pp. 222 n. 105, 223 n. 105, 225 n. 105, 226 n. 105, and Dr. Buchanan's *Travels*, vol. I, pp. 275, 380, 381; vol. II, pp. 155.

[125] See p. 210.

[126] See Mackenzie Collection, No. II; C.M. 765, VII; compare Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue*, vol. III, pp. 399-400.

to force the Muḍalis and Veḷḷāḷas to pay homage to them by bowing their heads respectfully to them. But these two classes refusing to do it, the Kuṟumbas in revenge ill-treated and oppressed them in all sorts of ways. They constructed for this purpose very low entrances at the various places where the Muḍalis and Veḷḷāḷas had to pass through gates, and they thought that they would thus compel these men to lower their heads when going through these entrances, and extract from them in this manner a certain amount of involuntary homage. But the Muḍalis and Veḷḷāḷas of *Nerumpūr* were quite equal to the occasion, and instead of bowing their heads, they scrambled through with their legs foremost, so that they added injury to insult; and the Kuṟumbas became only more exacting. At last the Veḷḷāḷas could stand this treatment no longer and determined to get rid of their oppressors. For this purpose they had recourse to a leading barber, whom they induced by liberal promises of gifts of land to devise a scheme to help them, and this man persuaded his fellow-barbers to kill the Kuṟumbas when an opportunity occurred. He founded his plot on the above-mentioned custom, according to which all the Kuṟumbas who attend a funeral shave their heads. About this time a prominent personage among the Kuṟumbas died, and the Muḍalis and Veḷḷāḷas availed themselves of this opportunity to instruct the head barber to issue orders to his caste-people to kill the Kuṟumbas while they were being shaved. As the shaving was performed pretty simultaneously, each barber cut the throat of his Kuṟumba customer, and all the Kuṟumbas of Nerumpūr were thus massacred. As soon as the tidings of the murder of their husbands reached the Kuṟumba women, they determined not to survive them, and burnt themselves with the corpses of their consorts. The dying widows uttered the curse that Nerumpūr should never again produce enough grain to buy salt, even if three crops of grain were reaped every year. The fortification and irrigation works of the Kuṟumbas have fallen into ruins since then, and only the

earth-mounds and old brick wells near Sadras betray the existence of an ancient town.

Their marriage customs differ also considerably. Originally they did not perform any ceremonies at their marriages, but later on, the majority adopted Jaina or Hindu rites. A manuscript in the Mackenzie Collection contains the following description which, however, resembles the common Hindu marriage customs.[127] The bride and the bridegroom are anointed with oil, and dress themselves after their bath in new clothes. The bride sits in the pandal on the left and the bridegroom on the right. Both are adorned with flowers and have golden tinsel (*bhāsikam*) on their foreheads. A shoot of the *Pippal* or Holy Figtree (*Aracu*, அரசு) is fixed between the two inner posts of the pandal, in which the ceremonies are performed and the people walk round those posts. The marriage is attended by the headman and all relatives. The former when approaching the betrothed couple breaks a cocoanut, and places the Tāli which is fastened to a golden string, in the upper cup. This is handed round to ten or more relatives, who shout *maṅgali*, *maṅgali*. Eventually the bridegroom, who receives the Tāli, at last fastens it round the neck of the bride, uttering the name of *Gōvinda*. The nearest relatives now with crossed hands pour saffron-colored raw rice on the heads of the young pair: this ceremony is called Cēṣai (சேஷை), in Telugu Sēsa (శేస).[128] After this the couple prostrate themselves at the feet of their elders and sit down in their midst. Betel leaves and nuts are then handed round, and the eating and drinking commences. After the distribution of garlands, the *Kaṅkaṇa* is tied on the right wrists of the happy pair. The Cēṣai ceremony is repeated during the two following days, while the bride and bridegroom occupy their former seats; after that the guests are liberally entertained. On the fourth and fifth days pepperwater (miḻakutaṇṇi) and rice are served out. On the latter day the bride

[127] See Mackenzie Collection, new copy, vol. IV, p. 78.
[128] From the Sanskrit *Śīrṣa*, head.

is taken to her mother's house, where cakes are distributed and a sumptuous meal is provided for all relatives and friends. Two men are then despatched from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, where they are welcomed as the escort of the young pair to the bridegroom's house, and receive on starting with them a bundle containing eleven rice-cakes and a lot of jaggery.

Many peculiar customs prevail among the Kuṟumba women, some of which they share with other castes. They generally take assafœtida after childbirth and bathe on the fifth day.[129] Adultery is generally leniently punished and condoned with a fine. This is as a rule spent on an entertainment, after which the woman is readmitted into society.

The Tāli is not removed from the neck of a widow, unless she desires to remarry. In this case the marriage-tie is returned to the family of her former husband, and she wears that given by her new husband. A widow may remarry as often as she likes.

On our historical knowledge about the Kuṟumbas.

We are very insufficiently informed about the early history of the Kuṟumbas. Before they settled down to anything like domestic life, they roamed as *Vēḍas* in the virgin forests hunting the deer for its flesh and the wild animals for their own safety. In some places the traces of an ancient Kuṟumba occupation are not yet effaced. The Rev. F. Metz writes respecting their settlement on the Nīlagiri mountains as follows: "There are strong grounds for supposing that "the Kuṟumbas once occupied and cultivated the plateau of "the hills, and were driven thence by the Todas into the "unhealthy localities which they now inhabit, on the pretext "of their being a race of sorcerers whose presence was a bane "to the happiness of the other hill-tribes. Several spots near

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[129] See Mackenzie Manuscripts, No. 14, C.M. 758. The Tamil for assafœtida is பெருங்காயம் *Peruṅkāyam*.

"the Badaga villages bear the name of 'Motta' to this day, "and traces of houses are still visible; and in one place a "stone enclosure for buffaloes is to be seen, which, as I gather "from an old piece of Badaga poetry formerly belonged to a "rich Kurumba, who was murdered by the Todas, at the insti-"gation of the Badagas . . . The Todas and Badagas say "that the Kurumbas are the enemies of their peace, and that "they cannot live without killing them. Some years ago "I discovered the site of a former Kurumba town, of the "existence of which I was well aware, but which I had never "been able to trace out. It is in the heart of a dense forest, "totally unfrequented by the natives and probably never "penetrated by any European."[130]

The Mackenzie Collection contains about the Kuṟumbas of the Tamil districts some interesting information. From one manuscript (No. 14 C.M., 768) I extract the following account:

"The country of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam was after the deluge totally covered with forest and was infested with wild beasts. A people of wild hunters, known as *Vēḍas*, roamed about in the woods. They lived in huts which they had erected after clearing the country. Their place of settlement is still called *Vēḍar Pāḷayam*. No kings ruled over them, and they did just what they pleased. Besides their huts, they had no places in which they could protect themselves. They were guided neither by social nor religious rules, nor had they any books. In fact they were merely a lot of naked savages, who did not observe any ceremonies even at their marriages. They killed the wild beasts of the forests and lived on their flesh.

"The Kuṟumbas of the Karṇāṭa country had meanwhile risen to prominence, and, after their numbers had increased, began to tyrannize over the other inhabitants. The Kuṟumbas had very barbarous and cruel habits, and deserved to be

[130] See Rev. F. Metz' *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, pp. 122, 123.

called Kuṟumbas. (This is an allusion to the meaning of குறும்பு, *Kuṟumpu*, or குறும்புத்தனம், *Kuṟumputtanam*, savageness, stubbornness, insolence, wickedness. It is, however, derived from the national name of the Kuṟumbas, and not *vice versâ*.) In course of time they extended their dominion to the very border of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, and a few Kuṟumbas settled in Śālapākkam near Uttaramallūr, where their descendants are still known as Kuṟumbas. Before they had any king, they roved about unrestrained like wild hunters in the forests, till, when dissensions and quarrels had arisen among them, *Kamaṇḍa Prabhu* restored peace and quiet. He convinced them that it would be to their advantage to elect a king and they followed his advice. As he was a wise and popular man, he himself was chosen king, and henceforward he was known as *Kamaṇḍa Kuṟumba Prabhu*, the ruler of the Drāviḍa country and Rāja of Pul̤al. The kingdom was called *Kuṟumbabhūmi*, the land of the Kuṟumbas, and this name was entered in all the official documents. He built a fort at the town of Pul̤al, its walls were constructed of bell-metal, and its strength and grandeur defied description. His rule extended over a vast territory, and as several of his subjects betrayed occasionally an inclination to rebel against him, he subdivided his realm into 24 districts, in each of which he erected a stronghold and appointed a governor. The fort of Pul̤al was his own capital. The following are the names of some of these fortified places: Pul̤alkōṭṭai, Āmūrkōṭṭai, Kal̤attūrkōṭṭai, Puliyūrkōṭṭai, Cempūrkōṭṭai, Ūṟṟukāṭṭukōṭṭai, Veṇkunakōṭṭai, Īkkāṭṭukōṭṭai and Paṭuvūrkōṭṭai.[131]

[131] The late F. W. Ellis gives in his classical article on the Mirāsi questions all the 24 names, besides the above named are further mentioned: Maṇavūrkōṭṭai, Ceṅkāṭṭukōṭṭai, Paiyūrkōṭṭai, Eyiṟkōṭṭai, Tāmaṟkōṭṭai, Palkunṟakōṭṭai, Il̤aṅkāṭṭukōṭṭai, Kāliyūrkōṭṭai, Ciṟukāraikōṭṭai, Kaṭikaikōṭṭai, Cantirikaikōṭṭai, Kuuṟapattirakōṭṭai, Vēṅkaṭakōṭṭai and Vēl̤ūrkōṭṭai. —Mr. Ellis obtained the list from the Jñānaprakāśa Maṭam. Compare the *Papers on Mirāsi Right*, Madras, 1862, pp. 235–241.

See also Abbé Dubois' *Description of the People of India*, second edition, p. 342, and Mr. J. H. Nelson's *Manual of Madura*, Part II, pp. 64, 65.

"While Kamaṇḍa Prabhu ruled, the various tribes in the country submitted to his rule, and the people could quietly follow their various avocations. Some engaged in trade, others in husbandry, and so on, according to their special inclinations, though the majority devoted themselves to sheep-tending, woollen blanket-weaving and lime-selling. They even ventured at that time to engage in shipping trade, and some Ceṭṭi merchants from Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam settled in the Kuṟumba country. Stimulated by them the Kuṟumbas soon developed a taste and an aptitude for commerce, and in order to facilitate mercantile transactions, they built in course of time strongholds at Paṭṭipulam, Śālakuppam, Sālapākkam, Meyyūr, Kadalūr, Ālamparai, Marakkāṇam, &c. The Kuṟumbas and Ceṭṭis of Kāvēripaṭṭaṇam occupied these fortified ports, and as they were successful in their speculations, amassed great wealth and became influential.

"As already intimated the Kuṟumbas had no special religion of their own, and a Jaina priest who visited their country, was able to convert the greater portion of the people to Jainism. The Jaina basti which the king of Puḻal erected in honour of that priest, remains up to this day a monument of this conversion. Besides this building, a few other bastis are still existing, though in a very dilapidated condition. Jaina sculptures are now occasionally found in the rice-fields; they are, however, either destroyed or reburied in the ground by Brahmans and other religious enemies of the Jains. Many Kuṟumbas resemble in their present manners and customs the Jains of former times, and they do so especially in their marriage ceremonies.

"While the Kuṟumbas ruled over the land, their more civilized neighbours often attacked them, but were generally defeated. The Cōḻa and Pāṇḍya kings made thus repeated inroads into the Kuṟumba territory; but their attempts to subdue their fierce foes were in vain, as they did not mind to sacrifice their lives on the battle-field. Some of these royal aggressors were at times captured and chained in fetters to

the fort-gate of Puḻal. These continual successes, however, turned the head of the Kuṟumbas and made them overbearing, so that they began to annoy and ill-treat those of their subjects who belonged to rival tribes, or had embraced other religious beliefs. They endeavoured in fact to force the Jain religion on all, and created great dissatisfaction by their religious intolerance. Yet no one rose who could oppose them effectually.

"At last *Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa*, a brave, wise and popular prince, marched against the Kuṟumbas and invested their capital Puḻal with a large army. He began this campaign as he could no longer endure the tyranny and mal-administration of the Kuṟumba king and resolved to defeat him at any risk, in order to alleviate the sufferings of the people. The Kuṟumba king on his side was not wanting in bravery, and went to face the enemy. Both sides fought valiantly, at last three-fourths of the army of Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa were put to the sword, and unable to resist longer, he fled from the battle-field and took refuge with a few remaining followers in a place not far distant from the fort. This locality is still known as *Cōḻanpēḍu*. He then made up his mind to retreat on the next morning to his country Tanjore. But at night Śiva appeared to him in a dream and said: "After ascending to-morrow morning your elephant, on your way to the battle, you will find that his legs are entangled in a jasmine-creeper (Mullai), and when you try to cut it away with your sword, blood will ooze out of it, and on closer examination you will discover there a Liṅga." Encouraged by his dream, he went to the battle-field, and, after ascending his elephant, saw that the legs of the animal were caught in a jasmine bush and that blood oozed out from the spot where he tried to cut it.[132] This sign confirmed his resolution to

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[132] Compare *Toṇḍala śatakam*, p. 4, śl. 9: "When Toṇḍamān was driven from the battle-field, his elephant was prevented from moving by a jasmine-creeper. Afterwards he fought again and became victorious." A description of this fact is given in a work called *Tirumullaivāyalpatikam*.

attack his fierce enemies, and he secured a complete victory over them. Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa captured the Kuṟumba king and put him to death. Puḻal, the chief town and fort of the Kuṟumbas, was taken, and its brass doors were placed in the inner portion (garbhagṛha) of the temple of Tanjore. A pillar made of Arka (*Calatropis gigantea*) wood that had been removed from the Tanjore temple, was placed in the interior of a temple and erected at the spot where the Śivaliṅga had been found. This temple was called *Tiru-mullai-vāśal*, after the jasmine-creeper which had covered the legs of the elephant. The part of the Liṅga where the sword of Ādoṇḍa had touched it looked like a wound, and is therefore covered with camphor to conceal the sore.

"The remaining twenty-three forts were then taken, and their governors with their retinues were also killed. Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa appointed Veḻḻāḻa chiefs instead of the Kuṟumbas. As he observed that the country was very thinly populated, he invited Veḻḻāḻas from different districts and induced them to settle in the newly-acquired territory, by granting them freehold land and conferring on them other favours. The Veḻḻāḻas who accepted the offer were the Tuluva, Cōḻiya and Koṇḍaikaṭṭi Veḻḻāḻas. The first two were called after the district they came from, the *Tuluva Veḻḻāḻas* emigrated from the Tuluva-Nāḍu in Kanara and the *Cōḻiya Veḻḻāḻas* from the Cōḻanāḍu. The *Koṇḍaikaṭṭi Veḻḻāḻas* were so called, from binding their hair in a tuft on the top of their head instead of leaving a small lock (Kuḍumi). With these Veḻḻāḻas together came the *Kaṇakka-Piḻḻaikaḻ* or accountants.

"Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa ruled the land with justice and in peace, and was henceforth known as Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa Cakravarti or as Toṇḍamān Cakravarti. The country which had hitherto been called Kuṟumbabhūmi was now named Toṇḍamaṇ-ḍalam."

In order to ascertain what was left of Puḻal, I lately visited the place and its neighbourhood. It lies about 8 miles north-west of Madras, to the east of the big lake, known as

the Red-Hills Tank. The place where the old fort of Pul̲al stood is still remembered and pointed out by the people. However, the outlines of the outer and inner mud walls are now only visible, within the latter is a tank. These walls must have encircled once a fort of considerable extent, of which nothing however remains. Hyder Ali on his march to Madras encamped here. Pul̲al is also called *Vāṇa Pul̲al*, and near it is situated a small hamlet *Mādhavaram*.

About a mile to the north-east lies the present village Pul̲al, in which I found three temples. A small Jaina basti dedicated to *Āditīrthaṅkara*, though in a decayed condition, is still used for worship, and has the reputation of being old. The Vaiṣṇava temple of *Karimāṇikyaperumāl* does not appear to be ancient, while the erection of the Śiva temple is ascribed to Ādoṇḍa Cōl̲a. It is dedicated to *Trimūlanātha*, but as a famous sannyāsi Sundaramūrtisvāmi worshipped there, it is known as the shrine of *Sundarēśvara*. It is evidently pretty old, and, though partly repaired some years ago, is in a dilapidated state. It has the appearance of a Cōl̲a temple, and is covered with inscriptions, those seen on the outside being in a bad condition. The temple possesses no Sthalapurāṇa, nor any copper Śāsanams. The name of the goddess is *Svarṇāmbikā*.

On the other side of the lake, about six miles towards south-west, lies the hamlet *Tirumullaivāśal* or *Tirumullaivāyal*, which is named after the adventure which befell the prince Ādoṇḍa in his combat against the Kuṟumbas. A temple is erected near the spot where the Liṅga was wounded by the sword of the Cōl̲a prince and dedicated to Śiva as *Mācillāmaṇi*, which is a Tamil translation of the Sanskrit *Nirmalamaṇi*, meaning ‘spotless jewel.’ On one of the stone columns of the maṇṭapam in front of the Gōpuram is carved the figure of Ādoṇḍa sitting on an elephant in the act of cutting with his sword the jasmine-creeper from the leg of the elephant. The similarity in the sound of *mullai*, jasmine, and *mala*, stain, raises a suspicion against the

genuineness of this legend. The temple is in good preservation. Two so-called Arka-pillars (not one as the manuscript just quoted states) are covered with a beam, and form with the two side walls the support of the Ardhamaṇṭapam, which communicates on the western side by a door in the common wall with the Garbhagṛha behind. Between, but behind the two Arka-pillars, is situated in the Garbhagṛha the holy Liṅga, which on account of its wound is covered with sandal-wood-powder and other cooling ingredients. The local legend contends that Ādoṇḍa brought the two brownish-looking Arka-pillars, together with a bell, and a bronze door from the fort of Pul̲al. This gateway, however, has since disappeared. Cōl̲anpēḍu lies close to Tirumullaivāśal.

In order to assist Ādoṇḍa in his fight against the Kuṟumbas, Śiva sent his attendant *Nandi*, and in confirmation of this fact the Nandi at Tirumullaivāśal faces the east, instead of being turned towards the idol, *i.e.*, towards the west. The consort of *Mācillāmaṇi* is called *Koḍi iḍai Nāyaki*. The temple has a Sthalapurāṇa, its first part, which was only lent to me, does not contain any allusion to Ādoṇḍa. I have been told that there are no Tāmra Sāśanams to throw light on the erection of the temple. Not far from this temple towards the south stands an enormous image, constructed of brick and mortar representing Mannarsvāmi, accompanied by the seven Sages.

A young Brahman D. Rāghavayya accompanied me and obtained some valuable information as I was not permitted to enter the temple, and I do not know whether it contains any important inscriptions. It may be well worth while to examine carefully the temples at Pul̲al and Tirumullaivāśal in order to ascertain whether they possess any account about Ādoṇḍa Cakravarti, though I have been told that there is none. The battle between the Cōl̲as and the Kuṟumbas was fought somewhere between those two places.

The origin of the word Toṇḍamaṇḍalam is doubtful, and different explanations are given of it. The most widely-

spread legend connects the name with the prince Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa. As the destruction of the Kuṟumbas is attributed to this popular hero, an account of his origin will not be out of place here. The following story is found in several MSS. of the Mackenzie Collection: [133]

"In Cōḻamaṇḍalam ruled 44 descendants of the ancient Cōḻa Rājas. The last was Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa, who had by his queen two children, a daughter and a son. Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa killed the son of the poet Kamban, and Kamban killed in revenge the son of the king. At the royal entertainments of the court there was dancing for some time a beautiful girl *Nākināgaratna* with whom the king fell in love. But as Kulōttuṅga felt that he would lose the esteem of the people if he allowed his passion to transgress public decency, he kept his affection a great secret and used a servant girl *Umāpati* to arrange meetings between Nākināgaratna and himself. In course of time a boy was born, whom Umāpati dressed in a silk gown and put in a golden basket with Ādoṇḍa flowers round him. She then placed the basket on the bank of the Kāvēri, near the spot where the king generally bathed. All this was done by the order of the king. When the king came afterwards with his Brahmans and courtiers to the river they heard a child cry, and, on approaching nearer, they saw it and said to the king: 'O king, as you forgave Kamban who killed your son, God presents to you this wonderful child on the bank of tho Kāvēri. The child resembles you, and is worthy to become the ruler of the

[133] In the *Toṇḍamaṇḍalam Cōḻamaṇḍalum-Paṇṭiyamaṇṭalam*, old No. 241, C.M. 66. This work is said to have been compiled by *Vēdanāyakan*, a Christian poet of Tanjore. See Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, pp. 41, 42. This work is copied in No. 7, C.M., 761, Section III (Taylor, vol. III, p. 370). A somewhat similar account is contained in No. 14, C.M. 768, Section II; in the new copy in the vol. II, pp. 65-67, and in Taylor, vol. III, pp. 426, 427; and also in No. 15, C.M. 769, I., new copy, vol. I, p. 125.

I need not specially point out the inaccuracies contained in this report, for they are too evident, as, *e.g.*, the foundation of Kāñci by Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa.

country. As he is adorned with Ādoṇḍa flowers, we take this as a lucky omen and call him 'Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa.'' Circumstances favouring so far the designs of the king, he gave the child to his wife with the words: 'God has presented this child to you near the Kāvēri.' The queen accepted it and brought it up with much affection. The truth about the birth of the child was not only known to the king and the dancing girl, but also to some extent to his chief minister. Meanwhile the child grew up, and displayed much cleverness, knowledge and courage. When the king consulted his minister about the marriage and succession of his son, the minister pretended to agree with the plans of the king, but communicated secretly to the relatives of the king the circumstances accompanying the birth of Ādoṇḍa and the intentions of the king concerning the future of his son. The consequence was that the royal princes refused to marry one of their daughters to a bastard, and to allow his succession to the throne as it would throw dishonor on them. The minister communicated to Kulōttuṅga the unfavourable disposition of the princes. The king, however, did not give up his plans, but pondered how he might execute them in spite of their objections. At last he fixed on Toṇḍamaṇḍalam as a suitable province to give to Ādoṇḍa, though it was still a wilderness. He explored it, cleared the forest, laid the foundation of the capital Kāñci, erected there a temple and dug a channel for the river Pālār. As Kulōttuṅga observed how thinly the land was inhabited, he despatched his minister with money to other countries to induce people to immigrate into the newly-acquired district. The minister accordingly returned with many boys and girls of various castes, and the king ordered them to be married. This done he placed Ādoṇḍa on the throne at Kāñci. Kulōttuṅga then asked the minister to propose a suitable name for the country. In spite of the high position which Ādoṇḍa had meanwhile secured, the minister still despised him on

account of his illegitimate birth. He suggested therefore that the new territory should be called Toṇḍamaṇḍalam (the district of slaves) and the king without any suspicion named it so.[134] Since that time this country has been called Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, and Toṇḍamaṇḍalam was thus founded by Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa. The name of Kuṟumbabhūmi was then changed into Toṇḍamaṇḍalam and Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa was installed as Toṇḍamaṇḍala Cakravarti.[135]

"The legitimate daughter of Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa had married Varaguṇapāṇḍya,[136] the only son of Bālacandrapāṇḍya. After Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa's death, which took place in the 69th year of his life, Varaguṇapāṇḍya took Cōḻamaṇḍalam and Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, which had belonged to his father-in-law. Afterwards *Ubhayakulakiḻipāṇḍya*, the son of Varaguṇapāṇḍya and of the daughter of Kulōttuṅga Cōḻa, ascended the throne of Cōḻamaṇḍalam, and his descendants reigned over it for three centuries.

"The progeny of Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa submitted to their fate and received some land for their maintenance.

"Mīnakētanapāṇḍya was the last and eleventh descendant of Ubhayakulakiḻipāṇḍya. So long as these kings ruled, no enemies were feared. These kings ruled for 2707 years."

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134 MS. No. 14, C.M. 768, Section II, here inserts a short account of the war of Ādoṇḍa Cōḻa with the Kuṟumbas, his first defeat and final victory. This MS. also calls always Toṇḍamaṇḍalam *Toṇḍarmaṇḍalam*.

135 This last remark as well as the other about the Kuṟumbas is only found in No. 14, C.M. 768, Section II, which ends with this passage.

136 Compare the Appendix by Rev. T. Foulkes to *A Manual of the Salem District*, vol. II, pp. 370, (sl. 18), 373, (sl. 18), 378, 379.

The father of Varaguṇa is generally given as Sundarēśvarapadaśēkhara and his son as Rāja Rāja, though the chronicles differ in their chronology; see H. H. Wilson's List of the Pandyan kings in his Historical Sketch in the *Madras Journal*, vol. VI, (1837), pp. 211, 213; Rev. W. Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, vol. I, pp. 85-90. About Kamban's life refer to F. W. Ellis' replies to Mirāsi questions in *Papers on Mirāsi Right*, p. 292, where S.S. 808 (A.D. 886) is given as the date of his presenting the Tamil translation of the Rāmāyaṇa to his patron Rājēndra Cōḻa. Others prefer S.S. 807, A.D. 885.

The *Tiruvēṟkāṭṭu Purāṇa* says about the origin of the term Toṇḍamaṇḍalam : "The country was called *Daṇḍakanāḍu* as it was ruled by Daṇḍaka. Then it was named *Tuṇḍīra-nāḍu* in consequence of the reign of Tuṇḍīra. Afterwards it was called Toṇḍanāḍu, as Toṇḍamān, a descendant of the solar race who wore a garland of Ādoṇḍa flowers, governed the kingdom."[137]

The late Mr. F. W. Ellis quotes a stanza from the *Tirukka-ḻukkunṟa-Purāṇa* in which a similar statement is made, the difference between the two Purāṇas being, that the latter mentions Toṇḍīra as the founder of Toṇḍīranāḍu before Daṇḍaka, the assumed establisher of Daṇḍakanāḍu.[138]

The boundaries of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam are said to be the two Peṇṇai or Pinākinī rivers in the north and south, and the sea and the Western Ghāts up to Tirupati on the east and west. Some parts of the Western Ghāts also belonged to it. Mr. Ellis gives the memorial verses concerning the frontiers of this district. The Southern Peṇṇai flows into the sea near Gūḍalūr (Cuddalore), while the northern passes through the district of Nellūr close to Kālahasti, both streams rising near the Nandidrug in Mysore.[139]

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137 See the following stanza from the *Tiruvēṟkāṭṭu Purāṇam* :—

திருவேற்காட்டுப் புராணம்.

தண்டகனாண்டு தண்டகநாடாய்த் தாவறுதுண்டீரனாண்டு
வண்டலர்சோலைத் துண்டீரநாடாய் மலிபுகழிரவிதன்குலத்தா
தொண்டநன்மாலைத் தொண்டமானாண்டு தொண்டநாடாயது
தூய
வண்டர்வான்சுரபி சொரிந்தபால்பெருகியமர்ந்தவிப்பாலி நன்
னாடே.

138 See *Papers on Mirāsi Right* (Madras, 1862), p. 234 : "Toṇḍīren, the chief among the leaders of the demon bands of the three-eyed deity, having governed it, this country became Toṇḍīranāḍu; when it was defended by Daṇḍacavēnder, it became accordingly Daṇḍaca-nāḍu ; and when Chōzher of the family of the sun, who was Toṇḍeimān adorned by garlands of flowers, extended his protection to it, it become Toṇḍei-nāḍu." Compare also the stanza in *Hastigiricampū* which begins with "*Tuṇḍīrākhyam maṇḍalam asti spṛhanīyam.*"

139 See *Papers on Mirāsi Right*, pp. 229–247 ; on p. 246, Mr. Ellis remarks : "The whole superficies of Tonda-mandalam, as originally settled by the

According to the above-mentioned Tiruvēṟkāṭṭu Purāṇa this country is known also as *Pālināḍu*, because the Pālār river flows through it.

The original meaning of the term Toṇḍamaṇḍalam is variously explained. According to the first and most popular derivation it was so called after the illegitimate Cōḻa prince Ádoṇḍa, who had been exposed on the bank of the Kāvēri in a basket filled with Ādoṇḍa or Toṇḍa flowers, which in their turn supplied him with his name. A second interpretation asserts that the newly-acquired province was covered to such an extent with the *Doṇḍa* oil-creeper, that the country was called after it. The third etymology is founded on the meaning of *Toṇḍan*, a slave, a devotee. If so, it alludes either to the low birth of Ādoṇḍa, its illegitimate first ruler, or to the uncivilised and slavish condition of the inhabitants of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. Another possibility arises by connecting *Tuṇḍīra*, the fabulous ancient king, with Toṇḍa.

The legendary story of the birth of the illegitimate Cōḻa prince Ādoṇḍa is very perplexing. All circumstances considered, even after his victory he could only have been a dependent Viceroy of the Cōḻa king. According to tradition, his offspring soon lost even this position; though some inscriptions appear to make him the ancestor of reigning princes. The defeat of the Kuṟumbas appears to be a historical fact, but is sometimes narrated without mentioning Ādoṇḍa.[140] As the latter is said to have introduced Veḻḻāḻas and Kaṇaka

people of Shōzha-mandalam, is measured by 18,302 square miles; of this extent the division of the country between the range of the Ghât mountains and the sea, lower Tondei, contains 14,028 square miles, and the division to the west of the Ghâts, upper Tondei, 4,274: the latter is colored yellow in the map."

Read also Mackenzie MS., No. 15, C.M. 769, Section I; in the new copy, vol. I, p. 125. This declares Kâlahâsti as the northern, the river Peṇṇai as the southern, the mountain Paśumalai as the western, and the sea as the eastern boundary.

[140] See p. 251.

Pillaikal into Tondamandalam, these men could not be stigmatised as slaves or *tondar*.

The oil-plant, *Capparis horrida*, which is the Tamil *Ādondai* (commonly pronounced *Ādandai*) or *Tondai* creeper, is well known in Southern India and esteemed for its medicinal properties.[141] It is certainly peculiar that the same plant should have given its name to a Tanjorean prince and to a northern province which he is said to have governed and which was covered with it.

I rather feel inclined to prefer the legend which connects the name with the inhabitants of the country, who made on the more cultivated southerners the impression of a rude and uncouth set of people. The Kurumbas, however, must have already attained a considerable degree of civilisation, though they looked despicable in the eyes of their enemies. While *tondan* denotes a slave, *tondu* signifies feudal service. In Pālghāt the Ilavas are to this day nicknamed *Kotti-tondar*. I think it highly probable that the Kurumbabhūmi was reduced to a feudal state as Tondamandalam, and that the Kurumbas were regarded as Tondar. The minister of Kulōttuṅga wanted, as we have seen, to apply the name *Tondan* to Ādonda Cōla himself.[142]

The subject becomes even more complicated by the Sanskrit name of the district *Dandakāranya*, or *Dandakanādu* in Tamil. The southern legend ascribes to this country, as we

[141] In Tamil ஆதொண்டை and தொண்டை; in Telugu *Ārudonda* ఆరుదొండ. The *Ā of Ādonda* seems to be therefore a contraction of *Āru* in *Ārudonda*. *Aredonda* ఆరెదొండ is called the Capparis zeylanica. *Donda* seems to apply to the fruit of the Bryonia or Bimba (C. P. Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, pp. 71, 451); in Kanarese *Tonde* or *Tondē-kāi* is the name of the Bryonia grandis. In Dr. J. Forbes Watson's Index to the *Native and Scientific Names of Indian and other Eastern Economic Plants and Products* the *Capparis horrida* is called Adonda, Arudonda in *Telugu*; Ardandu, Ardundu in *Hindustani and Dekkani*; Atanday, Atonday, Atunday in *Tamil*. *Ricinus communis* is called Aranda and Arundi in *Hindustani*; and *Bryonia grandis* Donda kāya in *Telugu*. *Tundikēri* is the Sanskrit name for the cotton plant, which grows in South India in great quantity.

[142] See p. 252.

have seen, three rulers Daṇḍaka, Tuṇḍira and Ādoṇḍa, who conferred in their turn their names on it. This tradition seems to rest on a very slight foundation. Not only do these rulers appear in a different sequence, at least so far as Daṇḍaka and Tuṇḍīra are concerned, but their names resemble one another to such an extent, that one cannot help suspecting their being in reality only variations of the same identical term.

Daṇḍa or *Daṇḍaka* was the son of the ancient king Īkṣvāku, and was cursed by Śukrācārya for carrying off his daughter *Abjā*. In consequence of this curse the pious hermits left the country, and it became an uninhabitable waste land. According to ancient accounts *Daṇḍakāraṇya*, the forest of Daṇḍa or Daṇḍaka, was situated between the Narmadā and Gōdāvarī rivers, but its limits were gradually widened, till it stretched all over Southern India. On the other hand the province, in whose centre lies the present City of Madras, was specially distinguished as Toṇḍamaṇḍalam. So far as I am informed nothing is known about a Dravidian king Daṇḍaka, and this present form of the name suggests a Sanskrit origin. I am, however, of opinion that *Daṇḍa*, *Tuṇḍa*, *Tuṇḍīra* are all variations of the same identical word, though it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide whether this term is of Sanskrit or Gauda-Dravidian source. It is not improbable that the king Daṇḍa and the demon *Tuṇḍa*—peculiarly enough *Toṇḍīra* is described as a leader of demon bands—are the representatives of an aboriginal population. The name of the Tuṇḍikēras behind the Vindhyan mountains bears some resemblance to *Toṇḍa*. After *Tuṇḍīra* Kāñcīpuram is occasionally called *Tuṇḍīrapuram*, a designation which would assign its foundation to a remote antiquity. *Toṇḍi* is also the name of a town, and *Toṇḍiarpet* is a suburb of Madras. It is now commonly called Taṇḍiyārpet தண்டியார்பேட்டை, as Ādoṇḍai is in Tamil similarly pronounced Ādaṇḍai.[143]

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[143] Compare the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* von Otto *Böhtlingk and* Rudolph Roth, vol. III, pp. 494, 495 under दण्ड and दण्डक, H. H. Wilson's *Vishnu-*

The existence of the *Toṇḍa* or *Doṇḍa* plant may have led to the legend of the illegitimate prince Ādoṇḍa being placed in a basket filled with Ādoṇḍa creepers and named after them.

The name of the king Daṇḍa or Daṇḍaka may thus be of Gauda-Dravidian origin. So far as historical evidence goes, the term Daṇḍakāraṇya is prior to that of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, but both may have sprung from the same source. It is further possible that the Kuṟumbas were nicknamed *Toṇḍas.* Other difficulties arise from the circumstance that the Pallava kings exercised authority contemporaneously with the Kuṟumbas in the same country.

The title of the ruler of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam was Toṇḍamān, a designation which is still borne by the Rāja of Pudukōṭa in the Trichinopoly district, as chief of the Kaḻḻas. I regard these Kaḻḻas as the representatives of a portion of the martial caste of the Kuṟumbas.[144] When these had found their occupation as regular soldiers gone, they took to marauder-ing, and made themselves so obnoxious by their thefts and robberies, that the term Kaḻḻan, thief, was applied and stuck to them as a tribal appellation.[145] In some documents the Kaḻḻas are called Kuṟumbas, and one of the sub-divisions of the kindred Koṟamas is known as Kalla-Koṟamas.

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purāṇa, edited by Fitzedward Hall, vol. III, pp. 238, 239, 259, 260, and vol. IV, p. 59, about the Tuṇḍikēras.

144 The Rev. W. Taylor identifies also in the *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, pp. 385 (the *Kallars* or *Curumbars*) and 399 (the *Kallars*, or thieves, another name for the *Curumbars* or *Vedars*), the Kaḻḻas with the Kuṟumbas. MS. No. I, C. M. 755, 3, of the Mackenzie MSS. identifies in fact the Kaḻḻas with the Kuṟumbas, for the Kaḻḻas of Kaḻḻakkēṭṭu who were defeated by the Pāḷegar. Śrīvallavarāmakuttāla Tēvar and Kṛṣṇarāyamarutappa Tēvar are called Kuṟumbas. The Kaḻḻas have also adopted the title *Tēvar* like the Maravas. Compare moreover Mr. J. H. Nelson's remarks on the Kaḻḻas in his *Manual of the Madura Country*, Part II, pp. 44–56.

145 In Tamil *kaḻ*, means theft, lying, and *kaḻḻan*, thief, robber; in Mala-yālam *kaḻḻam* denotes theft, untruth, and *kaḻḻan*, thief, liar; in Kanarese *kaḷa* is a villain, liar; and in Telugu *kalla*, means lie. The word *Kaḻḻan* occurs only in the Tamil language as a tribal designation, a fact which proves that the name Kaḻḻan is derived from the root *kaḻ*, and not *vice versâ* as Mr.

From reliable information I have gathered, the Kuṟumba origin of the Kaḷḷas appears very probable. The ancestors of the Kaḷḷas were according to tradition driven from their home in consequence of a famine and migrated from a place near Tripati in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam to the south. They eventually settled in the village *Ambil* on the bank of the Koleroon (in Tamil Koḷḷaḍam), opposite and not far distant from Tanjore, the river being between both places. The ruler of Tanjore enlisted them in his service as watch-men or Kāvaṟkār. Eventually, they left Ambilnāḍu, penetrated still further to the south and founded *Ambukōvil*, which they named after the home they had left not long before.[146] They settled in nine villages, and their descendants are called *Onbadukuppattār*, after *onbadu* nine and *kuppam* village. They are regarded as the nine representative clans of the Kaḷḷas. The reigning family of the Toṇḍamān belongs to them, and the *Onbadukuppattār* are as a sign of this connection invited to all the marriages, festivals and other solemnities which take place at Court. *Ambilnāḍu* formed originally one of the 12 independent small communities, known as *Tannaracu Nāḍu*, i.e., a district which has its own kings, forming thus a sort of confederation, like that which prevailed among the

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Nelson seems to intimate when he says in his *Manual* (II, p. 49) "that the word *Kallan* is common to the Kanarese, Telugu, Malayālam and Tamil tongues . . (and) that the Kallans were the last great aboriginal tribe of the south which successfully opposed the advancing tide of Hinduism."

[146] A great part of the information about the Kaḷḷas I obtained from the present Dewan Regent of Pudukōṭa, the Honorable A. Sēshiah Śāstriyar, C.I.E.

See also Mr. Nelson's *Manual*, II, p. 44 : "According to Ward's Survey Account the Kallans belong to two main divisions, that of the *Kīl nādu* or eastern country, and that of the *Mēl nādu* or western country. The Kīl Nādu comprises the Nādus of Mēlūr, a village about sixteen miles east of Madura, Vellalūr and Sirungudi : and its inhabitants, whose agromen is usually Ambalakāran, are the descendants of a clan which immigrated into the country in the following circumstances. Some Kallans belonging to the Vella (Vala ?) Nādu near Kānchipuram (Conjeveram) came down south with a number of dogs on a grand hunting expedition, armed with their peculiar weapons, pikes, bludgeons and *Vallari Thadis* or bomerangs. Somehow in the neighbourhood of Mēlūr, whilst they were engaged in their sport, they

Kadambas. This *Nāḍu* was situated east of Trichinopoly, south of Tanjore and north of Ramnad, the residence of the Sētupati.[147] In course of time the Ambilnāḍu Kaḻḻas became through the favour of the Trichinopoly Naicks the heads of the twelve districts, under their chief the Toṇḍamān. One of these princes married a daughter of a Trichinopoly Naick, and her consort erected after her death the *Ammāl cattiram*, which lies between Trichinopoly and Pudukōṭa. In consequence and in honor of this connection the court language at Pudukōṭa is to this day Telugu, and Telugu is the first language in which the royal children are instructed. In the characters of this language the Rājas also write their signature. The Kaṭṭiyams or poems which celebrate the deeds and contain the pedigree of the Toṇḍamāns are sung in Telugu and by Telugu bards or *Bhaṭrājus*.

A singular observance which has survived to the present day seems to strengthen the evidence about the Kuṟumba descent of the Kaḻḻas. At every important feast, especially at the floating festival, which is celebrated by the Pudukōṭa Rājas the Kambali-Kuṟumbas of a neighbouring village, about 4 miles distant from Pudukōṭa, appear with their goddess *Vīralakṣmī*. They then perform before the Rāja a very old and peculiar dance, their heads being covered with long flowing plumes, and at the conclusion of the dance, a Kuṟumba sits down quietly with his arms round his knees, while another breaks on his head cocoanuts, the tom-toms meanwhile continuing to beat time to the dance. With this

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observed a peacock showing fight to one of their dogs, and thinking from this circumstance that the country must be a fortunate country and one favorable to bodily strength and courage, they determined to settle in it."

In Dr. Winslow's *Tamil Dictionary*, p. 31, *Ambalakkāran* is explained as "a chief of the Kaller caste," or as *Kaḻḻajjātittalaiyan*.

The village of the Kaḻḻas above alluded to is *Ambalakkārappaṭṭi* and lies 5 miles distant from Mēlūr.

147 The Tamil தன்னரசு, *Tannaracu*, originally meaning *self-government*, got eventually the sense of *republican*, *anarchic* and even *independent* rule. *Tannaracu Nāḍu* is therefore a district with a democratic or independent government.

ceremony the festival concludes. This respect paid to the Kuṟumba goddess seems to prove that she is also worshipped by the Kaḻḻas, who, though calling themselves Śaivites, are mostly still devil-worshippers.[148]

The ancient home of the Kaḻḻas being Toṇḍamaṇḍalam explains thus the name of their chief, so well known in the modern Indian history as the *Toṇḍamān;* and their Kuṟumba origin is likewise indicated by their using the *Nāḍu* and *Kottam* system as a division of their country; these two terms being peculiar to the Revenue Administration of the Kuṟumbas.[149]

From subsequent events it is however clear that the Kuṟumbas, though defeated and at times even reduced to insignificance, were not annihilated and that they eventually recovered to some extent their former influence. We know thus that the Kuṟumbas reasserted their supremacy in certain places, and made themselves feared again in Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, and held Marutam Kōṭṭai in the times of Kṛṣṇarāja of Vijayanagara.[150]

Another branch of the Kuṟumbas is even said to have founded the kingdom of Vijayanagara, as its first dynasty is traced to Kuṟumba descent. Horace H. Wilson says that these princes were of a "*Kurma* or *Kuruba* family." This tradition tallies with the fact that both the first kings of Vijayanagara and the Kuṟumbas pretended to be Yādavas.[151]

Other Kuṟumbas invaded Southern India about two hundred years ago and founded the Marātha kingdom of Tanjore, an event which leads me to speak of the *Kurmis, Kumbis* or *Kunbis.*

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[148] The special deity of the modern Kaḻḻas is called *Aḻakar*, அழகர்; *aḻaku* signifies beauty. Compare about the cocoanuts, p. 238.

[149] See Mr. Ellis' *Report on the Mirāsi Rights*, pp. 228, 229.

[150] See Mackenzie Collection No. 14, C. M. 768, VIII.

[151] See p. 261. Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III, p. 368, and H. H. Wilson's Introduction to the Mackenzie Collection, 1st ed., p. cxi, (2nd ed., p. 83): "One tradition ascribed the origin of *Vijayanagar* to *Madhava* leaving it to the *Kurma* or *Kuruba* family."

On the Kurmis, Kumbis or Kunbis.

I have already intimated that a considerable portion of the agricultural population of Northern India is, as I believe, of Gaudian origin. When saying this, I had in view the widely-spread and well-known tribe of the Kurmis, Kumbis or Kunbis, who according to the last Census Report number 12,199,531 souls. The agricultural population forms in most countries the bulk of the nation, and, in an agricultural land like India this large number need not create any astonishment. The late Rev. Dr. John Wilson proposed to derive the word Kurmi (Kumbi or Kunbi) from the Sanskrit root *kṛṣ*, to plough, and to take *kurmi* for a modification of *kṛṣmi*, ploughman, a word which, however, so far as I know, does not exist in Sanskrit.[152]

I regard this etymology as wrong and prefer to explain the terms *Kurmi* and *Kumbi* as contractions of *Kurumi* and *Kurumbi;* in fact, as stated previously, we actually meet with the term *Kurma* for Kuruma.[153] The interchange between *r* and *ḍ* modifies *Kurumba* into Kuḍumba and most peculiarly a part of the agricultural population of Tanjore bears to this day the name *Kuḍumban* which is identical with *Kuḍumbi*, and from which the Marāthi *Kumbi* or *Kunbi* is derived. The expression *Kuḍumbi* is still occasionally used in this sense, as I have been informed on good authority, by some natives of Baroda and its neighbourhood; and even in the Mysore territory the Maratha Kunbis are called, as I hear, at times Kuḍumbis. The existence of terms like

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[152] See the Rev. Dr. John Wilson's "Tribes and Languages of the Bombay Presidency" in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 222: "The largest tribe of the Marāṭhā people is that of the *Kuṇbīs*, corresponding with the Gujarāti *Kulaṁbīs* or cultivators. The derivation of the name is as follows: *Krīshmi* (S.) a ploughman, *Kurmī* (Hindī), Kulambī (Gujarātī), and *Kunabī* or *Kunbi* (Marāthī). They are called 'Marāṭhās' by way of distinction. Some of their oldest and highest families (as that of Śivāji, the founder of the Marāṭhā Empire) hold themselves to be descended of *Kshatriyas* or *Rājpūts;* and, though they eat with the cultivating Marāṭhās, they do not intermarry with them. All the *Marāṭhās*, however, are viewed by the Brāhmaṇs as Śūdras."

[153] See the text and n. 151 on p. 260.

Kurumbi or Kuḍumbi accounts also for the Guzarāti *Kulambī*, though this expression is said to be only used in works published in the Educational series.

The term *Kuḍumbi*, however, is also mentioned in the Madras Census Report as current in Tanjore. It must not be mistaken for the Sanskrit *Kuṭumbī*, householder; nor must it be connected with the Tamil *kuḍumi*, a tuft of hair.

Kumbi was changed into *Kuṇbi*, and this again into Kuṇabi and Kuṇubi which forms are found in modern Marāthi. Should any derivative of Kurmi, Kumbi or Kunbi denote agriculture, it must have originated in the same manner from *Kumbi* as Veḻḻāṇmai has from Veḻḻāḷan.

The antiquated Indian caste system is so far right that it assigns the Kurmis, Kumbis or Kunbis to the Śūdra class, *i.e.*, to the non-Aryan population. In spite of contradictory evidence Colonel Dalton thinks: "it is probable that in the Kūrmis we have the descendants of some of the earliest of the Aryan colonists of Bengal."[154]

The Kurmis are on the whole a very respectable, industrious and well-to-do class, though not credited with much intellect. Like many other low-born people some Kurmis display a great anxiety to prove their noble extraction, and, in order to avoid any mistakes being made on this subject, Dr. Francis Buchanan expressly asserts that they are in reality Śūdras, though some claim to be Kṣatriyas. The Kurmis of Berar eat meat, drink spirits and allow widows to remarry. In the Bombay Presidency the Kurmis are subdivided into two classes, the *Agris* and *Marāthas*, and the latter are in their turn again known as Pure Marāthas and *Akarmashis*. The Akarmashis are deemed to be descendants of slaves, and the Agris are representatives of an aboriginal race.[155]

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[154] See his *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 317.

[155] About the Kurmis compare Dr. Fr. Buchanan's *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, vol. I, pp. 166, 283; vol. II, pp.

These facts seem to be conclusive evidence for the non-Aryan origin of the Kurmis and Kunbis. But what makes this tribe historically so interesting, is the circumstance that some of the chief Hindu dynasties of modern times such as the Rājas of *Sattāra*, the late Rājas of *Tanjore*, *Scindia* and others are of Kumbi extraction. The circumstance that the old Marāthi dialect has preserved the term *Kuḍumbi* enables us to trace the connection of these Kunbis with the Kuḍumbas or Kuṟumbas.

Considering the bravery and the fierceness of the ancient Kuṟumbas who were the dread and the bane of their neighbours, we need not be surprised if the fire of their martial disposition was not quite extinct in the otherwise plodding Kumbis, and that the genius of Śivāji and Ēkōji could kindle the spark into a blazing flame. If Sir George Campbell had suspected the origin of the Kumbis, he would

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468, 469: "Next to the Ahirs the Kurmis here (in Gorukhpoor) hold the highest place; and in Parraona they obtained the whole property, although they were not able to secure the title of Raja. This, however, was bestowed on the family by the late Asfud-Doulah, but it gave great offence to the Rajputs, and has been discontinued. The families most nearly connected with the chiefs of Parraona, and some others, who were Chaudkuris of Pergunahs, are reckoned Ashraf, and scorn the plough. While a great many of the Saithawar and Patanawar tribes have become ashamed of the term Kurmi, and reject all additions to the names above-mentioned, although it is well known that they are Kurmis, and many of them are not ashamed of this name. On the right of the Sarayu this tribe is most commonly called Kunmi or Kunbi, which, in the account of Mysore, I have written Cunabi (see above p. 232 n. 109); for it is one of the most generally diffused and numerous tribes in India; and in Malawa has risen to great power by the elevation of Sindhiya to the government of Ujjain. This person was a Kurmi; but I am told, that at his capital the Kurmis are now reckoned Rajputs, as they would have been here had the Parraona family been a little more powerful. There is some reason to suspect, that their claim is better founded than that of many who have had more success; for it is alleged by many, that they are the same with the Tharus, whose claim to be descended of the family of the sun, is supported by many circumstances which must be allowed to have some weight, although I do not think them conclusive. If the Kurmis, however, are the same with the Tharus, they are at any rate descended of the most powerful, most civilized, and most ancient tribe, that has been sovereigns of the country since the time at least of the family of the sun. As the Tharus, however, are impure, the Kurmis strenuously deny the connection, they being

not have been so puzzled about the military element so conspicuous in their character.[156]

On the origin of the term Kadamba.

Having been able to recognize in the Kurmis or Kumbis the well-known Kuṟumbas or Kuḍumbas, I do not believe that I go too far by suggesting a similar explanation for the name of the famous Kadamba dynasty of ancient times. Only mysterious legends which connect its founder with the Kadamba tree are known about this royal race. I suspect that behind the name Kadamba lurks that of Kuḍumba or Kuṟumba, and that the former was originally an accidental alteration through variation of sound, which, in course of time, was accepted and used to obliterate the real origin of the ruling tribe. In this case, its ethnological status is ascertained, and I shall now enquire into the origin of the title Kadamba.

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nearly as pure as the Ahirs. They formerly ate wild pork, but now reject it, and will not acknowledge that they drink spirituous liquor. They keep widows as concubines. Their Gurus and Purohits are the same with those of the Ahirs."

Compare further Sir Henry M. Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary of Indian Terms*, vol. I, pp. 155, 157 ; H. H. Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 302, 304 and 305, under *Kunbi* and *Kurmi :* "*Kurmi*, *Koormee* (H. کرمی, कुर्मी). The caste of agriculturists, or of a member of it, in Eastern and Central Hindustan, being the same, essentially, as the *Kunbis* of the west and south." Consult also Colonel Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 306, 308, 317–327 ; Sir George Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, pp. 40, 92–95 ; Rev. M. A. Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, vol. I, pp. 323–325 ; vol. II, pp. 99–101, 187, 188 ; vol. III, pp. 150–152.

156 See Sir George Campbell's *Ethnology of India*, p. 94 :"Nothing puzzled me more than this, viz., to understand whence came the great Maratta military element. In the Punjab one can easily understand the sources of Sikh power ; every peasant looks fit to be a soldier. But the great mass of the Maratta Koonbees look like nothing of the kind, and are the quietest and most obedient of humble and unwarlike cultivators. . Although the Koonbee element was the foundation of the Maratta power, though Sevajee and some of his chiefs were Koonbees, it appears that these people came almost exclusively from a comparatively small district near Sattara, a hilly region where, as I judge, the Koonbees are much mixed with numerous aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribes of Mhars and others." Compare about the Kunbis also the *Gazetteer of Aurungabad*, pp. 265–270.

Different legends are told to explain the name of the *Kaḍamba, Kadamba* or *Kādamba* dynasty.[157]

One story tells us that after the destruction of the demon *Tripura* a drop of perspiration fell from the forehead of Īśvara through the hollow of a Kadamba tree, and assumed the form of a man with three eyes and four arms. He was accordingly called *Trinētra* or *Trilōcana Kadamba*, became the founder of the Kadamba dynasty and erected near the *Sahya* mountain his capital *Vānavāśi*, also known as *Jayantīpura* or *Vaijayantīpura*.[158]

Another tradition relates that he was the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, who stayed for a certain period in the same mountain range, that he was born there eventually under a Kadambatree, whence the child obtained his name, and became a king in course of time.

These are the two most widely-spread reports, but according to another a Brahman of Yalgi underwent a severe penance in order to become a king through the favor of Madhukēśvara.[159] His penance was graciously accepted, and a divine voice informed him that he would be reborn as a peacock, that the person who would eat his head would become a king, that those who would partake of his breast would become ministers, and that those who would feast on the remainder of his body would become treasurers. The Brahman satisfied with this promise, went to *Kāśī*, where he killed himself with a spear and was reborn as a peacock. In such a state he roamed about in the forest and announced

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157 See "A Kādamba Inscription at Siddhāpur" by K. B. Pāṭhak, B.A., in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XI, p. 273: "The name of the family seems to have been written differently, as Kaḍamba, Kadamba or Kādamba."

158 Consult *Mackenzie MSS.*, Kanarese No. 744, II, pp. 208 *seq.*, further H. H. Wilson's Introduction to *The Mackenzie Collection*, pp. l., ci., old edition, pp. 60, 149, second edition; Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. I, pp. 193, 194, II, p. 352, and his *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. xxxiii.

159 See *Mackenzie Manuscripts*, Kanarese, No. 725, VI, pp. 99-102; H. H. Wilson's *Mackenzie Collection*, pp. ci, ciii, old edition; pp. 149, 150, new edition.

with a shrill voice that the person who would eat his head would become a king; until he fell into the hands of a gang of thieves, who were resting under a Kadamba tree. They killed the bird and asked a woman, *Puṣpavatī* by name, who was living near by, to cook the peacock and to distribute its flesh amongst them. While the woman was preparing the peacock, and the thieves were bathing, her son came home very hungry, and, as he wanted something to eat, his mother gave him the head of the bird in ignorance of what was in store for him who ate it. When he had eaten it, the thieves returned, partook of the remainder of the meat, but were astonished that after staying a while, none of them was proclaimed king. They fetched the woman, who, when hard pressed, told them what she had done, and that her son had eaten the head of the peacock. The thieves found that it was of no use to fight against destiny and submitted to their fate.

The king *Ānakapurandara* of Jayantīpura had died at that very time without leaving any living issue behind and, as was the custom in these circumstances, the ministers let the state elephant loose with a watervessel containing holy water. While thus roaming about, he came to the spot in the forest near which the son of Puṣpavatī was living close to the Kadamba tree. The elephant bowed down to the youth, who ascended the animal and was carried by him to Jayantīpura, where he was joyfully received, placed on the royal throne and anointed as king. He assumed henceforth the name Mayūravarma Kadamba and ruled for a long time gloriously over the country.

The election of a king is in Indian legends often entrusted to a state-elephant, and widely spread is also the belief that he who eats the head of a peacock becomes a king. The peacock is in Sanskrit called *Mayūra*, hence the name *Mayūravarma*, which the youth accepted. So far as the person and his origin are concerned, the two legends differ, as one refers to *Trinētra* and the other to *Mayūravarma*

Kadamba, but the Kadamba tree plays in both traditions a significant part.

As *Puṣpavatī* prepared the food for the thieves of which her son partook, and which she distributed among the thieves, one may assume with good reason that she belonged to the same caste as the thieves who caught the peacock, and these people I feel inclined to identify with the Kuṟumbas. The peacock plays an important part in the account of the settlement of the Kaḷḷas in the *Kaḍambavanam* or *Kaḍambāṭavi* of Madura. So far as the expression *thief* is concerned, it must not be forgotten that thieving or robbing was not considered disgraceful, if it was practised as a regular profession, just as *cattlelifting* did not in former times attach any stygma to those who indulged in it in the Highlands of Scotland.

The Kadamba tree, of which there exist various species, is much esteemed for its flowers which are sacred to the god *Skanda*, for its fragrant and highly esteemed powder which is used at religious ceremonies, for the juice which exudes from its stem, and for other reasons. Its name was spelt in various ways, *Kaḍamba* and *Kadamba*, and as it was originally an indigenous Indian plant, I presume that this term is also indigenous and Non-Aryan. I believe that the people and the dynasty, which we call Kadambas, were actually a branch of the Kuṟumbas, who had assumed a slightly modified designation by changing their name Kuṟumba into *Kaḍamba*, and that the stories about the Kadamba tree are inventions of later times in order to explain the coincidence. It is hardly necessary to restate here the resemblance between the *a* and *u* sounds, and to mention that the Kadamba plant is in various places of India called Kudumba.[160]

I have had occasion to allude to the peculiar mode of confederation prevalent among the Kuṟumbas and

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[160] See the Rev. Dr. Morison Winslow's *Tamil and English Dictionary*, p. 219, "*Kaṭampam, Kaṭampu*, a flower tree." It is sacred to Skanda who is called *Kaṭampan*; Madura is called *Kaṭampavanam* or *Kaṭampāṭavi*. On p-

a similar institution is said to have existed among the Kaḍambas.[161]

Yet, what seems to establish the original identity between the Kuṟumbas and the Kaḍambas, is the fact that the term *Kaḍamba* is actually found in Tamil as a synonomous and identical expression for *Kuṟumba*, though this circumstance has up to now escaped the notice it really deserves.[162]

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236 we find "*Katampam*, *Katampu*, the Kadamba tree." In the common vernacular the Kadamba tree is often called *Kudumbu*, in Hindustani and Bengali it is known as *Kudum*.—Toddy is made from certain Kadamba trees, and the Marathas make mead from the Kadamba (*Anthocephalus Cadamba*). Compare Dr. Dymock's Anthropogonic Trees, *Bombay Anthropological Journal*, vol. I, p. 301. Pārvatī (or Durgā) likes to dwell in the tree. Mr. Lewis Rice says on p. xxxiii in his *Mysore Inscriptions* that "the Kadamba tree appears to be one of the palms from which toddy is extracted." The Viṣṇupurāṇa (see H. H. Wilson's translation edited by Fitzedward Hall, vol. V, pp. 65, 66) reports, that "Varuṇa, in order to provide for his (Śēṣa's) recreation, said to (his wife) Vāruṇī (the goddess of wine): 'Thou, Madirā, art ever acceptable to the powerful Ananta. Go, therefore, auspicious and kind goddess, and promote his enjoyments.' Obeying these commands, Vāruṇī went and established herself in the hollow of a Kadamba-tree in the woods of Vrindāvana. Baladeva, roaming about (came there, and), smelling the pleasant fragrance of liquor, resumed his ancient passion for strong drink. The holder of the ploughshare, observing the vinous drops distilling from the Kadamba-tree, was much delighted, (and gathered) and quaffed them along with the herdsmen and the Gopīs, whilst those who were skilful with voice and lute celebrated him in their songs. Being inebriated (with the wine), and tho drops of perspiration standing like pearls upon his limbs, he called out, not knowing what he said." (In a note to this is said: "Kadambarī is one of the synonyms of wine or spirituous liquor. The grammarians, however, also derive the word from some legend; stating it to be so called, because it was produced from the hollow of a Kadamba-tree on the Gomanta mountain.") According to the Bhāgavata the Kadamba-tree was placed on Supārśva; see Vishṇupurāṇa, vol. II, p. 116. In the Sanskrit Dictionary of Professors Böhtlingk and Roth we read in vol. I, p. 211: "*Kadambara* ein aus den Blumen der Nauclea Cadamba bereitetes berauschendes Getränk, n. मद्यभेद, H (ēmacandra) an. Med. f. ई diess. und A.K 2, 10, 40. H. 902, the rain-water which collects in clefts and hollow places of the tree (Nauclea Cadamba) when the flowers are in perfection, and which is supposed to be impregnated with the honey, *Carey* bei Haughton. कदम्बकोठरे जाता नाम्ना कादम्बरीति सा Hariv. 5417, fg."

[161] See p. 259.

[162] I have elsewhere pointed out the circumstance that the name of the rude and cruel Kuṟumbas was used in some South Indian Languages as an expression for cruelty; so that *Kuṟumban* denotes in Tamil and Malayālam

At a much later period we find the Kaḍambas connected with the last great dynasty of Southern India, the Rājas of Vijayanagara. The founders of this kingdom are also said to have been Kuṟumbas. If the first family of the Vijayanagara kings were Kuṟumbas, and on the other hand related to the once famous, but then decayed though not extinct royal house of the Kadambas of Tuluva, historical evidence, however slight, would have been adduced to establish the connection between the Kuṟumbas and the Kadambas, and this connection is in its turn supported by philological proof of the original identity of their names.[163]

I have thus in the preceding pages given an account of those more important sections of the Gaudian population whose identification offered the least difficulty, and who from time immemorial have occupied an acknowledged position among the inhabitants of India.

I have shown, moreover, that these Gaudians form together with the Dravidians the Gauda-Dravidian race, and

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a savage, a stubborn fellow, and *kurumbu* (or *kuṟumbuttanam*), barbarity, insolence and wickedness. The same word underwent a slight alteration, of *u* being changed into *a*, so that *Kaḍamban* signifies in both these languages *an unruly fellow*, and in Dr. Winslow's Dictionary we find on p. 219 "கடம்பர் (Kaṭampar), s. Unruly persons, குறும்பர் (Kuṟumpar)." The only explanation of the name *Kadamba* I remember to have seen, is contained in Mr. Grigg's *Manual of the Nīlagiri District*, where in note 4 on p. 208 he asks: "May not this word (Kadamba) be a compound of Kátu or Kátam (both meaning forest) and Kúrumba, and perhaps be the same as Kád-Kúrumba?"

[163] See *The Mackenzie Collection* Introduction, p. civ; new edition, pp. 61, 62: "There is little doubt also that the first princes of *Vijayanagar* were descended from a *Tuluva* family of ancient origin and power, whose dominions extended towards the western sea: whether they were connected with the *Kadamba* family does not appear, but that this race continued to hold possessions in *Kernāta*, till near their time, is proved by grants at *Banavāsi*, *Savanur*, and *Gokernam*, dated in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by *Kadamba* kings." Compare also Mr. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg*, vol. III, p. 98: "In 1336 was founded the city of Vijayanagar, whose princes are said to have derived their origin from the Kadambas."

that though descended from the same stock and speaking the same language, these tribes separated in prehistoric times and subsequently became still more alienated from each other.

In spite of this fact, they continued to live intermingled in the same districts, though a gulf of hatred and of caste prejudice prevented them from coalescing. The cause of this separation of the two kindred tribes it is now impossible to ascertain, but the division has since been kept alive and, if anything, it may be still further widened in the future. A few exceptions to this mutual antipathy however occur, *e.g.*, in the case of the Bhils and the Gonds.

With these remarks I shall pass to the third part, in which the religious aspect of this enquiry will be discussed.

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PART III.

INDIAN THEOGONY.

CHAPTER XIII.

Introductory Remarks.

In the two previous parts my researches concerning the Original Inhabitants of India proceeded from a linguistic point of view, I shall now endeavour to prove that the conclusions I arrived at from philological evidence can be supported by, as it were, a theological enquiry. Though the main subject of these researches refers to the non-Aryan population of this country, I have as an introduction also to consider portions of the Aryo-Indian theogony, as both the Aryan and the non-Aryan have eventually blended into one.

The Sanskrit works which in particular contain accounts of such a nature are the Vēdas, more especially the Ṛgvēda, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇas and the Dharmaśāstras. The Ṛgvēda which supplies us with the most ancient description of the religious and domestic life of the Aryan invaders of India, and which on account of the sacred character of its hymns has been invested with a supernatural origin, contains the oldest, and as such the most important information, of this kind. The knowledge we derive from it is, however, of a very vague and obscure nature. The accounts preserved in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Purāṇas and Law-books refer to a later period, and are obscured by a legendary veil which renders their explanation difficult.

The Vēda contains a collection of ancient verses composed by different authors at various times for sundry purposes.

It is extant in four different Saṁhitās or texts. The *Ṛgvēda* contains the *ṛcas* or verses arranged according to the hymns, to which they belong. They are recited by the Hōtṛ-priests, and must be regarded as the literary legacy bequeathed by their forefathers to the present Aryan population of India. The separate verses of the Ṛgvēda hymns are compiled in the *Sāmavēda* without any internal connection and are subject to musical modifications; the Udgātṛ-priests sing these *sāmāni* or songs at the Sōma offering. The same verses are re-arranged into *yajūṁṣi* or prayers, and are with a peculiar intonation muttered by the Adhvaryu-priests of the *Yajurvēda*, of which two recensions exist, the *Kṛṣṇa*, the black or unarranged, and the *Śukla*, the white or cleansed Yajurvēda. The verses of these three Vedic compilations are known as *mantra*. The *Atharva-* or *Brahma-vēda* is the fourth Vēda and consists mostly of popular incantations, some of which can justly lay claim to great antiquity, as they have beeu found also among the legendary lore of other Aryan tribes. It is ascribed to the priest Atharvan. The verses of this Vēda rank more as Tantra than Mantra. While the hymns of the Ṛgvēda and of the Atharvavēda possess, besides their poetic and religious value, a high importance as historical documents, the liturgical element prevails in both the Sāmavēda and Yajurvēda. The latter, however, attained in subsequent times such a popularity, that the Taittirīyōpaniṣad likens the four Vēdas to a bird, in which the Yajurvēda forms the head, the Ṛg- and Sāmavēda respectively the right and left wings, and the Atharvavēda the tail.

It is hardly reasonable to suppose that man in his earliest stage should have possessed sufficient aptitude and leisure to consider the obscure problem of creation. Wherever therefore we find in olden times, or amidst hitherto unknown people, an account of the creation, we may safely ascribe such an accouut to a subsequent period when the conditions

of life permitted such meditations. The contemplation of the universe eventually, however, inspired the ancient poets to investigate and to try to discover the secrets of nature, to find out who created heaven and earth, the sun, the moon, and the stars, to determine whether the night preceded the day, or the day the night, and similar problems. Whenever the creation of the world forms the sub-stratum of thought, it seems natural to assume that this creation—if a creative power or impetus is admitted—may be ascribed to one or to more than one creator, this creator being often considered as the supreme centre from which creation freely emanates to sub-centres, which in their turn emanate *ad infinitum.* Yet, all the religions actually known to us which accept a creative principle, acknowledge the existence of only one creator. But he who believes in the existence of one creator need not necessarily believe in the existence of only one God. Much less right have we to assume, that the religion of the people to whom a monotheistic seer belongs, must be monotheistic. A faint monotheistic tendency is quite compatible with a limited or even an extravagant polytheism, and this peculiar feature is, if anywhere, extant already in the faith contained in the Vēda, and later on in the Indian Trimūrti and the immense Hindu Pantheon. The different Vedic gods, Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Agni, Pūṣan, Savitṛ, Sōma and others, are each in their turn praised and worshipped as the supreme divinity, but this worship of one deity at a time does not constitute monotheism. Every god thus adored retains his personal existence, and is not merged in another. This kind of worship has been styled *Henotheism* or *Kathenotheism,* but as such it must be distinguished from *Monotheism,* the worship of one god. At all events the Vedic Henotheism savours much of Polytheism. The qualities and the position of the various deities are subject to change, and this fact enables us to understand how the *Asuras,* the original gods of the Vēda, were degraded

when the period of their ascendancy had expired, and the very term *asura* became identical with demon, and how Brahman (Brahmā), the creative deity of the Indian cosmogony, was deposed from his throne, was reduced to a comparatively insignificant place in the Trimūrti, and nearly altogether lost his ascendancy as a propitiating deity.

The rapturous enunciations of enthusiastic bards, enunciations which, in course of time, often develop into religious tenets, as mighty forest trees arise from tiny seeds, should neither be undervalued as indications of poetic eminence or of intellectual power, nor overrated as religious inspirations of supreme value. A too high theological importance has, in my opinion, been attributed by some European Sanskritists to the comparatively few celebrated Vedic hymns which contain an allusion to the creation of the world and to its creator, an estimation which in this country has been readily accepted and has led to some peculiar conclusions concerning the ancient Aryan religion.

The overpowering impression which the elementary forces of nature produce on the minds of simple but susceptible people is manifested by the worship they offer to these powers individually. From the nucleus of these deified elements arise at a later period the complicated pantheons of the various polytheistic religions. The ancient Aryans offer no exception to this general rule. The natural origin of their gods is manifested by the ancient songs of the Vēda, which display the worship of the physical forces.

Vedic Deities.

I shall give in the following discussion a cursory account of the most important Vedic deities. The Vedic theogony has been described at length by many eminent European scholars, so that I need not dilate on it here, especially as an exhaustive treatise on it does not come within the range of this discussion.

The Vedic poets assumed the existence of three great spheres, the heaven (*div*), the atmosphere (*antarikṣa*), and the earth (*pṛthvī, bhūmi, &c.*). The atmosphere lies between heaven and earth, and these two together are called *rōdasī.* Heaven and earth are each subdivided into three spheres, those of the earth being called *paramā, madhyamā* and *avamā bhūmi.* The earth, or rather its spirit, is generally invoked together with heaven.

Varuṇa occupies in the Ṛgvēda the highest position. He resides in the heavens high above all gods. Like other gods he is styled an *Asura,* or Lord, and he is most probably identical with the *Ahura Mazda* of the Zend-Avesta. He is the chief among the Ādityas, or the sons of Aditi.[1] He is the surrounder of the firmament, the *Uranos* of the Greek, and became subsequently the god of the sea. He has spread the stars on high and the earth below, he fixed the Seven Stars in the sky, he constructed the path of the sun, the moon moves according to his laws, he made the long nights follow the days. Like Indra he is addressed as the supreme deity, for the divine Varuṇa is called the king of all, both of gods and of men, and Indra and Varuṇa together made by their power all the creatures of the world. He is also often associated with *Mitra,* when the latter is regarded as presiding over the day and Varuṇa over the night. Mitra is identical with the Iranic sun god *Mithra,* and another brother of *Varuṇa,* the Āditya *Bhāga,* becomes the Slavonic supreme god *Bog.*

Sūrya, the sun, resides in the sky, and forms with Agni and Indra or Vāyu the triad of the Vedic etymologists. He enlivens all that live in the morning and sends them to rest in the evening. The praises of Sūrya, Sūra or Savitṛ, the genitor, are through the famous *Gāyatrī* daily sung by

[1] The number of the Ādityas varies. Besides Varuṇa are generally mentioned Mitra, Aryaman, Indra, Bhāga, Dakṣa, Aṁśa, Savitṛ and Sūrya

millions of worshippers.[2] *Pūṣan* is likewise worshipped as a solar deity or an Āditya. His name signifies nourisher, he is the protector of the paths frequented by men, he is the herdsman who drives the cattle with an ox-goad, and he rides on a goat. He is the lover of his sister Sūryā, and assists the day to alternate with night.

Viṣṇu, the pervader, is also a Solar deity in the Vēda. Although he does not occupy a predominant position, he appears as the friend of Indra, or as the god who strode over the seven regions of the earth and planted his step in the three spheres of the universe.

Uṣas or the morning dawn, the daughter of heaven and the sister of the Ádityas as well as of the night, is likewise worshipped She illustrates by her regular appearance the passing away of generations of men and the continuity of divine institutions. The two *Aśvins*, the divine charioteers, who sparkle with perpetual youth and are full of strength and of vigour, the Dioskuroi of the Greek, precede the dawn. They protect men, they heal the ailing and help the distressed, especially when exposed to danger at sea. *Saraṇyū* is mentioned as their mother.

The moon and the planets are not enrolled in the Vēda among deities. The moon is still known as *Candramas* and not as *Sōma*, nor is *Bṛhaspati* (*Brahmaṇaspati*) identified with the planet Jupiter. The Great Bear is mentioned among the stars which are fixed in the sky, and which are occasionally assigned to celebrated saints as mansions.

Indra, the mighty sovereign of the atmosphere, is the god of the shining sky, who fixes the earth and supports the firmament. He defeats the demons in the sky and on earth, and *Vṛtra*, the serpent *Ahi*, and *Bala* are thus conquered by him. He protects mankind and vouchsafes refreshing rain to man and beast. His greatness transcends

[2] Ṛgvēda III, 62, 10: Tat Savitur varēṇyam bhargō dēvasya dhīmahi, dhiyō yō naḥ pracōdayāt.

the sky and the earth and surpasses the atmosphere; no one, whether god or daring mortal, can resist his command and empire. He eventually supersedes Varuṇa, and takes his place at the head of the gods. He manifests himself in the thunderstorm, and his divine weapon is the thunderbolt. He supports the heroes in battle, swings his club, and heavy potations of Sōma give him additional strength.

Vāyu, the wind (also called *Vāta*), is associated with Indra, and is often mentioned as dwelling in the atmosphere in Indra's place. The first draught of Sōma is presented to him. The wind god *Vāta* has been identified with the old Teutonic god *Wotan* (*Wodan*) or *Odin*.

To Indra's or Vāyu's sphere belong likewise the winds. The winds *κατ' ἐξοχήν* are collectively personified in Vāyu, or individually appear as the *Maruts*. They are the gods of the thunderstorm. The Maruts are also called the sons of *Rudra* and of *Pṛśni*. They follow Indra to the battle. The term *Rudra*, roaring, tawny-coloured, is as an epithet applied in the Ṛgvēda to different gods, *e.g.*, to Agni, or it is used as the name of a separate deity, to whom as such are dedicated special hymns. He carries the lightning in his arm, and throws it as an arrow. He is the ruler of heroes, the fulfiller of sacrifice. His protection is required for men and for beasts, he heals the sick, destroys the wicked, but his anger must be pacified. At a later period Śiva, the propitious, is identified with Rudra, but Śiva is nowhere mentioned in the Ṛgvēda, and Rudra is still everywhere subordinate to Indra.

The rain god or thunder god *Parjanya* belongs likewise to this sphere, and he is the same as the Lithuanian god of thunder *Perkunas*.

Agni, the god of fire, who resides on the earth, is the first in the triad of Vedic gods. Though residing now on the earth, he came originally from heaven, from which *Atharvan* or *Mātariśvan* carried him as a gift of the gods,

and not by fraud as the Greek Prometheus had done. As lightning breaking through the rain cloud, Agni is called the son of water. In fact Agni lives in all the three spheres, as sun in the sky, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as fire on the earth. He is not worshipped in temples made by the hands of men, but under the open sky, and the holy fire is produced at his worship by rubbing a stick of the Aśvattha tree against a stem taken from the Śamí tree. He is the pervading life of the world, he remains young, because he is always renewed; he is the priest, the *purōhita* or *ṛtvij* of the sacrifice, which, as the first Ṛṣi, he offers to the gods. He purifies men, confers on them wealth, and protects them from their enemies, especially from the demoniac Rākṣasas, whom he burns and whose castles he breaks down. Thus he becomes the most popular god amongst men.

Though Varuṇa and Indra are often extolled as the mightiest gods, the Vēda does not contain a classification of the gods according to their rank, a classification which it would have been difficult to establish, for the gods did not, as I have already observed, retain everywhere the same position, a fact exemplified by Indra, who himself, as he loses his eminence, eventually becomes the leader of the minor gods. In the Zend-Avesta Indra or Andra is even turned into a bad demon.

The number of the gods is in the Ṛgvēda generally fixed at thirty-three, and in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, and 12 Ādityas are enumerated, besides heaven and sky. In the Ṛgvēda itself these thirty-three gods are classed in three groups, each containing eleven gods, who dwell respectively in the sky, air, and earth. As a thirty-fourth god *Prajāpati* is occasionally mentioned. Moreover, some well-known deities, as, *e.g.*, Agni, the Aśvins, the Maruts, Uṣas and others are not included in these lists, so that the number 33 or 34 is by no means sufficient. Some

hymns indeed allude to far greater numbers, when Agni, *e.g.*, is said to be worshipped by three thousand three hundred thirty and nine gods.[3]

Another division of the gods is into great and small, young and old.

The Vedic gods lost in course of time their ascendancy, and though Indra retained it longest, he was with some of his former colleagues relegated to the guardianship of a quarter of the world. He was posted to the east, while *Agni* went to the south-east, *Yama* to the south, *Nirṛti* to the south-west, *Varuṇa* to the west, *Vāyu* or *Marut* to the north-west, *Kubēra* (who does not appear in the Ṛgvēda) to the north, and *Īśāna* or Śiva to the north-east.

Yama, the son of Vivasvat and Saraṇyū, appears as the first man who died. He became the king of the dead spirits, who wandered to him after death. He is united with the gods, who think with him under a leafy tree, and is worshipped as a god. His sister is *Yamī*. He corresponds to the Iranic *Yima* who appears in the later legend as king *Jamshīd*. The Persian hero *Feridun* is thus the representative of the Iranic *Thraētaona* (Thrita), who is identical with the Vedic deity Trita Āptya.

On Vedic Creation.

In course of time the belief in the power of the gods as representing physical forces declined, and the mind of thinkers began to ponder over the mystery of creation. The Ṛg-Vēda does not admit one universally adopted cosmogonic system, such as we find in the Bible. Well-known is the one expounded in the famous Puruṣasūkta. However, this hymn, though proclaiming the origin of the four castes,

[3] In Ṛgvēda III, 9, 9 are mentioned 3339 gods (trīṇi śatā trī sahasrāṇyagnim triṁsacca dēvā nava cāsaparyan). This number which may have probably been formed by adding 33 + 303 + 3003. See the *Aitareya Brahmanam*, edited by Martin Haug, Ph. D., Vol. II, p. 212; Bombay, 1863.

hardly enters into the cosmogonic origin of the world. Moreover, it is of a comparatively late date, and its importance is thus much diminished. On the other hand, the Ṛg-Vēda represents too early a period for broaching cosmogonic topics which were afterwards amply and even *ad nauseam* discussed in the Pauranic literature.

Many different gods are, as we have seen, in their turn extolled as supreme and praised as the framers and rulers of the world. However, Prajāpati, Hiraṇyagarbha, Viśvakarman or Brahmaṇaspati appear in the Vēda especially as creators of the universe. Most celebrated among the Vedic creation hymns is the 129th of the 10th book, a poem which has been repeatedly edited and translated since the time of Colebrooke. The 121st hymn of the same maṇḍala possesses also great beauty and high poetic merit. It is addressed to Hiraṇyagarbha, the golden embryo. As the poet asks at the end of each verse : To what god may we offer sacrifice (*kasmai dēvāya haviṣā vidhēma*) ; the creator is also called *Ka*, Who, the nominative of *kasmai*.

Where such a variety of opinions exists, it is too much to expect that the various legends concerning the creation and the creator should agree, and indeed we find considerable discrepancies among them. Even in principle they differ, for we find creation arising from *nought*, or from *aught*, or from *emanation*. These legends concerning the creation, however, initiate a new era of thought and reflection and as such they claim our attention.

According to one legend the universe did not originally exist. Indra, the middle breath, kindled with his strength the other worn-out breaths or Ṛṣis. He was called the kindler (Indha), because he kindled them. And Indha is called secretly Indra. The thus kindled gods created seven males, but as these seven males could not generate, the gods turned them into one. This male became *Prajāpati*, who created

the Vēda by his austere penance, and the waters from his speech. He pervaded all and desired to be reproduced from the waters. An egg arose and the triple science, the *trayī vidyā*, was created.[4]

This account, which peculiarly enough gives a two-fold creation of the Vēda, is at variance with another found in the same Brāhmaṇa, which states that only the waters were at the beginniug of the universe, and a golden egg was created when the waters desired to be reproduced. This egg moved about for a year, after which time a male, *puruṣa*, appeared ; this was Prajāpati. As he had no other home, he remained in this egg for another year, when he desired to speak. He said *bhūr*, which became the earth, *bhuvaḥ*, which became the firmament, and *svar*, which became the sky. As he desired offspring, he created with his mouth the gods (*dēvāḥ*), who became such on reaching the sky, *divam*. Meanwhile it became daylight (*divā*). From his lower breath he created the Asuras, who assumed this state when they reached this earth. Darkness then set in, and with it Evil. After this he created Agni, Indra, Sōma and Paramēṣṭhin, as well as Vāyu, Candramas, and Uṣas. In consequence he is the progenitor of both the gods and the Asuras, and is also called so. He is likewise said to have assumed the shape of a tortoise in order to create progeny ; as he made (*akarōt*) what he created, the word *kūrma*, tortoise, is derived from the Sanskrit root *kṛ*, to make.[5] Tradition also accused him of having conceived, to the great indignation of the gods, an unholy passion for his daughter, said to have been either the sky or the dawn, and from their bodies was formed Rudṛa, who, as Paśupati, pierced Prajāpati.

A great change in religious feeling and in civil life was meanwhile slowly taking place among the Aryans when

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[4] See Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, VI, 1, 1.

[5] Do. VII, 4, 3 and XI, 1, 6.

they spread eastwards towards the plains of Hindustan and settled in large towns. Former shepherds and husbandmen, by becoming inmates of towns, altered their mode of life and became artisans and traders. New interests, and with them new divisions, arose and began to keep asunder the different branches of the population, which divisions, though originally only temporary, developed into permanent institutions and laid the foundation of the strict regulations of Hindu caste. The development of caste was greatly fostered by the fact that two rival and hostile races, the Aryan and the Gauda-Dravidian, occupied the country, and that the ruling nation aimed at intensifying and perpetuating this racial distinction. The priestly class profited most by such an arrangement, and the framing of the religious precepts and of the civil laws was left to their initiative. The priest not only framed the statutes, but also superintended their observance with the help of the regal power, which he upheld for this very reason. The Brāhman priest became the supreme head of the community, and though this power was not vested in one individual, but in the whole caste as an individual, it was not the less influential. The priest was the performer of the sacrifice, and assumed the power to make it acceptable to the gods or not; and as the gods depended on the Brāhman priests for their sacrifices, their power extended even over the gods, and the Brāhmans became the real gods, and the legislator Manu could say that a Brāhman becomes by his birth the deity of the gods. Under these circumstances the religious enthusiasm of the bards of the Ṛgvēda gave way to the theological meditations of the Yajurvēda, the Vēda of the sacrificial prayer, when this prayer had lost its fervour, and had sunk to mere formulas, which had to be strictly observed. This prayer in its abstract form, or the neutral Brahman, grew eventually from the Ātman into the *Parātman* (*Paramātman*) or Supreme Spirit, and

developed in time into the male god Brahman, who occupied the high throne to which gods and men had recourse in their troubles, and who advised and cheered them as a grandfather his grandchildren. The divine Asuras of the Ṛgvēda became the demons of the Yajurvēda, Viṣṇu came more to the fore, and Śiva made his appearance in the Yajurvēda.

Prajāpati too, the creator of the universe, with its gods, demons, men, beasts, trees, and other matter, merges gradually into the person of Brahman, who though originally unconnected with, and superior to, either Viṣṇu or Rudra, eventually forms with them the Trimūrti.

The Trimurti.

It is a peculiar coincidence that the two great doctrines of the Trinity and the Transmigration of souls should have appeared in India, so far as we can judge, at about the same period; and so long after both had been known to the two leading nations of antiquity, the Chaldeans and Egyptians. The Chaldean triad, formed of the gods Anu, Bel, and Ea, the representatives of heaven, the lower world, and the water; the old Akkadian trinity composed of the divine father, mother, and their son, the Sun god; or the Egyptian solar triads of Tum, Ra, and Kheper, or of Osiris, Isis, and Horus are too well known to require explanation. It may be interesting to add here, that the Hindu Trimūrti has been also explained as a representation of the three great powers of nature exemplified by the earth, the water, and the fire, and that the Indian sect of the Sauras revere the rising meridian and setting sun, corresponding to Brahman, Śiva and Viṣṇu respectively, as symbol of the Trimūrti. Similarly well known is the migration which the souls of the deceased Egyptians had to undergo to expiate the crimes they had committed while alive, until they could regain their human body and be united with

Osiris. In fact this final union with and absorption in Osiris shows a striking resemblance to the absorption in the Brahmanic Parātman or the Buddhistic Buddha. As I do not believe Buddha to have been an Aryan Indian, this question is of importance. It is highly probable that these Indian dogmas did not originate with the Aryans of India, and that they can be traced back directly or indirectly to those ancient countries. It is also possible that because these doctrines were not previously unknown in India, they could be more easily spread in this country for the vast majority of the Indian population belonged to the same race as did the ancient Akkadians and Chaldeans. It seems to me to be a matter of great regret that while the antique religious and civil history of India have often been discussed, no notice has been taken of the bulk of its population; in consequence the results of the researches on these points have not been very satisfactory.

CHAPTER XIV.

On Brahman.

The legends concerning *Prajāpati* and *Brahman* have often a striking resemblauce, and the latter occupies eventually the position of the former. Brahman was born in a golden egg and arose from the waters. At the time of the deluge he assumed the form of a fish, and as a boar he raised the earth from the waters. To him belonged originally the name of Nārāyaṇa, which was afterwards applied to Viṣṇu. As creator he became the head of the *Trimūrti*, a dogma probably unknown to Yāska, but already discussed at the time of Buddha, though finally developed at a subsequent period. His colleagues in the trinity, expressed by the mystic syllable *Ōm*, are Viṣṇu and Śiva. These three gods are respectively regarded as the representatives of the three natural qualities (guṇas), *sattva*, goodness, *rajas*,

passion, and *tamas*, darkness. Brahman represents *rajas*, the creating power, Viṣṇu preserves by *sattva*, goodness or indifference, and Rudra or Agni filled with *tamas* personates time or the destroyer. Yet, as creation involves preservation and destruction, and as each is indispensable to the other, true Brahmanism does not admit that any one member of the trinity is superior to the others. No man should attempt to create a division between the three gods, who does so, goes to Hell. Indeed some go further and assert that whichever of the three is Viṣṇu, is at the same time Śiva and Brahman, and that any one of the three gods reciprocally includes the remaining two.[6]

In consequence of his abstract origin and philosophical appearance and through his position of creator, Brahman always lacked the popularity which was enjoyed by his more attractive colleagues. In the Mahābhārata, however, Brahman is still the creator of the world, he is eternal, sacred, and omniscient; he teaches, advises, and governs the gods. He regulates all institutions and arranges the

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[6] Compare such well known verses as : "Avayōr antaram nāsti śabdair anyair jagatpatē," or "Śivāya Viṣṇurūpāya Śivarūpāya Viṣṇavē," or : Tvām ēvānyē Śivōktēna mārgēna Śivarūpiṇam bahvācāryā vibhēdēna, Bhagavan, samupāsatē (Bhāgavata).

See also *Dēvībhāgavata*, III, 6, 54—56 :

54. Yē vibhēdam kariṣyanti mānavā mūḍhacētasaḥ,
nirayam tē gamiṣyanti vibhēdānnātra saṁśayaḥ.
55. Yō Hariḥ sa Śivaḥ sākṣāt yaḥ Śivaḥ sa svayam Hariḥ
ētayōr bhēdam ātiṣṭhan narakāya bhavēt naraḥ.
56. Tathaiva Druhiṇō jñēyō nātra kāryā vicāraṇā,
aparō guṇabhēdō'sti śṛṇu Viṣṇō bravīmi tē.

One of the three qualities prevails in each god, the other two are subordinate ; thus *rajas* does prevail in Brahman, *sattva* in Viṣṇu and *tamas* in Śiva. Compare *ibidem*, śl. 57 and 66.

57. Mukhyaḥ sattvaguṇaḥ tē'stu paramātmavicintanē
gauṇatvē' pi parau khyātau rajōguṇatamōguṇau.
66. Mukhyaḥ tamōgunastē'stu gauṇau sattvarajōguṇau (applying to Śiva).

See further *ibidem*, ślōkas 32, 39 and 44.

rules concerning sacrifice and penance, marriage and caste, and the position of kings and subjects.

Notwithstanding that Brahman was originally superior both to Viṣṇu and to Śiva, who as Rudra sprang, according to a legend, from the forehead of Brahman, the adherents of these gods deny his supremacy. Yet, it is difficult to arrive at a final decision on this subject as the legendary evidence is so defective. Brahman is thus represented as rising from the lotus which grew from the navel of Viṣṇu, while the worshippers of Śiva contend that Brahman was created by Śiva, that he acted as Śiva's charioteer and worships Śiva and the Liṅga. At another time he interfered in a dispute between Viṣṇu and Rudra, and persuaded the excited gods to allow Śiva a share at the sacrifices. The Prajāpatis, whose names and number are variously recorded, are known as his mind-born sons, and appear to be identical with the ten Maharṣis. These latter are mentioned as the progenitors of men while the Puruṣasūkta gives another account of this subject.

Vāc, Speech, his daughter, became the object of his love and as *Sarasvatī* his wife.[7] In fact this sinful attachment of Brahman became the doom of his supremacy, and caused the ascendancy of Viṣṇu and Śiva. By gazing intently at his charming daughter, he obtained five heads, but lost the topmost for this unchaste love by the hand of Śiva, and is henceforth called the four-faced or *caturmukha*. His four heads, each of which wears a crown, are also explained as corresponding to the four Vēdas. On his forehead he has the mark of musk (*kastūri*) ; in his hairlocks

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[7] Sarasvatī is described in Dēvībhāgavata III, 6, 31—35 and in IX, 1, 29—37. Another wife of Brahman *Sāvitrī* is by some regarded as the deified sacred prayer which is known as the *Gāyatrī* (Ṛgvēda III, 62, 10); about Sāvitrī read also Dēvībhāgavata IX, 1, 38—43. Sarasvatī is called in the Vaijayantī, p. 3, line 18 : Vāg Vaṇī Bhāratī Bhāṣā Gaur Gīr Brāhmī Sarasvatī.

he wears strings of pearls, in his four hands he wears respectively the Vēda, a sacrificial ladle, a rosary, and an earthen waterpot. His colour is tawny. He sits on a lotus, and rides on a swan. Many names are given to Brahman and according to his worshippers he also possesses a thousand names.[8] I need not add that these legends are also explained from an esoteric standpoint.

With these few remarks concerning the earlier accounts of Brahman, I shall now pass to his present position. Many of the legends concerning all these three gods of the Trimūrti are of ancient origin, while others certainly point to a more modern invention. In some cases it may be possible to explain their source and to account for their *raison d'être*. As India has since time immemorial been chiefly peopled with two races, the Gauda-Dravidian and the Aryan, we need not wonder that, when these two began to intermix, each became acquainted with the religious beliefs of their neighbours and adopted in a more or less modified form some of their gods and dogmas. This circumstance explains the fact why so many Gauda-Dravidian elements are found in the modern Hindu worship.

And such an influence we can also trace in the modern worship of Brahman. I have previously mentioned that he lost his fifth face on account of his unnatural conduct towards his daughter, but later legends contend, that it was at the instigation of Pārvatī, who could not distinguish

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[8] In the Vaijayantī, p. 3, are given the following lines:
Brahmā Vidhātā Viśvātmā Dhātā Sraṣṭā Prajāpatiḥ,
Hiraṅyagarbhō Druhiṇō Viriñcaḥ Kaḥ Caturmukhaḥ,
Padmāsanaḥ Surajyēṣṭhaḥ Cirajīvī Sanātanaḥ,
Śatānandaḥ Śatadhṛtiḥ Svayambhūḥ Sarvatōmukhaḥ,
Paramēṣṭhī Viśvarētāḥ Puruṣō Haṁsavāhanaḥ.

Other names are: Abjayōni, Aja, Ananta, Ātmabhū, Caturvaktra, Jagatsraṣṭṛ, Jñānin, Kamalayōni, Kamalāsana, Lōkakartṛ, Lōkakṛt, Lōkēśa, Padmaja, Sarvalōkakṛt, Sāvitrīpati, Vara, Vidhi, Viśvasṛj, Vēdhas, &c. The Buddhists call him also Satāmpati.

Brahman from her own five-faced husband, or because Brahman told a lie. He is therefore now generally represented with four faces.[9] The Skāndapurāṇa relates that Siva cursed Brahman for his untruthful assertion of having seen the end of Śiva, and for producing in confirmation of this lie a Kētakī flower as a witness. The original judgment that Brahman was henceforth nowhere to be worshipped was on Brahman's appeal mitigated, and his worship was allowed on all auspicious occasions, and at all initiatory ceremonies and Sōma sacrifices.[10]

Present Worship of Brahman.

In consequence of the disgrace he incurred, as is now generally averred, or perhaps owing to his abstract and unapproachable position as creator, Brahman does not receive anything like the attention which is paid to Viṣṇu and Śiva. There exists also a proverb among the people that a man who has no house, says: "I have no house like Brahman." On the other hand it is a peculiar circumstance worth mentioning that the principal festival of every temple

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[9] See beginning of note 16, on page 297.

[10] The curse was: Yatra kutrāpi lōkē'smin apūjyō bhava, padmaja.

This was modified to:

Śubhakāryēṣu sarvēṣu pratidīkṣādhvarēṣu ca,

Pūjyō bhava, caturvaktra, madvacō nānyathā bhavēt.

In consequence Brahman is revered as guardian of the sacrifice at all yāgas, vratas, marriages, funerals and annual ceremonies during the preliminary ceremonies. The real proceedings begin after Brahman has been worshiped with the words *Brahmāṇam tvām vṛṇimahē*. The Brāhman who acts as Brahman is provided with a seat, and betelnut, flowers, sandal and cloths are presented to him, but no incense is burnt in his favor, nor are lamps lighted, nor eatables presented, nor are fans, umbrellas, camphor, mirrors or flags allowed. The presence of Brahman who must be represented by a Brāhman who knows the Vēda, is necessary in order to superintend and help the Purōhita in the correct recital of the mantras and the up-keep of the fire. In fact Brahman is the guardian of the sacrifice.

Śiva also cursed the Kētakī flower, but this curse concerns only Śiva, for the flower is still worshipped in honor of Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, and even of Pārvatī.

is called Brahmōtsava. It is moreover wrong to assert that Brahman is only revered in one place in the whole of India, *i.e.*, near the Puṣkara lake in Ajmere. The local legend there says, that the god Brahman left once his Satyalōka to perform a sacrifice in this mundane region, but forgot to invite his consort Sarasvatī. Enraged at this discourtesy, she did not follow her husband. When Brahman had finished all the necessary preparations, and was ready to perform the Saṅkalpa, while the gods and Ṛṣis stood before the sacrificial fire, he observed to his surprise that his wife was not present. As the priests refused to go on with the sacrifice, because Brahman had not his wife by his side, Brahman requested Indra to fetch, as quickly as possible, an unmarried girl to take the place of his wife. Indra returned with a Śūdra girl, whom Brahman purified by letting her pass from the mouth through the alimentary canal of the celestial cow *Kāmadhēnu*. He then called her Gāyatrī, made her his partuer and performed the sacrifice. Opposite to the temple of Brahman lies a large and deep tank, whose waters are credited with miraculous qualities. If the shadow of a woman falls during her menstrual period on the waters of this tank (*puṣkara*), it turns red and keeps this colour until purified by mantras. Brahman is in this place worshipped by his thousand names and the same formalities which are observed in the temples of Viṣṇu and Siva are also adhered to in this temple of Brahman.[11]

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[11] This report was communicated to me indirectly by a Brāhman who had visited Pushkar. See *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* by Lieut.-Colonel James Tod, London, 1829, Vol. I, pp. 773—75. "Poshkur is the most sacred lake in India; that of Mansurwar in Thibet may alone compete with it in this respect. By far the most conspicuous edifice is the shrine of the creator Brihma. This is the sole tabernacle dedicated to the *One God* which I ever saw or heard of in India. The statue is quadriferous and what struck me as not a little curious was that the *sikra*, or piunacle of the temple, is surmounted by a cross." Read also the *Rajputana*

It is very peculiar that this renowned and ancient place of worship is connected like the temples at Mēlkōṭa, Puri,

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Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 67—71, which contains a full description of the legend; from it I have extracted the following; "Pushkar is a celebrated place of pilgrimage, and the great sanctity of its lake equalled, according to Colonel Tod, only by that of Manusarowar in Thibet, is due to the belief that here Brahma performed the *yajña*, and that the Sarasvati here reappears in five streams. The legends connected with these two beliefs may be found in the *Pushkar Mahātmya* of the *Padma Purana*. Brahma was perplexed as to where he should perform the sacrifice according to the Vēdas, as he had no temple on earth like other deities. As he reflected, the lotus fell from his hand, and he determined to perform his sacrifice wherever it fell. The lotus, rebounding, struck the earth in three places. Water issued from all three, and Brahma, descending, called the name of the place Pushkar, after the lotus. (The holy ground extends for one *yojana* round the largest lake, called *Jyesht Pushkar*. The second lake is the *Madhya Pushkar*, near the tank, now called *Suda Bai*. The third lake is the *Kanisht Pushkar*, which is now generally called Burka Pushkar. The middle lake is very small, and there are no buildings round it or round the third lake.) Brahma then collected all the gods, and on the 11th day of the bright half of Kārtik, everything was ready. Each god and *rishi* had his own special duty assigned to him, and Brahma stood with a jar of *amrit* on his head. The sacrifice, however, could not begin until Sāvitrī appeared, and she refused to come without Lakshmi, Parvati and Indrāni, whom Pavan had been sent to summon. On hearing of her refusal, Brahma became enraged and said to Indra: "Search me out a girl that I may marry her and commence the sacrifice, for the jar of *amrit* weighs heavy on my head." Indra accordingly went, but found none except a Gujar's daughter whom he purified by passing her through the body of a cow, and then, bringing her to Brahma, told what he had done. Vishnu observed—"Brāhmans and cows are in reality identical; you have taken her from the womb of a cow, and this may be considered a second birth." Shiva added that, as she had passed through a cow, she should be called Gāyatri. The Brāhmans agreed that the sacrifice might now proceed, and Brahma, having married Gāyatri and having enjoined silence on her, placed on her head the jar of *amrit*, and the *yajna* commenced. (The image of Gāyatri may be seen in the temple of Brahma, close to that of Brahma himself.) The sacrifice, however, was soon interrupted by a naked man who appeared crying 'Atmat! Atmat!' and who, at the instigation of Shiva, threw a skull into the sacrificial ground. When it was attempted to remove the skull, two appeared in its place, and the whole ground gradually became covered with skulls; till Shiva, at Brahma's request, finally agreed to remove them on condition that he should have a temple at Pushkar, there to be worshipped under the name of Atmaheswar.

and Trivandrum with the lower classes, and that the Pokharna Brahmans are according to tradition Beldars, who

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Meanwhile a number of Brāhmans, all ugly men, arrived from the Dakhīn. As they bathed in the lake, their forms changed into those of handsome men; and the ghāt at which they bathed, called Surūp Ghāt, is the resort of pilgrims on the 11th day of Kārtik. On the morning of the 12th day the Brahmans came to Brahma and asked where they were to bathe. He directed them to bathe in the Prāchi Sarasvati, the stream which passes by the village of Hokran; and it is explained how the Sarasvati, after disappearing underground to escape the heat of the fire which she is carrying to the sea, reappears in five channels (as *Suprabha* which falls into Jyesht Pushkar, *Sudha* which falls into Madhya Pushkar, *Kanka* which falls into Kanisht Pushkar, *Nanda* which flows past Nand, and *Prāchi* which passes by Hokran), in the sacred soil of Pushkar, how two of these meet at Nand, five miles from Pushkar; and how from the junction, the river, thereafter called the Lūni, proceeds to the sea. The sacrifice was disturbed this day by Batu Brāhman, who let loose a snake among the Brāhmans. The reptile coiled itself round Bhrigu Rishi, whose son imprecated a curse against Batu that he might become a lake. Batu, going to his grandfather Brahma, was consoled by the promise that he should be the founder of the ninth order of snakes, and was directed to go to Nāgpahār, where he should receive worship on the fifth day of the dark half of *Sāwan* at the place called the Nāgkand. The sacrifice proceeded till the 15th each day having its appointed duties; for this day the Brāhmans were directed to make a circuit of the lakes and to bathe in Gayakup. (The virtues of the *tirth* of Gaya are said to reside in this place, whence the name.) Shortly after their return Sāvitri appeared, greatly incensed at the disregard which had been shown to her. Brahma sought to pacify her, but to no purpose, and she went away in a rage to the hill north of the lake where is her temple. After the *yajna* performed by Brahma, Pushkar became so holy that the greatest sinner, by merely bathing in it, went to heaven. Heaven became inconveniently crowded, and the gods complained that no longer any man regarded them or his duty, so easy was it to get to heaven. Brahman agreed accordingly that the *tirth* should only be on earth from the 11th day of Kārtik to the full moon, and for the remainder of the year he promised to remove the *tirth* to the air (*antariksha*). Such is the legend given in the *Pushkar Mahatmya.*"

Read also the short account about the temple of Brahma at Pushkar in the *Indian Caste* by Dr. John Wilson, Bombay, 1877, Vol. I, p. 170. "The Brāhmans don't directly compromise themselves by taking care of the temple (which in point of fact is under the charge of Gosāvīs); but they lay claim to a share of the offerings at the shrine. The four faces of Brahmā on the image are uniform, but they have a lengthened chin in the

obtained in return for excavating the sacred lake at Pushkar or Pokhar the favour of the god and the dignity of Brāhmans.[12]

Brahman has still a small but separate temple in Benares, and though there are very few temples in Northern India in which Brahman is now worshipped, there are not a few places in Southern India which possess temples dedicated to Brahman, and where he and his wife Sarasvatī receive similar honors as are offered to Viṣṇu and Śiva.

This is the case for example with the Brahma temple at Cēbrōlu in the Krishna district, which, as I am informed, was erected in imitation of the Brahma temple at Jayapuram or *Brahmagayā*, a place which is without doubt identical with Pushkar. The construction of the present temple at Cēbrōlu is ascribed to the once powerful Rājah Vāsireḍḍi Veṅkaṭādri Nāyuḍu, Zamindar of Cintapalle, who resided both at Amarāvatī and Cēbrōlu, and in whose time the ruins of the celebrated Buddhist shrine were first discovered at Amarāvatī. The temple at Cēbrōlu is situated near a pit called *Brahmaguṇḍa*. Veṅkaṭādri in the hope of finding

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place of a beard. The temple is exteriorly associated with an image of Shiva with four visible heads placed on a Linga, and must therefore be principally frequented by votaries of that God."

[12] See Dr. J. Wilson's *Indian Caste*, II, p. 171. "The tradition of their origin is singular; it is said that they were Beldārs, and excavated the sacred lake of Pushkar or Pokhar, for which they obtained the favour of the deity and the grade of Brāhmans, with the title of Pokharṇa. Their chief object of emblematic worship, the *Khodālā*, a kind of pick-axe used in digging, seems to favour this tradition." Compare also the *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 70. "They (the Brahmans of Pushkar) say they are descended from Parasar, the father of the Veda Vyasa, and that like the Mathura Chaubes, their names were omitted when the list of the ten Brāhmanical tribes was drawn up. They trace their descent, however, through one Bopat, and the general belief is that this Bhopat was a Mer. Brāhmans will not eat with these men, who are found only in Pushkar and in a few of the neighbouring towns of Marwar. They are generally called *Bhojak* in the papers which have been given by the Rajas on the appointment of Purohits."

a treasure began to excavate it, but being disappointed in his expectations converted the pit into a water reservoir or *Kōnēru*, in the midst of which he built after his return from Kāśi (Benares) the temple of Brahman, on the model of the one he had seen at Jayapuram. He dedicated it to *Caturmukha Brahmā Liṅgēśvarasvāmi*, the last name being added as the temple was erected according to the Śiva Āgama, because the Āgama Sāstras do not contain measurements for a temple of Brahman. The original name of the pit Brahmaguṇḍa appears to favor the idea that previously to the erection of the temple by Veṅkaṭādri Brahman had been worshipped in this district. As the Rāja died before the commencement of the first year's ceremony, his death was regarded as a bad omen, and only daily offerings are made and lights are kept in this temple, but no periodical feasts or car festivals are observed. Veṅkaṭādri is said to have been under a curse for having treacherously beheaded 150 Centsu chiefs whom he had invited to a feast, and the immense sums of money he spent on charitable and religious purposes, he regarded as an expiation of his atrocious sin.[13]

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[13] Cēbrōlu is also called *Caturmukhapuram*. This name refers to Brahman, but cannot be explained to mean "the city facing the four points of the compass" as Mr. Gordon Mackenzie states in his *Manual of the Kistna District*, p. 203; see also *ibidem*, pp. 301–13.

I am indebted for the following description to Mr. G. Campbell, Sub-Collector, Guntur, dated the 15th December 1890 :—"I was at Chebrolu "yesterday, and had a look at the temple from the edge of the *kunta* in "which it stands. The temple is quite a small square building, and is in "a neglected condition. Only one out of the four Dhvajastambas is "standing, and that looks very tottery. This is a rough plan, the square "being the kunta with the temple in the middle, outside being the eight "little shrines to the Dikpalakas. As far as is known "here, this and the Brahmagaya temple are the only "Brahman temples in India."



Mr. G. Campbell kindly enclosed a report of the Cēbrōlu temple, which had been submitted to him by the late M.R.Ry. D. V. Chelapati Row, Deputy Tashildar of the Ponnur Division. The following is taken

An old and still used temple of Brahman exists in Kāla-hasti in the North Arcot district, I visited it in January 1886. On the top of the mountain over the temple stands a fourfaced statue of Brahman. Popular tradition declares

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from this report:—"Popular legend states that during the energetic "days of Rajah Vasireddi Venkatadri Naidu he had determined to get rid "of a tribe of Chentchus who pillaged his Zamindary, and so inviting 150 "of the tribe to a feast, he had them all beheaded in the Fort at Chinta-"palli. Remorse overwhelmed him for his treachery, and whenever he sat "down to his meal the grain turned into insects. In order to remove "this curse he went on a pilgrimage to Benares and other sacred places, "built temples, erected numerous pillars before various shrines, besides "making charities. He made Chebrole his second residence, Amaravati "being the first. At this place (Chebrole) there had been a small pit "called Brahmagundam, about which was said to have been buried gold "grains of immense quantity and a Bhairava idol was fixed to guard the "treasure. He (the Zamindar) made excavations for the hidden treasure "to considerable extent, and having at the end been disappointed, he "converted the pit, including the Brahmagunda, into a reservoir called "Koneru, and in the middle constructed a temple dedicated to the worship "of Chaturmukha Brahma Lingesvarasvami as such a temple had no exist-"ence elsewhere in this part of the country, and he gave the name of "Chaturmukhapuram to the place which has had several other names, "viz., Chebrole, Jayabrole, Tambrapani. The idol is of the following "description: The Lingam was first fixed in a red Chintamani stone most "beautifully carved in the form of a lotus (kamalam) of 1,000 petals, "underneath which is a raised seat called Peetam. On four sides of the "Lingam four separate Brahma images equal in size and equal in all other "respects were carved; each image has two legs and four hands. Of the "four hands two are empty, while of the other two, one contains a garland "(japamala) and the other a tumbler (kamandal). The Lingam is about "three inches higher than the Brahma images. The temple has four "gates. On the four sides and corners of the reservoir eight small temples "were built for the worship of the following deities: 1. North, Venu "Gopalasvami, and his Ammavaru, North-east; 2. South, Ranganayakulu, "and his Ammavaru Nanchari, South-east; 3. East, Chandramaulesvara-"svami, and his Ammavaru, South-east; 4. West, Sahasra Lingesvara-"svami, and his Ammavaru, North-east. (Mr. Campbell assigns these "8 temples to the Dikpalakas, which is very possible.) The Ammavaru "temples are falling down and the pillars of gilt fixed on the four sides "of the Brahma temple are in ruins. The temple has an endowment "of Ac. 29, 90 Ch. The title deeds bear the name of Chaturmukha Brahma "Lingesvarasvami. The worshippers are Pujaris and worship Brahma with

that this hill is really the *Śivānandanilaya,* the highest peak of the Kailāsa, which Brahman transferred in ancient times to Kālahasti. Of the four faces of Brahman the one which looks towards the south has fangs instead of teeth.

"Namakam, Chamakam and with Sivanamamulu after the Smarta fashion. "No kind of periodical and car festivals are celebrated except making "daily offerings and lightings, &c. The non-celebration is said to be due "to the bad omen, as the Zamindar who constructed the temple and the "car at a great cost having died before the commencement of the first "year's ceremony.

"I hear there is another Brahma temple at Jayapuram in the north. It "is called Brahmagaya. The temple there is said to be in a tank.

"Brahma images similar to those at Chebrole were carved on a Lingam "and worshipped. Venkatadri Naidu appears to have built the temple "after he had seen the one at Jayapuram when he went to Benares on "pilgrimage and named the place Chaturmukham, meaning Brahmapuram. "I doubt therefore that Chaturmukhapuram means the city facing the "four points of the compass, as Mr. Mackenzie calls it." (I had intimated this previously as my opinion in a letter to Mr. Campbell.)

"The addition Lingesvarasvami to Brahma appears to have been added "for the following reason. Temples are built according to the Agama "Sastram, which treats of the measurement of the several temples. This "Sastram is of four sorts with regard to Siva, Vishnu, Sakti and "Ganapati. No Agamam is known to exist which treats of measurements "regarding temples dedicated to Brahma, and hence no temple of such "sort has been constructed; but Venkatadri Naidu having the vanity to "excel the other Rajahs in charity and in the construction of temples, con- "structed this temple partly arbitrarily and partly with Siva Agamam and "made the addition Lingesvarasvami to Brahma."

It is probable that there was originally at Cēbrōlu an old Brahma temple, and that Veṅkaṭādri rebuilt this shrine to revive the worship. With respect to the temple at Jayapuram, whose construction was imitated by the Rajah of Cēbrōlu, it is not clear which Jayapura (Jaipur) is meant. There is a well known town of this name in the Vizagapatam District, and another rather more famous place of the same name lies in Rājaputāna not far from the above-mentioned Pushkar in the Ajmere District where the famous Brahma temple is situated. This temple is most probably the one alluded in the above printed report.

It must also not be forgotten that a Brahma temple exists at Benares and that Veṅkaṭādri visited this town previously to his building the Brahma temple at Cēbrōlu. His death prevented that a special Brahma worship was introduced, and was the cause of the adoption of the Smārta ceremonial. Rāja Vāsireḍḍi Veṅkaṭādri Nāyuḍu died in 1816.

Special priests perform daily the prescribed worship in this Brahmadēvālaya whose idol goes by the name of *Maṇikarṇikēśvara*.

In Kuttanūr near Māyavaram the temples of Brahman and Sarasvatī face each other, and Brāhman priests worship these two gods as Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī, or Śiva and Pārvatī are adored in their respective pagodas. A big temple of Brahman, I am told, exists at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai and one devoted to Sarasvatī as *Jñānāmbikā* is at Tiruvālūr.[14] Vēdāraṇyam possesses likewise a temple dedicated to the same goddess. Brahman's image occupies an honored place in the temple of Koḍumuḍi near Erode, at Tirukkaṇḍiyūr near Tiruvādi, in the Uttamarkōvil near Śrīraṅgam, at Śālyamaṅgalam and Kīḻa Vaḻuttūr near Aiyampēṭṭai in the Tanjore district, at Kumbhakōnam and elsewhere. Some contend that there is an image of Brahman in every temple of Śiva at the place where the purified water, poured out over the head of Śiva, or over the liṅga inside, escapes through the channel.[15]

On the Brahmabhūta.

Among the population on the West coast, especially among the Tulus, where the devil-worship prevails, Brahman is not only revered as a god, but also as a spirit or Bhūta. In fact all castes worship him, and he is universally adored; he has in reality his special place of worship in

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[14] This shrine at Tiruvālūr must not be mistaken for that dedicated to Kamalāmbā, which belongs to the Tyāgarājasvāmi temple, within whose precincts is also a famous well, known as Sarasvatītīrtham.

[15] A temple covered in the sand near the confluence of the Kāvēri and Amarāvati not far off from Karūr, is by some ascribed to Brahman, by others to Śiva. According to a legend the god Varadarājasvāmin in Kāñcīpuram arose from the flames of a sacrifice performed by Brahman over the Hastiśaila, on which the present garbhagṛha stands.

I am indebted for a great part of this information concerning the worship of Brahman in South India to my former pupil and young friend Mr. Naḍādūr V. Dēśikācāryār, M.A.

nearly every big landed estate. At Śirva, Brahman is represented with four heads, his image is about 2 feet high and is made of *Pañcalōha* or the five metals, gold, silver, copper, tin and lead. He rides on the goose or haṁsa in the usual position, one of his hands holding a water jar, while the other has a rosary or *japamālā,* and the two remaining are folded on the chest and contain the Sālagrāma. The officiating Brahman or *bhaṭṭa* enters the temple daily after his bath with a water jar and pours the water over the image. He then fills, while muttering the usual mantras, the holy śaṅkha with water and sprinkles the latter over the image. This done, he puts sandal and a garland on the head of the idol and offers some cooked rice to the god. These ceremonies occupy about three hours. The evening service is the same but only shorter, it lasts about two hours. The neighbouring Brāhmans and Śūdras celebrate every year a great festival, during which the image of Brahman is carried about within the precints of the temple and a special pūjā is performed.[16]

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[16] The Rev. Ch. Gojār at Śirva near Udapi, gave the following information to Rev. G. Ritter who sent me this report in German through the Rev. F. Kittel:—" Eine halbe Stunde westlich von Schirwa steht in einem Thal, *Warasare* genannt, ein Tempel, in welchem ein Bild Brahmas, der 4 Gesichter hat, angebetet wird. Dasselbe ist gegen 2' hoch and besteht aus Pantschaloha. Brahma sitzt da auf dem Vogel Hamsa. Zwei seiner Hände hebt er zur Achsel empor, in der einen ein Wassergefäss, in der andern einen Rosenkrauz (Japamala) haltend. Die beiden andern Hände hat er vor seiner Brust gefaltet and hält zugleich darin den heiligen Stein (Salagrama). Der diensttbuende Brahmane (Bhatta) geht täglich nach seinem üblichen Bad mit einem Wassergefäss in den Tempel und giesst das Wasser über das Bild. Dann füllt er, während er Shastras hersagt seine heilige Muschel (*shanka* genannt) mit Wasser und sprengt dasselbe anf das Bild. Hierauf legt er etwas Sandalholz (mehl ?) und einen Blumenkranz auf des Götzen Kopf und setzt ihm eine Portion gekochten Reises vor. Alles dies nimt jeden Morgen 3 Stunden in Anspruch. Den Abenddienst, der dem des Morgens fast gleich ist, absolviert er in 2 Stunden. Ausserdem kommen die Tempelvorsteher, die benachbarten Brahmanen und auch eine Anzahl Shudras alljährlich einmal hier zu einen Fest zusam-

The Brahma-image in the temple at Kuñjar has only three faces, and is therefore regarded by some as a representation of a Brahmabhūta.

The Brahmabhūta must not be confounded with a *Brahmarākṣasa,* the latter being the evil spirit of a dead Brāhman.

Wherever the divine nature of Brahman prevails, Brāhmans perform the worship, even dancing at his service, while low caste persons generally dance in honor of the Brahamabhūtas. The festival of the superior Brahman is called a *maṇḍala,* while that of a Brahmabhūta or of every bhūta is known as a *kōla.* The drawing ou the floor for such a *maṇḍala* consists of black, white, red, green, and yellow colours and is made by the Jakkedākulus who occupy in consequence at

men. Bei dieser Gelegenheit wird das Brahmabild in Tempelhof herumgetragen nnd ein besonderer Puja (Anbetung) wird verrichtet.

" Solche Brahmabilder fiuden sich im Udapi-bezirk; noch einige, z. B., in Kanjar, Bolle, Nandolige, &c. Doch ist zu bemerken, dass z. B. das Bild in Kanjar nur 3 Gesichter hat, und darum mehr als *Brahmabhuta* betrachtet wird. Der herunter geschlagene 4te Kopf des Brahma, so wird erzählt, habe zu Parameshvara gefleht, der ihm dann richt auf die Erde herabzusteigen und sich den Bhutas anzuschliessen. So seien die Brahmabhutas entstanden. Ein solcher hat menschliche Gestalt und reitet auf einem Pferd ein Schwert in seiner rechten Hand haltend. Er wird täglich von Brahmanen, aber auch von Shudras angebetet. Die Shastras, die dabei gebraucht werden, sind aber verschieden von denen, welche man für den Brahma-Gott benutzt. Es wird ihm nur ungekochter Reis vorgesetzt; aber auch sein Kopf wird mit Sandelholz und Blumen bestreut, auch wird Rauchwerk vor ihm verbrannt. See Note 20 on p. 303.

" Ausserdem gibt es Brahmabilder die von den Rischis herstammen sollen, und darum regelmässig verehrt werden. Ferner finden sich da und dort gestaltlose Brahmasteine, bei welchen jedoch kein täglicher Dienst stattfindet; z. B., ¾ Stunden westlich von Udapi ist ein solcher Stein, zu welchem vielleicht das Jahr einmal ein Vishnubild gebracht und dort verehrt wid. Sie sind meist mit Naga-steinen vereint und werden nie für den Brahmgott, sondern nur für Brahmabhuten angesehen. Auch in den gewöhnlichen Bhutatempeln findet sich der Brahmabhuta, genannt *Berme.*

"Als Grund der Verehrung das gestürzten Brahms wird geltend gemacht, das die alten Rishis gleichfalls nach seinem Fall ihn anbeteten."

present a respectable position, but who were originally Holeyas or Paraiyas. Everything else for the maṇḍala is done by Brāhmans. A Brāhman becomes possessed of Brahman and to him he vouchsafes his oracles. The offering or *bali* consists of fruits and various condiments. Brahman is addressed as Svāmi Bermere, and not like the other gods as Svāmi Dēverē. The people pray to him as follows: We have been remiss in thy worship, spare us; remove graciously from us all evil, give us health for our body, increase our wealth in the house and on the field. The Brāhman then makes his pūjā, and recites the following mantram: "*Uddi!* I revere the sunlike, three-eyed Nārāyaṇa, who is shining with the ornament of the serpent-prince, who is honoured by the skull held in his hand, who is armed with a chisel and a white lotus, who has anklets provided with golden bells and who is facing (me), the lord of the Bhūtas, who removes fear, has four faces and is called Brahman.[17]

"[17] *Uddi, bhāskarasannibham trinayanam nārāyaṇam nāgēndrabhūṣōjjvalam hastādattakapālamahitam śvētābjaṭaṅkāyudham kāñcanakiṅkiṇinupūritasanmukham bhūtēśam bhayaharam caturānanam brahmābhidhānam bhajē.*"

Rev. M. Schaible writes from Karkal: "Ueber den Ursprung des Brahma, im Volksmunde Berme, wegen seiner Verwandtschaft mit den Nāgas oft auch Nāga-Brahma genannt, sagen die Leute: in alten Zeiten hätten Brahma and Shiwa 5 Angesichter besessen. Um ihrer Aehnlichkeit willen sei einstens Schiwas Weib, Parwati, einmal bei ihrem Erscheinen in einer Götterversammlung in grosse Verlegenheit geraten, da sie, ausser Stande, ihren Gemahl und Brahma von einander zu unterscheiden, nicht gewusst habe, zu welchem von beiden sie sich setzen solle. Schiwa, der ihre Verlegenheit und den Grund derselben erkannte, hieb, um ihr ins künftige derartiges zu ersparen, dem Brahma ein Haupt ab. Als dieses hierauf den Schiwa über die Art and Weise seiner Weiterexistenz um Rat und Hilfe anging, erhielt es die Weisung sich unter seine Ganas zu begeben, auf die Erde zu gehen, die Menschen zu plagen und so sich seinen Unterhalt zu verschaffen und seine Fortexistenz zu sichern."

"Brahma geniesst allgemeine Verehrung von allen Kasten. Die Leute halten ihn für den Urheber von Augenentzüudung Hautauschlag und hauptsächlich von Kinderlosigkeit. In Nandolige und Mala hat er zwei grössere Tempel, doch stehen diese ihrer Grösse nach in keinerle,

The worship of Brahman and his eventual absorption into a Brahmabhūta shows the influence which the aboriginal inhabitants of India exercised over the Aryan invaders. Brahman becomes half god, half bhūta; he is regarded as such inferior to a *nāga*, but superior to the common *bhūta*. A legend asserts that the fifth head of Brahman, after being

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Verhältniss zu anderen grossen Hindutempeln. Sonst finden sich kleine Tempelchen, *Brahmasthāna* oder *Bermeregunḍa* genannt auf dem Gute nahezu jedes grösseren Gutsbesitzers, der eignen Grund und Boden hat. In dem Nandolige Tempel findet sich kein Bild, in dem in Mala dagegen ist Brahma aus Stein gehauen, in Menschengestalt auf einem Pferde reitend dargestellt. Die übrigen fast zahllosen kleinen Tempelchen enthalten entweder ebenfalls Brahma in Menschengestalt, oder aber auch nur einen rohen oder nur ganz oberflächlich behauenen Stein, Bei dem Nandolige-Tempel findet jährlich im Zusammenhang mit einem Bhuten und einem Götzenfest ein grösseres Fest statt, zu dem Leute von nahe und fern gewallfahrtet kommen um dem Brahma ihre Gelüdbe, die sie ihm in den Tagen der Krankheit gelobt hatten, zu entrichten. Sonst findet an jedem Sankranti ein Puja statt. In dem Mala-Tempel wird täglich Puja gemacht, das am Freitag einen etwas feierlichern Character trägt. Die gleiche Ordnung fand ich in *Mudar*, wo dem Brahma, der dort ganz im Freien kampirt, und bloss in einem wenig behauenen Granitstein dargestellt ist, ebenfalls täglichen Dienst verrichtet wird. In den oben erwähnten vielen kleinen Tempelcheu wird nur alle Monate geopfert; nur im Monat Sōṇa täglich oder einige Male in der Woche. Beim Puja wird eine Lampe angezündet, Blumen, Reis und Sandelholzpulver vorgesetzt. Seinem Wesen nach ist dieser Brahma halb Gott, halb Bhuta. Er steht niedriger als die Nagas und höher als die Bhutas. In seiner Eigenschaft als Gott kann nur der Brahmane ihm Puja machen und ergreift er bei Festlichkeiten nur von diesem Besitz, aber nie von einem andern niedern Kastenmann. Während dem Bhuten ein *kōla*, wird dem Brahma ein sogenanntes *Maṇḍala* oder *Barmadabali* dargebracht. Die Zeichnung zu diesem Maṇḍala hat eine ursprünglich niedere, jetzt aber durch ihren Dienst zu Ansehen gekommene Kaste (die *Jakkedakulu*) auf dem Boden vor dem Tempel zu entwerfen, wobei 5 Farben, schwarz, weiss, rot, grün und gelb zur Verwendung kommen. Das Uebrige bei dem Maṇḍala kann nur ein Brahmane besorgen, von dem der Brahma Besitz ergreift und dann Orakel gibt. Das *bali* besteht in einer Darbringung von Früchten und verschiedenen Gewürzen. Beim Gebet zu diesem Brahma sagen die Leute: 'Wir fehlen gar viel in deiner Verehrung, verzeihe. Wende gnädig alles Uebel ab, gib Gesundheit dem Leib und mehre den Reichthum im Haus und auf dem Feld.' Die Anrede lautet nicht wie bei den Göttern—*Svāmi dēverē* sondern *Svāmi bermerē*.

cut off, prayed to Paramēśvara, who advised it to descend to the earth and to associate with the bhūtas. According to a Tulu tradition the present Brahman (Bermere, Berume, Baruma, Bermā or Bomma) is only a portion of Brahman united with the serpent god (*nāga dēvaru*). Śiva is said to have been jealous because Brahman had four faces and eight eyes, while he had only three. He therefore cut off one of these four heads, and when this head asked him what he should do, Śiva told him to unite itself with the serpent (*nāga*), torment mankind and to extort thus offerings from them. In Baḍakay Lōkanād Brahman's head appeared first as a nāga, and there it was worshipped. When I was visiting the Buddha temple at Kotahēnu, a suburb of Colombo, I saw a figure of Brahman with three heads which I originally took to have four heads, the fourth being behind and thus of course invisible. But the temple-servant particularly declared that Brahman had only three heads, one representing the past, the other the present, and the third the future.[18] This legend I heard also confirmed by other Ceylonese Buddhists. At Kandy in the Māligāva Temple or the Shrine of the Sacred Tooth is a picture of Brahman as *Mahābrahmarāja*, or as king of heaven—known as Brahmalōka or Satyalōka.[19] He has only one head, and

[18] *Tivata* is one of the Ceylonese names of Brahman. Its meaning and derivation are not clearly known. It can be connected with the Sanskrit words *trivṛtta* (*trivṛt*) and *trivaktra*. The High Priest of Adam's Peak and President of the Vidyodaya College in Colombo, Hikkoduwe Sumangala Terunnanse, thinks that it is derived from trivṛtta, and explains it as denoting *Karmavṛtta*, *Klēṣavṛtta* and *Vipākavṛtta*. If *vaṭa* stands for *vaktra*, *trivaktra* would mean three-faced.

[19] According to Hindu cosmology there exist fourteen worlds, seven above and seven below the earth. The highest and best world Satyalōka is under the rule of Brahman, and is therefore also called Brahmalōka, while it is at times also assigned to Śiva and then named *Śivalōka* ; the Kūrmapurāṇa identifies Brahmalōka also with a Viṣṇulōka. The lowest and worst world is *Pātāla*, it is under the rule of *Yama*, and hence also known

one-headed he also appears in the neighbouring Mahādēvale temple. Biesdes the statue of Buddha there are in this shrine the images of Viṣṇu and of Śiva, respectively on the left and right hand side of the entrance door, and a one-headed Brahman is painted standing on the left side on the wall near Buddha. On my asking for an explanation, I was told that this one-headed Brahman represents the present time. The existence of a one-headed Brahman is

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as Yamalōka. The seven nether worlds are 1. *Atala*, 2. *Vitala*, 3. *Sutala*, 4. *Rasātala*, 5. *Talātala*, 6. *Mahātala* and 7. *Pātāla*, (the 4th, 5th and 6th hells are also respectively called 4. Nitala, 5 Dharātala and Mahātala, and 6. Talātala). It is perhaps worth noticing that also other sects, *e.g.*, the Muhammedans believe in the existence of seven hells. The seven upper worlds are 1. *Bhūrlōka*, the earth, occupied by men, 2. *Bhuvarlōka*, the space between earth and sun, occupied by Munis, Siddhas, &c., 3. *Suvarlōka* (*Svarlōka*), or *Dēvalōka*, between the sun and the polestar, or Dhruva, heaven of Indra with the 330,000,000 gods. The Viṣṇupurāṇa calls it the abode of Viṣṇu, where Dharma, Dhruva and the Yōgis reside. 4. *Maharlōka* extends one krore of yōjanas beyond the polestar, residence of Bhṛgu and of other sages, who survive the annihilation of the three lower worlds, 5. *Janalōka* (*Janōlōka*) occupied by the mind-born sons of Brahman as Sanandana, the Ṛṣis, and the demigods. 6. *Tapōlōka* is the residence of the Vairāgis, and 7. *Satyalōka* (Brahmalōka) is the abode of Brahman, whoever reaches this heaven is exempted from further birth. The first of these three upper worlds are destroyed at the end of a Kalpa or a day of Brahman, though the *fourth* outlasts the *kalpa*, it remains uninhabited during the conflagration raging below, for no one can endure the heat and its occupants repair to the next or Janōlōka. The last three are annihilated at the end of the life or the 100th year of Brahman. The Dēvībhāgavata (IX, III, 8, ff.) contends that the Brahmāṇḍa contains the seven nether and the seven upper worlds, which at the time of a general destruction become a watery bubble. The Vaikuṇṭha and Gōlōka-heavens, which lie beyond the Brahmāṇḍa, and are eternal, remain intact. Each of these fourteen worlds is 50,000,000,000,000,000 miles long and 25,000,000,000,000,000 miles broad. The fourteen worlds occupy therefore a space of 17,500 Quinquillions of square miles. The mountain *Mahāmēru* passes through all these 14 worlds. There are besides seven immense seas. The Mahāmēru together with the fourteen worlds is carried by the eight elephants: Airāvata, Puṇḍarīka, Vāmana, Kumuda, Añjana, Puṣpadanta, Sārvabhauma and Supratīka, and by the eight serpents: Ananta, Vāsuki, Dakṣa, Takṣaka, Karkōṭaka, Saṅga, Kulika and Mahāpadma, but instead of these eight serpents some mention only the one thousand-headed Śēṣa,

rather surprising, if we consider that Brahman as Brahmabhūta is represented with one head, and that this Mahādēvāle temple, though Buddhistic in all other respects, contains Hindu gods, which may perhaps have been imported by non-Aryan Indians. The old Tamil rulers of Ceylon compelled thus their Buddhistic subjects to erect a shrine of Subrahmaṇya or Kandasvāmi (Kanda) near every Buddhistic temple, and this custom is observed to this day.

The *nāga dēvaru* is worshipped like this Brahman, but must not be confounded with Subrahmaṇya (*Subrāya dēvaru*) who is likewise revered under the image of a serpent.[20]

Brahman is among the Tulus regarded as the cause of eye-disease, skin-disease and childlessness, he is even feared as the originator of all evil, but also adored as their remover.

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[20] Rev. Jacob Goetz wrote thus from Karkal :—" Der Siva Gott sei einst darüber neidisch geworden, dass der Brahma Gott 4 Gesichter somit 8 Augen habe, während er ihrer nur 3 besässe, und habe ihm desshalb einen Kopf abgeschlagen. Als ihn dann dieser abgeschlagene Kopf gefragt habe, waser denn nun anfangen solle, dann habe ihm dieser Siva geantwortet, er solle sich mit dem Nāga, der Schlange, vereinigen, die Menschen plagen und sich von ihnen Gaben nnd Opfer bringen lassen. So sei er denn als Schlange (Nāga) zuerst im Badakay Lokanad aufgetretn und verehrt worden, weiter wurde ihm dann auch in Mala am Fusse der Ghats nnd in Nandolige ein Tempelchen (Bermere guṇḍa) gebaut. Auch privatim wird er von allen Kasten ohne Unterschied verehrt und zwar mehr in der Art eines Bhuta als eines Gottes. Auch versieht den Tanz oder Dienst meist nur ein Brahmine, während bei den gemeinen Bhutas meist nur geringere Kasten sich zum tanzen und sprechen hergeben. Das Fest, das ihm zu Ehren gefeiert wird, heisst wie das des Nāga *Maṇḍala*, während das Fest eines Gottes *Āyana* heisst, und das eines Bhūta *Kōla*. Sein Bild ist das eines Menschen mit einem 7 fachen Schlangenkopfe über seinem Haupt, andere sagen es seien dies *matted and twisted hair*. Der gewöhnliche *Nāga dēvaru*, der in derselben Weise auch ohne Verbindung mit diesem Brahma verehrt wird, ist nicht zu verwechseln mit dem Subrāya Dēvaru, der auch unter dem Bild der Schlange, aber eigentlich als Gott verehrt wird." See note on p. 298 about the statue of Brahman in Kanjar.

A Brahmabhūta has human form, and rides on horseback holding a sword in his right hand. His head is covered with matted and twisted hair, which is by some taken as a head of seven snakes. Brāhmans as well as Śūdras pay him daily worship, but mantras addressed to him differ from those offered to Brahman. Uncooked rice is presented to him, his head is covered with sandal and flowers, and incense is burnt to him.

The Brahma temple at Māla contains a big stone image of Brahman riding as a man on horseback. While there is no such figure in the temple at Nandolige, the innumerable smaller temples in the country contain either such images, or in their stead rude or roughly hewn stones. A great festival of Brahman is yearly celebrated at Nandolige among a huge conflux of people. Crowds throng to this temple to thank the god, and to offer him the presents they had promised him in the days of their distress or sickness. There is also divine service or a pūjā at every Saṅkrānti. In the temple at Māla, Brahman is daily worshipped, and the service on Fridays is specially ceremonious. In the smaller temples (Brahmasthāna or Bermere guṇḍa) worship is celebrated once a month, but during the month of Sōṇa, the service is either daily or on certain days of the week.

There exist also images of Brahman which are traced back to the Ṛṣis and which, out of respect for them, are regularly worshipped, especially as the Ṛṣis adored Brahman even after his fall.

Besides these images of Brahman there are the well-known Brahma-stones, which must not be forgotten. They are found in great numbers in Kanara, especially among the Tulu population. Such stones are generally rude and unhewn. They are as a rule not daily worshipped, but at the granite stone at Mudar near Karkal, Brahman is daily

revered in the same manner as in the Māla temple, eight miles east of Karkal. Once a year the image of Viṣṇu is carried to a similar stone, which lies about three miles from Uḍapi. The castes of the Bārikēras and Talavāras have a peculiar custom. They draw a circle with pipeclay about half or a foot in diameter and make in the middle of it a point ⊙. This point represents Brahman. All people are requested to pour oil on this stone, and to offer to it cocoanuts: in short they honor it with divine worship. Stones lying near the gates of a village or of a town, or which belong to such gates, are generally thus marked. The Rev. Mr. Kittel informs me that he has also seen this Bomma (Brahma) mark drawn on rocks near inhabited places. Such Brahma-stones are often combined with Nāga stones and are therefore rather representations of Brahmabhūtas than of Brahman.[21]

The Brahma-stones are no doubt connected with the stoneworship in vogue among the Gauda-Dravidians, to which I have already alluded when speaking of the Kurumbas and Kunbis.[22] In the riding Brahmabhūta I recognize

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[21] The Rev. F. Kittel of Mercara, to whom I am indebted for most of the information obtained from *Kanara*, writes to me:—"Aus Süd Mahratta erbat ich mir einen genauen Bericht über Brahma von einem befreundeten alten und intelligenten Eingebornen. Seine kanaresische Antwort lautet in Übersetzung wie folgt. 'Die Kasten der *Bārikēras* und *Talavāras* zeichnen (mit einer Art Pfeifererde) einen Kreis von etwa einem halben bis ganzen Fuss im Durchmesser auf einen rohen Stein, und machen eben damit einen Punkt in die Mitte, so ⊙. Dies thun sie, um den Gott Brama oder Bomma (*d. i.* Brahma) darzustellen, und fordern so alle Leute auf, ihm auf den Stein Öl zu giessen, Kokosnüsse zu opfern, &c., kurz ihm göttliche Verehrung zu erweisen. Hauptsächlich zeichnen sie die obige Form des Bomma auf Steine, die gerade vor dem Thore eines Dorfes oder einer Stadt liegen oder sich im Thore selbst befinden, oder in nicht weiter Enteferung vom Thore liegen. Ausser den zwei obengenannten Kasten zeichnet keine die Gestalt des Bomma.' So weit der Eingeborne; ich selbst habe diesen Bomma auch an Felsen in der Nähe von Ortschaften angemalt gesehen."

[22] See pp. 189, 235.

a resemblance to the Khaṇḍōba (Khaṇḍe Rāo) of the Marātha country, who in his turn is most probably identical with the Aiyanār of Southern India. Of the latter I shall speak hereafter. The identity of these chief popular deities, if confirmed, goes a long way to prove from a religious point of view the national coherence of the principal aboriginal tribes of India, and this result is so important because it coincides all along with the already adduced philological evidence.

CHAPTER XV.

On Viṣṇu.

Viṣṇu represents in contradistinction to the more abstract nature of Brahman, the bodily incarnate deity to which men cling with fervour in times of affliction and despair. He became in fact the popular god of post Vedic India. Many tribal deities which resembled him, and which had been in reality mostly only deified heroes, were united in his worship and appeared eventually only as attributes among the thousand names by which he is worshipped. The cult of Śiva offers a similar example. Viṣṇu is an instance of a god of originally secondary importance rising to supreme dignity, because the Brahmanical priesthood required a god round whom the people could gather, as a counterpoise against the propagation of Buddhism. This being the case, Buddhism must have preceded Vaiṣṇavism.

Viṣṇu, the second person of the Trimūrti, appears, as we have already seen, as a deity in the Ṛg-Vēda, and though in a subordinate position, yet he is called the intimate friend of Indra, whom he joins in the fight against Vṛtra, and with whom he drinks the Sōma-juice. He is also often associated with Pūṣan, another Āditya. He performed the celebrated three steps, and is in consequence called Trivikrama. Through this action Viṣṇu is identified with the sun. Śākapūni explains these steps as referring to the

sun's three-fold existence in the earth, in the atmosphere and in the sky, but Aurṇavābha prefers to explain them as referring to the hill where the sun rises, to the meridian sky, and to the hill where he sets. The three aspects of the Egyptian sun-god bear thus some resemblance to the steps of Viṣṇu. In fact, Viṣṇu is a solar deity or an Āditya, or one of the six, seven, eight, or twelve sons of Aditi. He appears on this earth at critical moments in various shapes, as a fish, as a tortoise, a dwarf, &c. Some of these divine manifestations are already mentioned in the Vēda, and are there ascribed not to Viṣṇu but to other gods, *e.g.*, to Prajāpati and to Brahman, but they have been eventually tranferred to Viṣṇu. When Brahman's supremacy was declining, the ascendancy of Viṣṇu increased. He was thus identified with the Supreme Spirit, and Brahman and Mahādēva are regarded as having originated from him. However, in a different place he is called an offspring of Mahādēva, and appears sometimes as his friend, at others as his enemy. Manifold are the stories told of Viṣṇu, but the goodness of his disposition is the principal characteristic of most. He pervades and preserves the whole of Nature, and his essence fills at his pleasure every object, in fact he is everywhere. He appears in each different yuga in a different garb, in the Kṛtayuga as the wise teacher *Kapila*, in the Trētā as punishing *Cakravartin*, in the Dvāpara as the Vēda-dividing *Vēda Vyāsa*, and in the Kali as the order re-establishing *Kalki*. Nothing is in this respect too small or insignificant for him. He honors with his presence the Sālagrāma-stone as well as the Tulasī plant; he descends into the Gaṅgā river as well as into common animals like a fish, a boar, or a tortoise; he is personated by a dwarf or a monstrous creature as well as by men of the highest merit, like Paraśurāma or Rāma, the son of Daśaratha. All these various shapes he mainly assumes in order to save mankind from impending evil. As the world is often in danger of

becoming a prey to bad and unscrupulous spirits, be they demons or men, Viṣṇu has to appear repeatedly in various disguises to frustrate their evil intentions.[23]

Brahman is only rarely incarnated, the Brāhmans are regarded as his principal representatives on earth. Later legends ascribe to Śiva various incarnations to the number of twenty-five, and though these seem to be invented to counterbalance those of Viṣṇu, they do not equal them in importance, for the manifestations of Śiva are less known and less influential than those of Viṣṇu. Different expressions are also used to distinguish between the incarnations of the three great gods of the Trimūrti, the terms *vibhūti*, *avatāra* and *līlā* being respectively used for those of Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva.[24] Indra, Vayu, Agni, Sēṣa and other gods have assumed the forms of other persons, yet these personations do not reach the high level of the avatāras of Viṣṇu. Comparable with the descents of Viṣṇu, however, are those of Buddha, who, though afterwards figuring among the incarnations of Viṣṇu, claims to have appeared in many forms before he was born as a king's son in Kapilavastu. Regarding, as I do, the rise and success of Buddhism as mainly due to the antagonism existing between the ruling Aryan and the oppressed Turanian or Gauda-Dravidian population, it strikes me as by no means improbable that the incarnation doctrine may in India have originated among the Gauda-Dravidians independently

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[23] See Dēvībhāgavata, III. 6, 39-40.

39. Yadā yadā hi kāryam vō bhaviṣyati duratyayam,
karişyati pṛthivyām vai avatāram tadā Harēḥ.

40. Tiryagyōnāvathānyatra manuṣīm tannm āśṛtaḥ,
Dānavānām vināśam vai karişyati Janārdanaḥ.

[24] According to the following passage from *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* :
Paraśaktēḥ prabhāvēna Brahmaviṣṇuśivādayaḥ
īśvarā jagataḥ sādhyē svakarmāṇyācaranti hi ;
Brahmaṇaḥ sarjanam karma Viṣṇōh pālanam ucyatē
saṁhāraḥ tatra Rudrasya vibhūtir Brahmaṇaḥ smṛtā
Avātārāḥ tathā Viṣṇōḥ līlāḥ Śambhōr udīritāḥ.

of any Aryan influence, as we see it at a very early period appear among the kindred Akkadians on the shores of the Persian Gulf.

To Viṣṇu are generally attributed only ten avatāras, but this number was soon exceeded, and twenty-four or even a greater number of incarnations were eventually ascribed to him. In fact as innumerable as are the creatures of the creation, so innumerable also are regarded the manifestations of Viṣṇu. I believe, however, that the original number was ten, and that the remaining fourteen must be regarded as additions. The order in which these different divine descents appeared, is manifest from the various readings of the Ślōkas which enumerate them. One stanza runs as follows:

Matsyaḥ Kūrmō Varāhaśca Narasiṁhaśca Vāmanaḥ.
Rāmō Rāmaśca Rāmaśca Kṛṣṇō Buddhō Janārdanaḥ.

Others read after *Rāmaśca:* Kṛṣṇaḥ Kalkir Janārdanaḥ, or Buddaḥ Kalkika ēva ca, or Buddhaḥ Kalkī ca tē daśa, etc. The first stanza omits Kalki, the second Buddha, and the third and fourth omit Kṛṣna.[25] As the Kalki or horse-avatāra is the only manifestation of Viṣṇu which is yet to come, we may perhaps be allowed to assume that its conception originated at a later period than the tradition which omits it.

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[25] These ten avatāras are generally known as the fish-, tortoise-, boar-, Narasiṁha-, dwarf-, Paraśurāma-, Rāma-, Balarāma-, (Kṛṣṇa-), Buddha- and horse-avatāras.

These minor or upa-avatāras are the following: Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanatsujāta, Sanatkumāra, Naranārāyaṇa, Kapila, Vṛṣabhayōgin, Nārada, Hayagrīva, Dattātrēya, Mōhinī (or Māyā), Yajñapati, Vyāsa and Dhanvantari. Some of the avatāras are as it were localised. According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa Viṣṇu resides in the country of Bhadrāśva as the horse-headed Hayaśiras, in Kētumāli as the boar Varāha, in Bhārata as the tortoise Kūrma, and in Kuru as the fish Matsya. In the *Jatīndramatadīpikā* of Srīnivāsācārya, a pupil of Doddamahācārya (Madras edition, p. 44) the number of the avatāras of Viṣṇu is fixed at 36 (padmanābhādayō' pi ṣaṭtṛṁśadavatārāḥ santi).

There is no doubt that the first two incarnations have a cosmological meaning; the third[26] is perhaps of the same nature, or, as it had two different versions, may with the fourth and fifth allude to the fights between the gods and the asuras, or rather to the attempts to firmly establish the worship of the Aryan deities in India by subduing the aborigines and superseding their religion. The avatāra of Paraśurāma indicates the contention between the religious fervour of the Aryans and the brute force of the aboriginal races. I prefer this explanation to the accepted tradition, according to which the priestly Brāhmans exterminated in war the Aryan warrior caste of the Kṣatriyas. Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, represents the extension of Aryan power and civilisation from the North to the South of India. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa show the high state of development attained in political and religious fields degenerating into civil dissension; and in Buddha we have the strife transplanted to religious ground caused by the popular reaction against Brahmanic priestcraft, which reaction, however, was not successful in the end. Such a historical explanation of the order of the avatāras of Viṣṇu will, if proved to be correct, approximately settle the time of the origin of this Vaiṣṇava doctrine. By mentioning Buddha as the last incarnation of Viṣṇu, this dogma must have been conceived considerably after his time, when the belief in the power of Viṣṇu was in the ascendant. A similar view has already been expressed by Lassen in his *Indische Alterthumskunde.* According to the Vaiṣṇava belief *Viṣṇu* assumed the deceptive appearance (*Māyāmōha*) of Buddha in order to lead by his wrong teaching the Daityas astray from the path of the Vēdas and then to destroy them.

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[26] According to one legend Viṣṇu as a boar lifts the sinking earth from the overflowing waters, while according to another he delivers it from the asura Hiraṇyākṣa, who had seized the earth and carried it to the bottom of the sea.

Of late another, a cosmogonic explanation of the avatāras, has been attempted, in imitation of the Darwinian theory of development, beginning with the fish, tortoise, boar and man-lion, progressing from the human dwarf to the brutal man of violence, then to civilised warriors, till it ends with religious dissension.

But if the avatāra of the fish is considered, as it usually is, to be the first of a series, it presents another important aspect, for it may supply us with a *terminus a quo* for beginning the history of the Aryans of India.

On the Deluge.

The legend of the deluge in which the man *Manu* alone is saved by a fish, that had come into his hands while washing them, occurs first and in its most ancient and simplest form in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[27] Manu saved the fish which promised to rescue him from the impending danger arising from a flood, which was to sweep away all living beings. He first put it into a jar, and as the fish was growing fast, he dug a trench and placed it in it, and finally he carried it into the sea, where it was out of danger. The fish told Manu the year when the flood was to come, advised him to build a ship in which he was to embark, and promised to save him. When the flood eventually arose, Manu embarked in his ship, the fish swam towards it, and Manu fastened the cable of the ship to the horn of the fish which guided it over the Northern mountain, where Manu bound it to a tree. With the subsiding flood Manu descended and the mountain was called Manu's descent (*Manōr avasarpaṇam*); the commentator identified this mountain with the Himavat or Himālaya. As Manu alone was saved and desired offspring, by means of his sacrificial rites he produced after a year a woman, Iḍā, and from both these sprang the offspring of Manu.

[27] See Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, I, 8, 1.

The later legend related in the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata identifies this fish with Prajāpati Brahman, who appeared to Manu Vaivasvata in the shape of a fish on the bank of the Cīriṇī and asked to be preserved. Manu placed it first in a jar and afterwards in a large pond, then in the Ganges, and lastly in the sea. When the time of the final dissolution arrived, Manu embarked with the seven Ṛṣis and with the seeds recommended of old by Brāhmans and fastened the floating ship to the horns of the fish, which took the ship to the highest peak of the Himālaya, which peak was afterwards known as Naubandhana. Prajāpati Brahman, who had assumed the form of a fish, then commanded Manu to create all living creatures, gods, asuras, men, &c.

While the account of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa does not refer to an incarnation of any deity, the Mahābhārata mentions Brahman as having assumed the form of a fish, and the subsequent reports substitute Viṣṇu instead of Brahman.

The Matsya Purāṇa makes Manu the son of the Sun, speaks of a general dissolution at the end of the Cākṣuṣa Manvantara, and mentions Malaya (Malabar) as the place where Manu underwent his penance. Manu receives for his penance from Brahman the promise of becoming the preserver of all things, movable and immovable, and a Prajāpati at the end of the general dissolution. Manu placed the Śapharī (carp) fish which came with the water of the Kṛtamālā into his hands successively in a pitcher, a well, a lake, the Ganges and the Ocean. The fish being recognized by Manu as Janārdana (Viṣṇu), promises Manu a ship constructed by the gods, in which he was to embark and to convey into it all living creatures in order to save them. This ship is eventually fastened to the horn of the fish by the serpent *Ananta* acting as a rope.

According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa an occasional dissolution happened at the end of a Kalpa, when Brahman was

asleep and Hayagrīva, the prince of the Dānavas, carried off the Vēdas, which had issued from the mouth of Brahman. Hari (Viṣṇu), on discovering this calamity, assumed the shape of a Śapharī fish and appeared in the hands of Satyavrata, the lord of Draviḍa, who underwent austere penance. This Satyavrata represents Manu Śrāddhadēva of the present Kalpa. The fish was transferred from a waterpot to a large well, a pond, then to various lakes, and finally to the ocean. Hari announces to Manu that after seven days the three worlds, the earth, air and sky would be submerged under the ocean, and that when this dissolution was impending, he would send a large ship to Manu in which the latter was to embark, taking with him all plants, seeds, the seven Ṛṣis and all creatures. The tossing ship was to be fastened to the horn of the fish, the big serpent *Ananta* serving as a rope, and the fish was to draw the ship over the ocean, while the night of Brahman was lasting. Satyavrata when on board of the ship, heard the divine explanation of the true doctrine of the soul, and Hari restored the Vēdas to Brahman at the end of the dissolution after slaying Hayagrīva.

The Agnipurāṇa, which has in its description of the Matsya-avatāra a great resemblance to the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, relates that the sleep of Brahman produced the occasional dissolution of the world, when Manu, the son of Vivasvat, was performing his penance in the Kṛtamālā river.

The legend of the deluge is common to nearly all the human races of the earth, with the exception of the black inhabitants of Africa and of Polynesia, a fact which assumes greater significance, if we remember that the disappearance of the continent *Atlantis* is often ascribed to the deluge, and that this continent is assumed to have been situated between Austral-asia and Africa. In Europe we find it among the ancient Greeks, the Celts, the Scandinavians and the Lets; in Asia it was known to the Syrians, Jews,

Phœnicians, Phrygians, Chaldeans, Assyrians and Indians; in America we meet it among the Greenlanders, Koloshes, Mexicans and Brazilians. This circumstance, however, is not conclusive evidence that all these traditions refer originally to one and the same fact, or that they started independently, as no connection exists between one and the other. The fact that an ancient author, when writing the history of a country, incidentally mentions that a great flood happened at the same time, or previously to, or later than another event he is speaking of, is no proof that the country, whose history he is writing, was inundated by the deluge. The Biblical report is undoubtedly a *bonâ fide* account of an alleged universal deluge, yet, in spite of this, it is possible, yea even probable, that the so called Biblical deluge was only lòcal, but regarded universal by the writer of the sacred record owing to his limited geographical knowledge. Even in our days, when news is quickly spread all over the world by means of telegraphic communications, it would be difficult to ascertain at once the extent of a great calamity which has befallen a distant land beyond the sphere of international contact; how much more difficult must it have been in ancient times to obtain reliable information owing to the exclusiveness and ignorance of the people then living. If all the country known to a man is afflicted by an inundation, it is only natural that he should regard such a flood as universal. We know indeed of some inundations, which, in reality, only local, have been afterwards regarded as universal, *e.g.*, the great flood connected with the name of Ogyges is ascribed by some to the rising of the waters of the lake Kopaïs in Bœotia.[28] Similar examples are fur-

[28] Ogyges is regarded as the son of Poseidon, or of Bœotos, as the husband of Thebe, and the oldest king of Athens. Others call him a Bœotian, a king of the Hektenes and founder of Thebes. The name Ogyges is sometimes explained as being connected with the Sanskrit *ōgha*, flood.

nished by the inundation which, caused by the river Hoang-ho, devastated China in the reign of the emperor Yao, and also by the flood which, owing to the Funzha overflowing its banks, swept over the plain of Bogota in South-America. Many legends of deluges which we find both among modern and ancient nations, can be traced back to the Biblical or Chaldean record, but there are others whose origin it has not been possible to trace as yet.

It is very doubtful, whether Egypt was ever overwhelmed by the deluge. In a fragment generally, though perhaps wrongly ascribed to Manetho of Sebennytos, the high priest of Egypt, who compiled and translated into Greek, at the behest and for the information of his sovereign Ptolemaios Philadelphos, the hieroglyphic records of his country, it is mentioned that the inscriptions engraved by Thōth, the first Hermes or Hermes Trismegistos, upon the Seriadic columns, were after the deluge translated from the sacred dialect.[29] The fragments of his important work on the

[29] See *Ancient Fragments of the Phœnician, Chaldean, Egyptian, Tyrian, Carthaginian, Indian, Persian, and other writers*, by Isaac Preston Cory, Second Edition, London, 1832, pp. 168, 172. These columns in the Seriadic country (Σηριαδικὴ γῆ) said to have been written by Thōth, the first Hermes, in hieroglyphics before the deluge and afterwards translated into Greek and deposited in the adytum of the Egyptian temples by Agathodaimon, the son of the second Hermes, remind one of the two columns which the *Judaikē Archaiologia* of Flavius Josephus, I, 3, ascribes to the righteous sons of Seth, and which were erected to preserve for ever the knowledge these good men had acquired, in case the general destruction of all things (ἀφανισμὸς τῶν ὅλων) which Adam had foretold, should take place. To ensure the preservation of all scientific lore, it was twice separately engraved on two columns, on one of brick and on another of stone, so that if the water should destroy the former, the latter would remain intact. And owing to this precaution one of these columns was still extant in the time of Josephus in the Siriad (Syriad, Sirid or Seriad) land.

These columns have been the subject of much discussion. Plato refers to them in his *Timaios*, and allusions are contained in the book of Enoch and elsewhere. The association of this legend with Egypt dates, however, of a far later period, and the above given version ascribed to Manetho is

dynasties of Egypt, which are still preserved, do not, however, contain any allusion to the flood, a circumstance which makes it doubtful whether the deluge touched Egypt. Manetho even if he wrote the passage above alluded to, which is very doubtful, may have introduced the deluge into his history and borrowed it from foreign sources to fix approximately the date of certain events.

The most interesting, the most important and the most ancient of all the deluge reports are those contained in the Bible and in the Chaldean records, which though not strictly agreeing with, closely resemble each other. We possess the Chaldean account in two versions. The older and original document was found among the tablets which king Assarbanhabal caused to be inscribed, for fear that the ancient records he possessed might be destroyed in course of time. He made therefore on twelve tablets copies of the scientific and literary remains, and the eleventh tablet contains the account of the deluge. This king Assarbanhabal reigned from 660 to 628 B.C. The Greeks turned his name into Sardanapalos and applied it to another sovereign. The other report we owe to Bērōssos, the Babylonian priest of Bel, who, in the times of Alexander the Great, translated the temple records into

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probably a forgery of the fourth century. It is still a peculiar circumstance that a similar legend is ascribed both to Thōth and to Seth, representatives respectively of two hostile races, the latter being revered as a god by the conquering shepherd kings and brought to Egypt, and eventually regarded there by the Egyptians as the wicked arch-fiend of Osiris. May this coincidence not be ascribable to original identity of tradition, a fact which was afterwards forgotten or misrepresented owing to national rivalry and hatred?

Professor Dr. Jos. Lauth in his *Aegyptische Chronologie* refers, however, on page 41 to a deluge legend of *On* (Heliopolis): "Dazu kommt, dass dieses erste Jahr der Herrschaft dem Mena mit seinem mythischen Vorgänger, dem Horusdiener Bytes Sthodiarchos gemeinschaftlich war, und dass der Text des Bulager Papyrus eine alte *onitische* Tradition über die *Fluth* behandelt."

Greek, fragments of which translation were preserved by later Byzantine writers.

These tablets were first discovered and partly translated by the late Mr. George Smith. His English translation, corroborating in many places the Biblical account, attracted a great deal of attention ; later on the Assyrian description appeared, in an amended form, translated into French by Professor Julius Oppert.[30]

Adrahasis, the son of Otiartes, the Xisuthros[31] (thus formed by metathesis from *Hasisu-adra*) of Bērōssos, was the tenth and last of the ancient Chaldean kings of Babylon,[32] as Noah was the tenth and last of the Patriarchs before the deluge. According to the tablet-account the Chaldean hero and prince of Erech[33] is pursued with spiteful hatred by the goddess Istar (Astarte), as she could not gain his affection. She afflicted him with an unclean disease, and he went to the immortal Xisuthros, who lived at the distant mouth of the rivers, and asked his advice in order to become purified and regain his health. While dwelling with him, Xisuthros is requested to relate the story of the deluge. He says that when he was living in the ancient town Surippak, on the banks of the Euphrates, the gods decided to overflow the earth, in order to destroy men, whose iniquity was increasing. With the

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[30] See *George Smith :* Translation of the Creation Tablets and *J. Oppert :* Le Poème Chaldéen du déluge, Paris, 1885.

[31] The various readings of Xisuthros are Sisuthros, Seisuthros, Zisuthros and Zisithros.

[32] These ten sovereigns are in the extract of Apollodōros from Bērōssos named : Alōros, Alaparos, Amēlōn, Ammenon, Megalōros, Daōnos, Euedōrachos, Amempsinos, Otiartēs and Xisuthros. See Cory, pp. 33, 31.

[33] Erech, the modern Warka, the Greek Orchoe. The prince of Erech is called *Istubar* or *Gisdhubar*, and Mr. Pinches of the British Museum has lately discovered that the phonetic reading of Gisdhubar is *Gilgames* which name has been changed into *Thilgamos* in *De natura animalium* (περὶ ζώων ἰδιότητος,), XII, 21 of Claudius Aelianus.

exception of *Ea-kin*, the master of the Deep, all the gods, with their chiefs, *Anu*, *Bel* and *Ninip*, were unanimous in this decision. But *Ea-kin*, the Greek Okeanos, whom Bērōssos transforms into Kronos, communicated in a dream the intention of the gods to Adrahasis, advised him to construct a ship, big enough to contain his family, friends, servants, and all sorts of animals with the necessary provisions to support them. Bērōssos fixed the rising of the flood on the fifteenth day of Daisios, and Xisuthros is advised in the same account to compile a history of everything existing and to bury this account in the city of the Sun in Sippara, which corresponds to a certain extent with Surippak.[34] Adrahasis or Xisuthros does as Ea-kin (or Kronos according to Bērōssos) has advised him, builds a ship, whose dimensions are distinctly given, ascends it with his wife, children, and friends, and the surging waves lift the ark and float it over the surface of the earth. For six days the storm and rain lasted, but, on the seventh in the morning, the tempest abated, the sea became calm, and the ship was stopped by the mountain Nizir. For seven further days Adrahasis remained there, then he despatched a pigeon, which returned to him, so also did the swallow

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[34] It is doubtful whether the names Sippara and Surippak are identical or belong to different places; if the latter is the case, both must have been very near each other. Considering Akkadian to have been a Turanian language nearly related to the Gauda-Dravidian, in which the metathesis is of frequent occurrence, as I have already mentioned in the philological remarks on p. 5, Surippak and Sippara could have been identical, as are Madura and Marudai. Sippara has been identified with the Biblical *Sepharvaim*. The legend of the buried books has given rise to the popular conjecture of deriving the name Sippara from the root *sipru*, the Hebrew *sepher*, a book. The legend of the Siriadic columns mentioned by Manetho and by Josephus (see p. 315, note 29) resembles to a certain extent the story told by Bērōssos. Can Seriad be in some way connected with Surippak? It is also curious that the Egyptian Heliopolis corresponds to the Chaldean Sippara, or city of the Sun (Ṣamaṣ), and that the Hermetic books of Thōth find an analogy in the books of Xisuthros.

which he sent next, but the raven, which was sent for the last, did not return. After this he left the ship, sacrificed to the gods, and disappeared with his wife both to live henceforth as immortals with the gods. The tablet account gives, at the end, a speech of Ea-kin addressed to Bel, in which he points out the uselessness of the flood as a punishment, for, though it destroyed mankind then living, it did not root out the sin and immorality of men.

The Biblical description does not vary much from the Chaldean account. According to Genesis[35] it rained "forty days and forty nights, and the waters increased, "and bare up the ark, and it was lift up above the earth . . "And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, "and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, "were covered. Fifteen cubits upwards did the waters "prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all flesh "died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of "cattle, and of beast, and of every creeping thing that "creepeth upon the earth, and every man; . . and Noah "only remained alive, and they that were with him in the "ark . . . . After the end of the hundred and fifty days the "waters were abated. And the ark rested in the seventh "month on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the "mountains of Ararat. And the waters decreased con-"tinually until the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the "first day of the month, were the tops of the moun-"tains seen. And it came to pass at the end of forty days, "that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had "made: and he sent forth a raven, which went forth to and "fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. "And he sent forth a dove from him, . . but the dove "found no rest for the sole of her feet, and she returned

35 Gen., Chap. vii. 4, 12, 17, 19—21, 23; viii. 3—21.

"unto him into the ark . . . And he stayed other seven days: "and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; and the "dove came in to him in the evening; and, lo, in her mouth, "was an olive leaf pluckt off: so Noah knew that the "waters were abated from off the earth. And he stayed "yet other seven days, and sent forth the dove; which "returned not again unto him any more. And it came to "pass in the six hundredth and first year, in the first "month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried "up from off the earth: and Noah removed the covering "of the ark, and looked, and behold, the face of the ground "was dry. And in the second month, on the seventh and "twentieth day of the month, was the earth dried. And "God spake unto Noah, saying: Go forth of the ark, thou, "and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with "thee . . And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, "and his sons' wives with him . . . And Noah builded an altar "unto the Lord and took of every clean beast, and of every "clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar. And the "Lord smelled a sweet savour; and the Lord said in his heart, "I will not again curse the ground any more for man's "sake; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his "youth; neither will I again smite any more every thing "living, as I have done."

The place where the ark first rested, is described in the Old Testament as "over the mountains of Ararat." Ararat has been generally understood to mean the mountain, now called Ararat, which is named by the Armenians *Macis*, by the Turks *Aghur Dagh* (the steep mountain), and by the Persians *Asis* (the happy mountain) or *Koh-i-Nuh*, the mountain of Noah. Not far from it in the plain lies Nakidjevan (Nachdjevan), where Noah is said to have landed, and whose name has been explained as meaning "the first stage (of descent)." This Nachdjevan must however not be confounded with another town of the same

name, situated on the Don in the Russian district Yekaterinoslaw, which is the seat of the Armenian Patriarch.[36] The mountain Ararat itself consists of two conical peaks, respectively, 14,320 and 17,212 feet high. It is very inaccessible and the Armenians assert that, as the ark of Noah was to be kept intact on the top of the mountain, nobody was permitted to ascend it. However, much to their displeasure, it was successfully climbed in 1829 by the German explorer, Dr. Parrot. Since that time it has been ascended more than once; but, to the great disappointment of the neighbouring inhabitants, no trace of the ark has been found on Ararat. Yet, even if the ark had originally rested on the mountain, it could hardly be expected to be there still, not only in consequence of the exposure to the weather to which it had to submit for thousands of years, but also, and not the least, on account of the frequent and violent volcanic eruptions, to which Mount Ararat is subject. Such eruptions have been often accompanied with great devastations as in the years 1783 and 1840. To the careful reader of the Mosaic record, it is, however, clear that Noah's ark descended with the subsiding

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[36] The Rev. K. M. Banerjea's *Arian Witness*, Calcutta, 1875, in No. 10, p. 162, seems to do so, when he calls the Armenian Nachdjevan the seat of the Armenian Patriarch. Nachdjevan in Eriwan is no doubt a very old place, and was once the capital of Armenia. The name is explained to be equivalent with the Persian *Manzale awel*. It was repeatedly destroyed by earthquakes as well as by enemies. Exiled Medes rebuilt it after a destructive earthquake in the 6th century B.C. An early legend connected it with the Noachian deluge. Nebukadnezar transplanted to it some of his Jewish prisoners. The Persians destroyed it in the middle of the 4th century A.D. From a village it rose to a flourishing town in the 10th century. However, the Tartars laid it in ruins in the 13th century and killed its inhabitants. After reobtaining its old position under the sway of the Timurides, Shah Abbas of Persia destroyed it again in the 17th century, but the Turks recovered it even after Shah Tamasp had taken it. Since Nadir Shah, however, it became Persian, but was ceded to Russia in 1827. The earthquake of 1840 has injured it considerably. The town has now about 5,000 inhabitants.

waters and did not remain at the top of the mountain. On further investigation it will also become clear that the Biblical meaning of *Ararat* does not necessarily point to the mountain Ararat. Indeed, the reading of the text is "upon the mountains of Ararat." In other places of the Old Testament *Ararat* refers to the country *Armenia*, and the Vulgate contains in fact in those places Armenia instead of Ararat.[37] Armenian writers make Ararat a province of Armenia, and derive its name from Arai, the alleged eighth king of Armenia and contemporary of Semiramis, who was defeated and killed in that locality, whence it was called *Arai-arat*, the ruin of Arai.

It is a strange coincidence that the Euphrates and Tigris rivers often rise on a sudden to an immense height and inundate the intervening country. Floods of this kind have been besides aggravated by violent earthquakes. If at such a period fierce cyclones sweep over the Indian ocean, the waters of the rivers joined with the encroaching sea waves can easily produce a diluvial catastrophe.

Josephus mentions, in his *Judaikē Archaiologia* (lib. 1, ch. 4), that the Armenians call the place, where Noah descended from the ark, *Apobatērion*, and he further states that Bērōssos (and in this item he is supported by Alexander Polyhistor) fixes the Kordyan mountains in Armenia as the place where Xisuthros landed. Xisuthros himself, when leaving his companions, tells them that they are in Armenia. Bērōssos further adds, that to this day the inhabitants make amulets and bracelets from the remaining bitumen and wood of the ark.[38] These Kordyan

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[37] Genesis vii. 4; 2 Kings xix. 37; Isaiah xxxvii. 38; Jeremiah li. 27.

[38] See *Bērōssos* from Alexander Polyhistor in Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 29: "The vessel being thus stranded in Armenia, some part of it yet remains in the Corcyrean mountains (Corduarum montibus, Eu. Ar.) of Armenia; and the people scrape off the bitumen, with which it had been outwardly coated, and make use of it by way of an alexipharimic and

mountains are the well-known *Karduchia orē* of Xenophon's Anabasis,[39] the Kurduchians being the ancestors of the modern Kurds of Kurdistan, Kurdistan itself forming in ancient times a part of Armenia. This well agrees with the reading of *Kardu* instead of Armenia in the Chaldean or Targum of Onkelos. The country *Kardu* has been declared to be synonymous with Armenia, and the word *Kardu* to be etymologically identical with *Chaldea*, so that the ancient form Chaldea corresponds, so far as the name is concerned, with the modern Kurdistan. The ancient tradition thus points in general to Armenia as the country where the ark landed, though opinion is divided as to the particular spot where it landed. The Koran inclines to the side of Bērōssos, as it says that the ark rested on *El Jūdi*, a mountain north-west of Mossul and east of Jezirah ibn Omar, at the foot of which lies the village *Karya Themanīn*, for the Muhammadans believe that eighty instead of eight people were saved in the ark. Many other mountains have been pointed out as resting places of the ark, *e.g.*, the Demavend on the south side of the Caspian Sea in Persia, the Sufued-Koh (white mountain) in Afghanistan, between Cabul and Peshawur, the Adam's Peak in Ceylon; but our special interest centres in the account of Manu.

The similarity in the names of Oannes, Anu, Noah and Manu has given rise to wild philological derivations, and, though it is not yet safe to venture a decided opinion whether these names are connected with each other or not, still it is hardly probable that a connection exists between all these four legendary personages. The resemblance between the Chaldean and Biblical accounts is so

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amulet." Compare with this extract the following from Abydenos, *ibidem*, p. 34: "With respect to the vessel which yet remains in Armenia, it is a custom of the inhabitants to form bracelets and amulets of its wood."

[39] See Xenophon's Anabasis, iv. 1.

great, that they may be safely regarded as different versions of the same legend, a legend which may be ultimately traced back to Solar mythology. The great dissimilarity consists in the different names of the two heroes of the story, Adrahasis (or Xisuthros) and Noah, in the manner in which the impending deluge was communicated to each, and in their subsequent fate.

If we now turn to the Indian legend of Manu, we find there also some notable discrepancies. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Manu alone is saved in the ship, which passes over the northern mountain (*uttaram girim*), whose original name is, however, not given in the text, but which is only conjecturally supplied by the commentator as the Himavat (Himālaya). It is, however, henceforth known as Manu's descent *Manōr avasarpaṇam*. He created, by his penance, a woman, named *Iḍā*, by whom he became the ancestor of men. According to the Mahābhārata, Manu performs penance on the bank of the Chīriṇī, takes the Ṛṣis with him in his boat, and after many years reaches the summit of the *Himavat*, which, as he binds on it the boat, is called *Naubandhana*. Manu becomes eventually the creator of men, gods and asuras. The Matsya-Purāṇa reports that Manu, the son of the Sun, underwent a severe penance in a certain district of *Malaya*, the modern Malabar, and requested Brahman to grant him his wish to preserve at the impending dissolution all existing creatures, whether moving or fixed. The Śapharī fish, whom Manu recognizes as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, predicts a general conflagration followed by an universal deluge, which Manu alone will outlive in his divine boat. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa relates that Hayagrīva had carried off the Vēdas, while Brahman had fallen asleep, that Hari assumed the form of a Sapharī fish and appeared in this shape to Śatyavrata, the lord of *Draviḍa*, while he was offering water to the Pitṛs in the Kṛtamālā river. This Satyavrata

is in this Kalpa identical with Śrāddhadēva, the son of Vivasvat.

As the late Dr. J. Muir has already pointed out, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to make the legend of the flood, as related in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, agree with the system of Kalpas and Manvantaras.[40] The oldest Indian account, contained in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, is the simplest of all, and neither mentions Kalpas or Manvantaras, nor does it speak of a dissolution of the world, but only of a flood, from which Manu is the only survivor. It does not name any particular locality, but only alludes to a northern mountain, which he calls from Manu's landing Manu's descent. The commentator identifies eventually the northern mountain with the Himālaya, and the Mahābhārata then declares the Himālaya as the mountain where the fastening of the ark (*Naubhandana*) took place. The scene of Manu's penance afterwards shifts to the south of India, and we see it transferred to *Malaya* and *Draviḍa*, which, under the circumstances, may be regarded as identical. This changing of the locality from the north to the south is very significant, the more so if it be preceded by a prior movement from the west to the east, which I believe to be clearly the case, for a Chaldean or Turanio-Semitic origin of the Indian legend of the deluge can easily be proved. The renowned Burnouf was the first to suggest a Semitic origin, though the reasons on which he founded his opinion could not be substantiated. He believed that the theory of great mundane periods and of periodical dissolutions was at a very early period adopted by the ancient Indians, and that the legend of the deluge was introduced into India at a comparatively modern date, because it was only mentioned in works of later origin such as the Mahābhārata

[40] *See* his "Original Sanskrit Texts," Vol. I, p. 215, ff.

and the Purāṇas. He was wrong in both premises, for the Indian theory of yugas and manvantaras is not very ancient, and the deluge is not only mentioned in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas, but also, as we have seen, in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa; however, he was right in his main assertion that the Indian deluge legend was of foreign or non-Indian origin. Most probably the Aryans brought it with them when they immigrated into India, or else they obtained it whilst already in this country. In both circumstances, the locality of the flood, more especially that of the northern mountain, cannot be connected with any Indian spot, and the identification of the mountain with the Himālaya, or its substitution by the country of Malaya or Draviḍa, falls to the ground.

It appears to me that the Indian legend presents a combination of the Chaldean and Biblical versions. It resembles the Chaldean report in its description of certain circumstances connected with the flood, whilst the appearance of the fish makes, as has been often pointed out already, the Chaldean origin well-nigh a certainty. Manu, like Noah, survives the flood and becomes the ancestor of the human race, while Xisuthros (Adrahasis) disappears after the landing and is together with his wife enrolled among the gods.

The fish in the story of Manu corresponds to the Chaldean Ōannēs mentioned by Bērōssos, or to the Akkadian Ea-kin (Ea, the fish), revered as the sublime fish and worshipped as the god of the ocean.[41] The fish Ōannēs conceals under his fishy form a human body with human head and feet, and speaks with a human voice. Ōannēs, whom the grammarian Helladios calls Ōēs (Ὠής) and the latter-Platonic Damaskios Aos (Ἀός), is Ea-kin, the god of the deep, as well as of the earth and of heaven; whose special home

[41] See *Chaldean Magic* by François Lenormant, p. 203.

was Eridu, the modern Abu Shahrein, on the Persian Gulf, which represented to the Chaldean mind the Ocean, the great receptacle of all streams and rivers. He emerged from the watery element of the celestial ocean which is personified as the goddess Ziku.[42] As consort stands at his side an independent female deity, Dav-ki (Dav-kina), the lady of the earth; the special goddess of Eridu. Each Babylonian city had its special goddess or creatress, as every Indian hamlet and town has its peculiar Grāmadēvatā. Ea-kin is the creator of the black race, as the Akkadians called themselves, so also do the modern Hindus, who speak of themselves in Telugu as *Nallavāṇḍlu* or in Tamil *Karuppumanuṣarkal* (or *Karuppumanitarkal*). Ea-kin alone knows the supreme name in which is centred all divine power. He has many names, and those of other gods are also transferred to him. His weapon is the disk, which is in India assigned to Viṣṇu and to Buddha. He is intrinsically pure and does not cause evil. He is the depositary of all knowledge and reveals to men all religious and social laws. In this respect he resembles the Egyptian *Thōth*, to whom are ascribed the Seriadic columns. Similar pillars are attributed to the children of the patriarch *Seth*, in whose time, according to the Bible, men began to invoke the name of the Lord.[43] Bērōssos tells us that Ōannēs assumed from time to time incarnations, which apparitions were called *Annedotoi*. We find thus, among the ancient Akkadians, already the doctrine of divine incarnation, a doctrine which, at a later period prevailed in India. The other manifestations of Ea-kin no doubt differ from those which are connected with Viṣṇu's name in India, as time and circumstances are different; yet, considering that

[42] See Lenormant, *ibidem*, p. 156.

[43] As I have already mentioned, the Egyptians regarded Set, the supreme deity of their enemies; the shepherd kings, as the evil spirit. This Set is identical with the well-known deity *Baal*.

the original inhabitants of India, the Gauda-Dravidians, belonged to the same race as the Akkadians, this coincidence in dogma should not be overlooked, though we are at present, from want of knowledge, unable to make use of it.

On the Yugas.

While the accounts of the deluge, contained in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Mahābhārata, do not mention the periods of Kalpas or Manvantaras, the Puranic descriptions allude to them, and it is necessary for that reason to consider them. The Viṣṇupurāṇa has a particular chapter devoted to the measures of time, in which the Yugas, Manvantaras and Kalpas are specially considered. The four Yugas, the Kṛta, Trētā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas are, respectively, composed of 4,800, 3,600, 2,400 and 1,200, or altogether of 12,000 divine years. A divine year, or a year of the gods, has 360 days, each day being a year of the mortals, *i.e.*, 4,320,000 divine days or mortal years. One thousand of such 12,000 divine years represents a day of Brahman, or a Kalpa, which lasts therefore 4,320,000,000 human years, and a night of Brahman is as long as his day. Fourteen Manus reign within such a day, and a Manvantara is, therefore, about the fourteenth part of a day of Brahman. A Manvantara is also equal to 71 times the years of a Yuga *plus* 25,920,000 years or $4{,}320{,}000 \times 71 \times 14 + 25{,}920{,}000 = 4{,}320{,}000{,}000$. Either 1,728,000 years are added to each Manvantara, and 1,728,000 besides at the beginning at a Kalpa, or 1,851,428 years are added to its Manvantara and the 8 remaining otherwise distributed, so that $(4{,}320{,}000 \times 71 + 1{,}728{,}000) \times 14 + 1{,}728{,}000 = (4{,}320{,}000 \times 71 + 1{,}851{,}428) \times 14 + 8 = 4{,}320{,}000{,}000$. A general collapse takes place at the end of a day of Brahman, and this lasts during the following night. This complicated system does not bear the impress of great antiquity, and, as a matter of fact, it is not mentioned in the Ṛgvēda. The word *yuga* occurs there

frequently, but in the sense of age, generation, or tribe.[44] It has been already pointed out by Professor von Roth that Manu, when speaking of the 4,800, 3,600, 2,400 and 1,200 years of the Kṛta, Trētā, Dvāpara and Kali yugas respectively, does not distinguish between years of the gods and years of the mortals. These 12,000 ordinary years or 4,320,000 days, the sum total of the four yugas, were called a yuga or age of the gods, and a thousand of these divine yugas made a day of Brahman.[45] The considerable enlargement of the computation, by making a day of the gods equal to a year of the mortals, is a sure sign of a later origin. We possess also other good reasons for assuming that the origin of these four different ages belongs to a subsequent period, and this reason is supplied by their very names, for none of the terms *kali*, *dvāpara* and *trētā* appear in the Ṛgvēda. The most popular social game among the ancient Aryans was that of dice, and gambling was one of their common vices, to which property, honor and liberty were often sacrificed. We are ignorant of the niceties of the game, but we know that *kali* was either the die or the side of the die marked with one (unfortunate) eye (*akṣa*), *dvāpara* that which had two, *trētā* which has three and *kṛta* (good) that which had four eyes. The *kali*, *dvāpara*, *trētā* and *kṛta* yugas stood in the proportion of these dice of 1, 2, 3 and 4, and, I believe, that the names of the four different dice, or of the four sides of the die were transferred

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[44] Compare J. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I, p. 45, ff.

[45] See *Manu* I, 69—72.

69. Catvāryāhuḥ sahasrāṇi varṣāṇām tu kṛtam yugam.
    Tasya tāvacchatī sandhyā sandhyāṁśaśca tathāvidhah.
70. Itarēṣu susandhyēṣu sasandhyāṁśēṣu ca triṣu
    Ēkāpāyēna vartantē sahasrāṇi śatāni ca.
71. Yadētat parisaṅkhyātam ādāvēva caturyugam.
    Ētad dvādaśasāhasram dēvānām yugam ucyatē.
72. Daivikānām yugānām tu sahasram parisaṅkhyayā
    Brāhmam ēkam ahar jñēyam tāvatī rātrirēva ca.

to those of the yugas. The calculation began with the lowest number, but the table was reversed, so that the largest stood first.[46]

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[46] Compare the articles under kali, kṛta, trētā and dvāpara in Böthlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch.* The original table of these four ages is as follows :—

Kaliyuga, 1,200 years ..	dawn	100	years.
	length of age	1,000	,,
	twilight	100	,,
Dvāparayuga, 2,400 years ...	dawn	200	,,
	length of age	2,000	,,
	twilight	200	,,
Trētāyuga, 3,600 years ...	dawn	300	,,
	length of age	3,000	,,
	twilight	300	,,
Kṛtayuga, 4,800 years ...	dawn	400	,,
	length of age	4,000	,,
	twilight	400	,,

The first mentioning of the names Kali, Dvāpara, Trētā and Kṛta occurs in *Aitarēya Brāhmana* VII, 15 (in Dr. Martin Haug's edition, Vol. I, p. 180):

"Kaliḥ śayānō bhavati sañjihānastu dvāparaḥ,
Uttiṣṣhanstrētā bhavati kṛtam sampadyatē caran."

(*Kali* is lying, *Dvāpara* is moving, Trētā is standing, Kṛta is walking.) This passage has been explained as referring to virtue (*Dharma*) personified as a bull (*vṛṣa*), lying down with one foreleg standing upright in the Kaliyuga, getting up with his two frontlegs in the Dvāparayuga, standing at rest on three legs in the Trētāyuga, and walking on four legs in the Kṛtayuga.

The numbers of the legs 1, 2, 3 and 4 correspond to the same number of eyes of the dice. The passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III, 4, 16) where these four terms are repeated refers clearly to gambling with dice ("akṣarājāya kitavam *kṛtāya* sabhāvinam *trētāyā* ādinavadarśam *dvāparāya* bahissadam *kalayē* sabhāsthāṇum duṣkṛtāya carakācāryam ").

In the *Bhīṣmaparvan*, X, 3—7, the years ascribed to the Yugas refer to the years men live in them respectively.

Another explanation of the word *Kṛta* in *Kṛtayuga* has been offered by Mr. M. Seshagiri Sastri, M.A., in his "Etymology of some mythological names" on p. 27 of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science for the session 1888-89, which is a reprint from a passage on pp. 193, 194 of his *Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology :* "Minos I, the grandfather, was the wise legislator in every city of Greece and was made the supreme and absolute judge in the infernal regions. His equity and justice, the radical connection of his name with Sans. वृष, vṛṣa, and the fact of his being the king of Creta, the Grecian original forms of which are Κρητα and Κρητη remind

Computations of time on a large scale are also found among the Akkadians, Chaldeans and Egyptians. The old Egyptian chronicle, *e.g.*, thus ascribes to the 30 dynasties in 113 descents the long period of 36,525 years, which, subdivided by 25, gives 1,461 years and which relates to the mythological zodiac among the Egyptians and Greeks. 1,461 days give four Egyptian solar years of 365¼ days each year.[47] The Babylonians were no doubt expert astrologers and astronomers, and, as such, they were famous in ancient times. They fixed the deluge of Adrahasis or Xisuthros 39,180 years before the commencement of history which began, according to them, 2517 B.C., or altogether 41,697 years B.C. They assumed, moreover, that the ten kings from Alōros to Xisuthros, who preceded the flood, had reigned 432,000 years.[48]

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us of the Hindu *Kṛta Yuga*, the first of the four great periods of the world, in which Vṛṣa, the bull of virtue, stood with four legs and reigned supreme (*vide* the *Vṛṣa Group*). In Κρητη I see a trace of κριτις, 'choice,' or the act of choosing, that is, the human volition, or of Sans. कृत, kṛta, or कृति, kṛti, 'action'; and the legendary government of Κρητη by Minos and the standing of Virtue of a bovine form on four legs must refer to the virtuous disposition of the people in a good age. The Greek Κρητα in its secondary meaning refers to the locality of the virtuous action and the Sans. कृत, kṛta, to the age."

[47] See *Viṣṇupurāṇa* in F. Hall's edition, Vol. I, pp. 49—52, and Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, p. 89: "Among the Egyptians there is a certain tablet called the Old Chronicle, containing thirty dynasties in 113 descents, during the long period of 36,525 years." This number is also mentioned by Jamblichus, in connexion with Egyptian history, as the number of the Hermaic books, perhaps allowing a book to each year. "All which Hermes wrote in 20,000 books, according to the account of Seleucus; but Manetho, in his history relates that they were completed in 36,525"—(*De Myst*, p. 8, c. 1), and on p. 91: "In all, 30 dynasties, and 36,525 years, which number of years, resolved and divided into its constituent parts, that is to say, 25 times 1,461 years, shows that it relates to the fabled periodical revolution of the Zodiac among the Egyptians and Greeks."

[48] See *Le poème Chaldéen du déluge* traduit de l'Assyrien par Jules Oppert, Paris, 1885, pp. 6, 7: "Les Babyloniens plaçaient le déluge à 39,180 ans avant le commencement des temps historiques, qu'ils fixaient à

These 432,000 years are reduced in the Biblical account, as Professor Julius Oppert of the French Academy has very ingeniously shown, to 1,656 years. The first reduction he makes by dividing 432,000 by 5, the number of 86,400 thus gained, he regards as representing weeks, which 86,400 weeks are as nearly as possible equal to 1,656 years; for 23 years give 8,400 days or 1,200 weeks, a year having 365¼ days, and the surplus fraction of ¾ being disregarded; 23 × 72 or 1,656 years give thus 86,400 weeks.[49]

2,517 av. J. C.: donc à 41,697 av. J. C. La chronologie chaldéenne a les mêmes origines que celles de la Genèse: les Hébreux, peuple plus jeune, ne faisaient que raccourcir les unités temporaires. Xisuthrus était le dixième des dix rois antédiluviens qui avaient regné, 432,000 ans ou 86,400 (60 × 60 × 24) lustres. Noé est le dernier des dix partriarches hébreux qui vivaient pendant un intervalle de 86,400 semaines ou 1656 ans. Les 39,180 ans écoulés entre le déluge et les temps historiques sont 653 soixantaines d'années ou 653 *sosses*, qui se décomposaient en:

12 periodes	sothiaques	à 1,460 ans =	17,520 ans ou 292 sosses.
12 ,,	lunaires	à 1,805 ans =	21,660 ans ou 361 sosses.
	Total:		39,180 ans ou 653 sosses.

La Bible a réduit les soixantaines d'années à l'unité, et chose d'une importance capitale, elle admet entre le déluge et la naissance d'Abraham, 292 ans, et entre cet événement et la fin de la Genèse 361 ans; en total, 653 ans, les chiffres se passent de tout commentaire."

To the sothiac and lunar periods Professor J. Oppert adds the following note: "La période sothiaque de 1,460 ans ou de quatre fois 365 ans, usitée surtout en Égypte, est le laps de temps dans lequel une date de l'année vague de 365 jours fait le tour des saisons. La période lunaire de 1,805 ans ou 22,325 lunaisons est un cycle, après lequel les éclipses reviennent dans le même ordre; cette période était connue des anciens, qui l'avaient déduite de leur observations."

The calculation according to which the 39,180 years previously to the historical times of the Babylonians correspond to 653 Babylonian sothiac and lunar sosses or to 653 Biblical years (which lapse of time equals the period between the deluge and the death of Joseph in Egypt), requires some further explanation, because Joseph did, according to Biblical calculations, neither die in the year 2517 B.C., nor is it explained how we can accept these two thousand and odd years as years B.C. when the preceding 39,180 years equal only 653 Biblical years.

[49] *Ibidem*, note on pp. 6, 7: "En effet, 23 ans font 8,400 jours ou 1,200 semaines; 1,656 ou 23 × 72 ans donnent 86,400 semaines. La Bible, comme les Chaldéens, partageait le temps antédiluvien en trois parties,

In their calculations the Babylonians, however, followed the older Turanian settlers of the country, the Akkadians, who were the real originators of the *Soss*, the period of sixty years. This computation of time was most probably peculiar to the whole race, as it was found, and is still extant among its principal representatives in Asia. Not only is it to be met with among the old Akkadians, the mediæval Uigurs, the modern Mongols, Mantchus and Chinese, but it was very likely also known to the Gauda-Dravidians and other kindred tribes.[50] At a later period

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sur lesquelles il y avait des légendes aujourd'hui ignorées. Les cinq premiers patriarches bibliques vivaient ensemble 460 (23 × 20) ans ou 24,000 semaines; les trois suivants 414 (23 × 13) ans ou 21,600 semaines, juste le quart de tout l'intervalle. Les deux derniers occupent 782 (23 × 34) ans ou 40,800 semaines; dans cette dernière periode tous moururent, depuis Adam jusqu'au neuvième patriarche. Les Chaldéens admettent trois périodes semblables, dont la seconde prend, elle aussi, le quart de toute l'époque antédiluvienne. L'évaluation de l'âge du monde à 6,000 ans repose uniquement, sur les chiffres de la Genèse dont on a aujourd'hui découvert l'origine: les Juifs ont combiné avec les mêmes nombres des unités temporaires plus petites que celles des Chaldéens et des Égyptiens.

[50] See my monograph *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte* (2nd edition), Berlin, 1870, in No. 1, on pp. 119, 120 on the sixty years' cycle among the Eastern Turks, Mongols and Chinese. The twelve yearly cycle of animals is combined with a ten years' cycle of the five elements or of the five colours (blue, red, yellow, white and black) in their masculine and feminine forms, thus becoming ten. In this manner the 60 years' cycle can be expanded into one of 120 years.

The ancient Egyptians used, as Professor *Lauth* has proved a period of 120 years, the *Hanti*; "In der That mit Zugrundelegung dieses 120 jährigen Zeitkreises *hanti* ist es mir gelungen, die vollständige Reihe sämmtlicher Epochenkönige wieder aufzufinden" (*Aegyptische Chronologie*, p. 9). However, the word *hanti* suggests it to be a dual formation, in consequence this cycle of 120 years may perhaps be founded on that of 60 years' duration.

Plutarch, in his treatise *de Iside et Osiride*, Cap. 75, Vol. II., p. 381, in the above mentioned Paris edition of 1624, remarks that the Egyptian astronomers regarded the number 60 as their first measure (*ἑξήκοντα δ τῶν μέτρων πρῶτόν ἐστι τοῖς περὶ τὰ οὐράνια πραγματευομένοις*), a fact which Prof. Lauth has also pointed out.

it was adopted by the Aryan immigrants of India, as is proved by the existence of the sixty years' cycle of Bṛhaspati or Jupiter. This planet accomplishes an entire revolution in twelve years or rather in 4,332 days, 12 hours, &c. As this cycle is divided into twelve years like a year is into twelve months, a lustrum of such a cycle constitutes the 60 years' cycle or the Chaldean soss. Whether the Kaliyuga, of which I spoke previously, owes its duration to twenty such sosses being combined, it is now impossible to prove; however, it is not at all improbable. The artificial arrangement of the yugas in which a morning and evening dawn, which occupied together a sixth part of an age (*e.g.*, the 100 years of the dawn, the 1,000 years of the yuga and the 100 years of the evening) and which precede and follow each yuga, is also perhaps of later origin; but whether this is the case or not, the correctness of my explanation of the origin of the nomenclature of the yugas will not be affected. The main object I have in view in this discussion is to draw attention to the close resemblance of Indian and Turanian computations.[51]

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[51] The twelve years of the cycle of Bṛhaspati have the names of the twelve lunar months, as the twelve-yearly rotation of Jupiter resembles the twelve monthly of the earth. If this twelve-yearly revolution is combined with the lustrum, *yuga*, or period of five years, the 60 years' cycle is the result. It is, however, quite possible, that this combination of the lustrum with the Jupiter cycle is only a later explanation of Indian astronomers, as it is certain that the latter derived in later times most of their knowledge from the West, especially through the Greeks, who in their turn were indebted to the Babylonians and Egyptians; the Sanskrit names of the Zodiac are thus mere translations of the Western names. Compare *Varāhamihira's* Bṛhatsaṁhitā, VIII, 1, about the names of the single years of the cycle of Bṛhaspati corresponding to those of twelve lunar months and VIII, 27 about the sixty years' cycle:

Ādyam dhaniṣṭhāṁśam abhiprapannō māghē yadā yātyudayam surējyaḥ
ṣaṣṭyabdapūrvaḥ prabhavaḥ sa nāmnā pravartatē bhūtahitastadābdaḥ.

See the *Sūryasiddhānta*, 1, 55, XIV, 1, 2 (edition of the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1859, pp. 41, 369, 370) about the twelve-years' and sixty-years' cycle of Bṛhaspati:

55. Dvādaśaghnā gurōr yātā bhagaṇā vartarmānakaiḥ.
Rāśibhiḥ sahitāḥ śuddhāḥ ṣaṣṭyā syur vijayādayaḥ.

From the general description in the sacred record it does not appear that the deluge was accompanied by any such phenomena as have proceeded from geological revolutions produced by violent eruptions of water. The early drift accumulations prove, by their component elements, that they belong to a period much anterior to the deluge of Noah, but the crust and surface of the earth do not exhibit any clearly ascertained and indelible traces of the Noachian deluge. Notwithstanding that no such evidences of any great diluvian catastrophe are found, similar catastrophes and inundations, which created great changes on the surface of the earth, have happened within that period.

Since the researches of Professor Prestwich, the existence of man has been traced to a period far beyond the limits of Biblical chronology; nay, it is thought highly probable that human beings already existed in the so-called tertiary period, and hundred thousands of years must therefore have elapsed before we come within touch of historical times. It is, however, possible that though man existed, he was at that early period both mentally and physically far below the species at present living. In fact we know hardly anything about these men beyond their bare existence; they have almost totally disappeared, without leaving anything behind them, save their bones and a few traces of their handiwork and implements. On the other hand the Chaldean and Biblical deluge-accounts prove through the survival of the companions of Xisuthros and Noah respectively the continuity of the human species, and inform us besides of events that previously occurred. The existence of the Chaldean tablets prepared with the express purpose of preserving to posterity the learning of bye-gone

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1. Brāhmam divyam tathā pitryam prājāpatyam gurōs tathā,
Saurañca sāvanam cāndram ārkṣam mānāni vai nava.
2. Catnrbhir vyavahārōṣtra sauracāndrāpk'asāvanaiḥ
Bārhaspatyēna ṣaṣṭyabdam jñēyam nānyais tu nityaśaḥ.

times, favors the assumption that according to the expectation of the inscribers the deluge would be confined by limits of time and place. These expectations appear to have been realised, for the discovery of these tablets shows, that there could not have taken place any great changes on the surface of the earth.

In summing up the evidence derived from the Biblico-Chaldean account of the deluge, assuming it to have been local and to have extended only over Mesopotamia and the contiguous countries, the Indian description of it must either have emanated from direct communications made by the descendants of survivors, or from reports, which events of such magnitude necessarily produce. As the Aryans had not yet entered India at such an early date, Manu could not have been in India, nor could the ark have landed on the Himālaya, or elsewhere in this country. This conclusion appears to be supported by the fact that the Vēda nowhere alludes to such an inundation. I omit altogether at this moment to consider the possibility of the deluge legend being known among the Gauda-Dravidian population of India, but may point out that its connection with Malabar seems to lend a plausibility to such an assumption.

If we were certain, which we are not, that Genesis supplies us with an approximate date of the deluge, and that this deluge was, what is very probable, identical with the Indian deluge connected with the name of Manu, we would be able, as the Noachian flood, according to Biblical chronology, can be fixed at 2500 B.C., to utilize this date also for purposes of Indian history and start from it as the commencement of its first epoch. I regard the matsya-avatāra of Viṣṇu, however, in its connection with Manu as the first legendary date of Indian history. This importance that I ascribe to the fish avatāra of Viṣṇu, as exemplified by Manu's flood, has induced me to enter more

deeply into this subject than might seem at first necessary from a superficial view of the question. The prevailing Indian tradition that the three first avatāras of Viṣṇu belong to the Kṛta, the next four to the Trētā, the eighth and ninth to the Dvāpara and the tenth to the Kali-yuga has no historical weight. This inquiry has also brought to light the intimate connection between the Turanian tribes of the West with those of the East—a connection which will prove eventually of very great importance.

On the Sālagrāma-stone.

Viṣṇu like other gods is worshipped by means of images (*vigraha*), but his pious adherents prefer to revere him in the form of the Sālagrāma-stone, though jewels, drawings and heaps of grain are also occasionally used to represent him.[52] The worship of idols is always difficult and demands great attention. The slightest mistake or oversight exposes the adorer to the wrath of the offended deity,

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[52] Sālagrāmē maṇau yantrē, taṇḍulē pratimādiṣu,
harēḥ pūjā prakartavyā na tu kēvalabhūtalē.

The derivation of the word *Sālagrāma*, *Śālagrāma* or *Sāligrāma* is disputed. Some connect the word with the Sāl or Śāl-tree (Shorea robusta or Valeria robusta), and contend that it signifies a collection of such trees, which are said to grow in abundance in the neighbourhood of the Sālagrāmatirtha (*sālānām vṛkṣāṇām grāmaḥ*). Others assert that it signifies *sāragrāva*, the best stone, while others explain the first word of the compound *sāla* or *sāra* as formed of the prefix *sa*, with, and the noun *ara* or *ala* (for no real difference exists between *r* and *l*), spoke of a wheel, curl, *sāragrāma* or *sālagrāma* in consequence signifying a collection of spiral curls. Others again affirm that the name is connected with *ali*, bee. The *Vajrakīṭa* worm, which bores the hole in the Sālagrāma, is by some commentators taken for a bee *bhramara* or *ali*, and as the holes are occasionally found in great numbers (grāma), the stone received the name of Sāligrāma. This opinion is expressed in a ślōka of the *Pañcarātrāgama* mentioned to me by M.R.Ry. V. Tātadēśikatātācāryār:

Alayō vajrakīṭās syus tadvṛndam grāma ucyatē,
Aligrāmasamētatvāt sāligrāmas sa ucyatē.

A wrong conjecture connects it with *śaila*, rock.

who in some form, *e.g.*, as Narasiṁha, is easily disposed to get angry and to take revenge on the incautious worshipper.

The peculiar outward appearance of the Sālagrāma with its perforated hole (*chidra* or *dvāra*), its spiral convolution (*cakra*), its various colours (*varṇa*) and other striking marks offers to the untutored mind of the superstitious beholder ample scope for astonishment and wonder, and as this stone possesses besides considerable magnetic force, one need not be surprised that divine or supernatural powers are ascribed to it, and that it is regarded as a manifestation of the deity. In this light it was without doubt viewed by the aboriginal inhabitants of India long before the Aryans invaded this country, and at a later period it attracted likewise the attention of the conquering race. The several formations were eventually considered as representations of various deities, but the Aryans regarded the Sālagrāma mainly as the emblem of Viṣṇu, who is in fact the only Hindu deity actually worshipped in its shape, and who is believed to really dwell in it.[53]

The cause of the existence of so many various specimens of the Sālagrama will be easily understood, when it becomes clear, that this pebble is a much-waterworn concretion containing Ammonites and other shells such as Brachio-

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[53] Sālagrāmagirir Hariḥ, yasmāddharis sthitas tatra prādurbhāvair anēkaśaḥ.

We find also the following verses in the Padmapurāṇa:

Sālagrāmaśilāyam tu sadā Śrīkṛṣṇapūjanam,
nityam sannihitas tatra sālagrāmē jagadguruḥ . . . .
Sālagrāmaśilārūpī yatra tiṣṭhati Kēśavah,
tatra dēvāsurās sarvē bhuvanāni caturdaśa.

In the *Bṛhannāradīya* the second half is:

"na bādhantē grahās tatra bhūtavaitālakādayaḥ.
Sālagrāmaśilā yatra tatra tīrtham tapōvanam
yataḥ sannihitas tatra bhagavān Madhusūdanaḥ.

Compare also *Dēvīmāhātmya* IX, 24, 76:

Sālagrāmaśilā yatra tatra sannihitō Hariḥ
tatraiva Lakṣmīr vasati sarvatīrthasamanvita.

A great number of similar ślōkas could be quoted, but these will suffice.

pods. It is represented in three different formations; either as an unbroken pebble, or as one so broken that the fossil shell can be seen inside, or it is merely an outer fragment of the pebble, which shows in its interior the impression of the surface of the shell it previously surrounded.[54]

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[54] See *A voyage to the East Indies and China*, translated from the French of Monsieur *Sonnerat*...by Francis Magnus, Calcutta, 1788, Vol. I, pp. 40—42 : "The stone of Salagraman is nothing but a petrified shell of the species of *cornes d'ammon :* the Indians suppose it represents Vichenou, because they discover nine different shades which refer to the nine incarnations of that god. It is found in the river of Cachi, one of the arms of the Ganges, it is very heavy, commonly of a black colour, and sometimes violet, the form is oval or round, a little flat, and nearly resembles a touchstone, and is shallow in the inside, there is only a small hole on the outside, but within it is almost concave, and furnished in the interior coats above and below with spiral lines, which terminate in a point towards the middle, and in many these two points touch. Some Indians imagine it is a small worm which works upon the stone in this manner to prepare a habitation for Vichenou. Others have found in these spiral lines the figure of his chakram. These stones are very rare, and the Brahmans fix a great value on them, when they represent the gracious transformations of Vichenou, but when they border a little on the violet, they denote his incarnations in the form of a man, a lion, a wild boar, &c. When that is the case, no follower of this god dares to keep them in his house; the Saniassis alone are bold enough to carry them and to make the daily ceremonies to them. They are kept also in the temples."

Compare the *Miscellaneous Essays* by H. T. Colebrooke, London, 1873. Vol. I, p. 173, Note 1, in the article on "the religious ceremonies of the Hindus and of the Brahmins specially." "The śālagrāmas are black stones found in a part of the Gaṇḍakī river, within the limits of Nepal. They are mostly round and are commonly perforated in one or more places by worms, or, as the Hindus believe by Vishṇu in the shape of a reptile. According to the number of perforations and of spiral curves in each, the stone is supposed to contain Vishṇu in various characters . . . In like manner stones are found in the Narmadā, near Onhār māndāttā, which are considered as types of Śiva, and are called Bānling. The śālagrāma is found upon trial not to be calcareous, it strikes fire with steel and scarcely at all effervesces with acids." Read also Colonel Wilford's articles on the ancient Geography of India in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XIV, pp. 414, 415 : "There are four stones, which are styled *Śaila-māyā*, and are accordingly worshipped, whenever they are found. The first is the *Śaila*, or stone just mentioned (*Śailagrāma*); the second, which is found abundantly in the river *Soṇa*, is a figured stone, of a reddish colour, with a supposed figure of *Gaṇēśā* in the shape of an elephant, and commonly called

In consequence of this fundamental difference a great number of varieties exist, which are arranged into various classes according to the colour (*varṇa*), curl (*cakra*), hole (*bila* or *chidra*), shape (*mūrti*), size (*sthūlasukṣmavibhēda*), circumference (*parimāṇa*), measure (*pramāṇa*), base (*āsana*), line (*mudrā*), separate portions (*avayava*), &c., of the Sālagrāma. Another division is made according to their *habitat*, or place of their origin, whether they belong to the water or to the land, *i.e.*, whether they are *jalaja* or *sthalaja*, and their qualities vary according to this difference.[55]

Ganēśa-cā-pathar: the third, is found in the *Narmmada*; and the fourth, is a single stone of rock, which is the *Śaila-māyā*, of the third part of the bow of *Paraśurāma*, after it had been broken by *Rāmachandra*. It is still to be seen, about seven Cos to the N. E. of *Janaca-pura* in *Tairabhucta*, at a place called *Dhanucā-grāma*, or the village of the bow, occasionally called *Śaila-māyā-pur*, or *grāma*, according to the *Bhūvana-cośa*."

In a letter read at the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in October 1830, Dr. Gerard of Subathu observed that he had discovered in a lofty position (15,000 feet) of the Himalaya range, an extensive fossil tract of shell formation of which he describes four classes, and of the fourth thus writes: "Belemnites and Orthoceratites mineralized by the same material as the Ammonites (iron clay and pyrites). Their abundance in the beds of mountain torrents, especially the Gundak, has been long known, as they form an indispensable article in the *sacra* of the Hindu *Thakoordwaree*, under the name of Salagrama" (see Charles Coleman's Mythology of the Hindus, London, 1832, p. 176). Compare the Memorandum on the fossil shells discovered in the Himalayan mountains, by the Rev. R. Everest in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 107—114, and Observations on the Spiti Valley by Surgeon J. G. Gerard in the same volume, pp. 238—277, where we read on pp. 276, 277; that "before crossing the boundary of Ladak into Basāhīr I was gratified by the discovery of a bed of marine fossil shells resembling oysters and clinging to the back in a similar manner . . . . on the crest of a pass elevated 17,000 feet."

[55] Mudrākṣētrē parimāṇam āsanam mūrtibhēdakam,
sthūlasūkṣmavibhēdam ca cakralakṣaṇam ēva ca . . .
Varṇarūpādyavayavaiḥ pramāṇabilalāñchanaiḥ,
dvāradēśavibhēdēna bhēdaḥ kāsāñcit ucyatē . . .
Cakrākāram vinirmāṇam tatra kuryur hi sarvaśaḥ,
jalasthalamaṭham caiva taccakram trividham smṛtam.
Niṣkēsaram kīṭabhuktam taccakram maṭhasañjñakam,
idam eva dvidhā prōktam jalasthalavibhēdataḥ.

The principal marks are the curls, holes, colour and shape. The *cakras*, curls, or spiral convolutions, are of the utmost importance; they are divided into *maṭha* (cell) and *kēsara* (filament). The latter possess superior merit and are ascribed to the water within the stone in which the fabulous *vajrakīṭa* lives.[56] The varieties of curls are considerable and are credited with producing various effects in the fortunes of those who worship stones marked in such a manner. A Sālagrāma may have one to twelve such curls. The Cakranadī is the river which abounds in Sālagrāma-cakras and cakras are according to the legend even found engraved on the heads, backs and bones of the creatures who live there, on men as well as on animals.[57]

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[56] Atrāsti kāraṇam yacca tat tē samyagnigadyatē,
rasam yasyām śilāyām tu sambhuṅktē kiṭakaḥ śanaiḥ.
Prītyā tasyām prajāyēta cakram tat kēsarair yutam,
tasmāt utpadyatē cakram maṭhasañjñam phalālpadam.
Cakrābhyām ca śilā jñēyā śastāśastā vasundharē,
yatprōktam dvividham cakram tatpunar dvividham bhavēt,
jalajasthalajam caiva lakṣaṇam tasya kathyatē.
Susnigdham dīptisaṁyuktam cakram tajjalajam bhavēt,
karkaśam kṣīṇatējō yat taccakram sthalajam bhavēt.
Ētayōr jalajam śastam nadīparvatayōgataḥ,
madhyamam sthalajam prōktam parvatasyaiva yōgataḥ

[57] Cakrēṇa kambunā vā ca padmēna gadayāṅkitā,
tatra Śrīḥ pratyaham tiṣṭhēt sadā sampat tayā viśēt . . .
Samācakṣva param rūpam cakrāṇām lakṣaṇam munē,
sarvasiddhikaram caiva sarvakāmārthasādhakam.
Lakṣaṇam yacca cakrāṇām tacchṛṇuṣva mahāmunē,
dharmakāmārthamōkṣāṇām puruṣārthaikahētukam.
Gaṇḍakyāścōttarē tīrē girirājasya dakṣinē,
kṣētram tu Viṣṇusānnidhyam sarvakṣētrōttamōttamam.
Yōjanadvādaśamitam bahutīrthasamākulam,
tatra Cakranadīnāma tīrtham Brahmavinirmitam.
Tasyōttarē mahāśṛṅgam mama prītikaram tathā,
tacchāyābhigatās tatra pāṣāṇāśca Khagēśvara,
Saccihnaiścihnitāścaiva taravō dharaṇītalē,
narāṇām api pakṣīndra kiñcit kālanivasinām
Sarvāsthiṣu bhavēccakram mastakē pṛṣṭha ēva ca (*Garuḍapurāṇa*).

The Sālagrāma may be flat, long, small, oval, round, and of rough or of soft surface; one as small as an *Āmalakī* fruit (Emblic Myrobalam) is most highly esteemed.[58] Though generally black, Sālagrāmas of blue, violet, green, yellow, brown, red, white and other colours are also found. So far as the hole is concerned, those stones are particularly valued in which the width of the opening equals one-eighth of the circumference, of less value are those where it equals one-fourth, while those in which it amounts to three-eighths are held to be of indifferent value.[59]

A Sālagrāma without marks is not esteemed,[60] while every good Sālagrāma is worshipped as a sacred place or *kṣētram.*[61] Good and bad qualities are mysteriously connected with the various Sālagrāmas, the same stone can cause prosperity to one individual and destruction to another. I shall content myself with giving below a few examples of the influence ascribed to the Sālagrāma. A soft one fulfils the wishes of the worshipper, a small secures heavenly reward, a cool gives pleasure, a black fame, a red sovereignty, one with a wide hole destroys a family, one with crooked curls creates fear, one in which the cakras are arranged unevenly causes misery, a smoke-coloured makes stupid, a brown kills the wife of its owner, one with many holes turns its worshipper into a tale-bearer.[62] However, not always

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[58] Tasmāt tām pūjayēt nityam dharmakāmārthasiddhayē,
tatrāpyāmalakītulyā sūkṣmā cātīva yā tathā.

[59] Vṛttasūtrāṣṭamō bhāga uttamam cakralakṣaṇam,
madhyamam tu caturbhāgam kanīyas tu tribhāgakam (*Purāṇa-saṅgraha*).

[60] Lāñchanēna vinā yā syāt apraśastā tu sā smṛtā.

[61] Sālagrāmasya yat puṇyam kṣētram trailōkyaviśrutam,
tatrāsti ca Haris sākṣāt sarvadēvais samanvitaḥ.

[62] Compare on this subject the *Sālagrāmalakṣaṇa*, *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa-saṁvāda*, *Mērutantra*, and especially the Compendium *Śrīraṇavīrabhakti-ratnākara*.

Svīyavarṇā śilā pūjyā Brāhmaṇādyaiḥ sukhāptayē,
snigdhā śilā mantrasiddhim rūkṣāsiddhim karōti ca.

the same virtues and faults are in the various descriptions ascribed to the same kind of stones.

A Sālagrāma-stone and a Tulasī plant should be revered in every house, otherwise such a house is like a burning ground,[63] yet two Sālagrāmas together should not be worshipped in one and the same house; a similar rule applies to the liṅga.[64] A Sālagrāma should neither be bought nor sold for a certain fixed price, those who do not observe this precept go to hell.[65] He who offers a Sālagrāma as a present is regarded to have given the best

Mēcakā kīrttihā dhautāṅgāravat sa yaśōharā,
pāṇḍurūpārthaśamanī malinā pāpadhikarī.
Pītā putraphalam dadyāt āravarṇā sutān harēt,
nīlā sandiśatē lakṣmīm dhūmrabhā haratē matim.
Rōgapradā raktavarṇā sindūrābhā mahākalim,
dāridryakāriṇī vakrā samā sarvārthasādhikā.
Sthūlā nihanti caivāyuḥ sūkṣmā svalpamatim harēt,
pūjāphalam lāñchitayā niṣphalā lāñcanam vinā.
Kapilā cittavaikalyam nētrarōgañca karburā,
bhagnā bhaṅgakarī jñēyā bahucakrāpamānadā.
Lakṣaṇāntarahīnā ca dēvacakrā viyōgadā,
Vṛhanmukhī kalatraghnī vṛhaccakrā sutān harēt . . .
Cakram vā kevalam padmalāñchanam tvatha vā gadā.
Lāñchanam vanamālā vā Harir Lakṣmyā saha sthitaḥ,
tasmin gēhē na dāridryam na śōkō maraṇād bhayam.
Na caivāgnibhayam tatra grahair duṣṭair na bādhyātē,
antē mōkṣō bhayam tasya pūjanādēva nityaśaḥ.

63 Yad gṛhē nāsti tulasī sālagrāmaśilārcanam,
śmaśānasadṛśam vindyāt tadgṛham śubhavarjitam . . .
Sa dhanyaḥ puruṣō lōkē saphalam tasya jīvitam,
śālagramaśilā śuddhā gṛhē yasya ca pūjitā.

64 Gṛhē liṅgadvayam nārcyam gaṇēśatrayam ēva ca,
dvau śaṅkhau nārcayēnnityam na śaktitrayam ēva ca.
Dvē cakrē dvārakāyās tu nārcyam sūryadvayam tathā,
sālagrāmās samāḥ pūjyāḥ na dvayam tu kadācana.
Viṣamā na ca pūjyās tē viṣamē caika ēva hi,
nākṣataiḥ pūjayēt Viṣṇum na kētakyā Sadāśivam.

65 Sālagrāmaśilāyās tu mūlyam udghāṭayēt kvacit
vikrētā krayakartā vā narakē vai patēt dhruvam.

land circle.[66] It should also not be touched either by a Śūdra, or by an outcast, or by a woman.[67] The sacred stone should be carefully kept apart in a shrine, between Tulasī leaves and wrapt up in a clean cloth. It should be often perfumed and washed, the water used on such an occasion becomes sanctified and fit to be drunk as holy water. The Sālagrāma is to be plentifully supplied with milk, rice and other requisites; this is also done to test the quality and for choosing the proper stone.[68]

The head of the family should at least once a day,[69] after his morning ablutions, or at evening-dawn, offer his prayers to the Sālagrāma. Closing his eyes, he rings the bell to announce the approach of Viṣṇu and to warn the people to stand off, because the god is appearing from the Sālagrāma, which is placed on a small tray or *siṁhāsana* (throne). He supplies the burning lamps with camphor, sprinkles water on himself and on the stone, and offers to the god, while uttering his *mantras* or prayers, *arghya*, *pādya*, *ācamanīya*, *snānīya*, *pānīya* and *annādikam*.[70]

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[66] Sālagrāmaśilācakram yō dadyāt dānam uttamam,
bhūcakram tēna dattam syāt saśailavanakānanam
Yō dadāti śilām Viṣṇōḥ sālagrāmasamudbhavām,
viprāya vipramukhyāya tēnēṣṭam bahubhir makhaiḥ.

[67] Sālagrāmō na spraṣṭavyō hīnavarṇair vasundharē,
strīśūdrakarasaṁsparśō vajrasparśādhikō mataḥ.
Mōhāt yaḥ saṁspṛśēt śūdrō yōṣid vāpi kadācana,
sa patēt narakē ghōrē yāvat ābhūtasamplavam.

[68] Kṣīrē vā taṇḍulē vāpi śālagrāmam nivēśayēt,
dṛṣṭvādhikyam tayōḥ kiñcit gṛhṇīyāt buddhimān naraḥ.
It is asserted that rice and milk gain in weight, if a Sālagrāma is placed in them.

[69] Sālagrāmam Harēścihnam pratyaham pūjayēt naraḥ.

[70] Such mantras are:

"Ōm bījam svāhā sālagrāmavāsiśrīrāmaprītyarthē viniyōgaḥ. Ōm namō bhagavatē hṛdayāya namaḥ. Viṣṇavē śirasē svāhā, Sālagrāmavāsinē śikhāyai vauṣaṭ. Sarvābhīṣṭaphalapradāya kavacāya hum. Sakaladuritanivāriṇē nētratrayāya vauṣat Sālagrāmāya svāhā. Astrāya bhaṭ."

"Ōm namō bhagavatē Viṣṇavē. Sālagrāmanivāsinē sarvābhiṣṭaphalapradāya sakaladuritanivāriṇē Sālagrāmāya svāhā."

He then walks three times from the right side round the Sālagrāma, repeats the thousand names of Viṣṇu, and after finishing his prayers takes his food.

The efficiency of the stone to secure the blessings of this as well as of the next world is firmly believed in by pious Hindus.[71] In consequence of this it is shown to dying persons and water poured on the Tulasī plant is sprinkled on them through the hole of the stone in order to secure to them the benefit of dying in Kāśī;[72] even sinners when they receive it, have their sins condoned,[73] while it confers likewise pleasure on the departed Manes.[74]

The hole or opening of the Sālagrāma, which is in fact its most important feature, is ascribed to the action of the legendary insect *Vajrakīṭa*. The story goes that the divine Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu wandered once in the form of a golden bee or Vajrakīṭa on the surface of the earth. The gods seeing him whirling about with very great splendour, assumed also the shape of golden bees and approached him.

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[71] Yaḥ pūjayēt Harim cakrē sālagrāmasamudbhavē,
rājasūyasahasrēṇa tēnēṣṭam prativāsaram.
Yad āmananti Vēdāntā Brahma nirguṇam acyutam,
tatprasādō bhavēt nṛṇām sālagrāmaśilārcanāt.
Kōṭidvādaśaliṅgaiṣtu pūjitaiḥ svarṇapaṅkajaiḥ,
yat syāt dvādaśavarṣēṣu dinēnaikēna tad bhavēt.
Sālagramasamīpē tu krōśamātram samantataḥ,
kīṭakō'pi mṛtō yāti Vaikuṇṭhabhuvanam guha.

[72] Sālagrāmaśilāsparśaḥ kōṭiyajñaphalapradaḥ,
maraṇāt tatsamīpēṣu Kāśītulyaphalam bhavēt.

[73] Api pāpasamācārāḥ karmaṇyanadhikāriṇaḥ,
Sālagrāmārcakā vaiśya naiva yānti yamālayam.
Kāmaiḥ krōdhair madair lōbhair vyāptō yō'tra narādhipa,
sō'pi yāti Harēr lōkam sālagrāmaśilārcanāt.
Sālagrāmaśilām dṛṣṭvā yānti pāpānyanēkaśaḥ,
siṁhān dṛṣṭvā yathā yānti vanē mṛgagaṇā bhayāt.

[74] Sālagrāmaśilāgrē tu yaḥ śrāddham kurutē naraḥ,
bhavanti pitaras tṛptāḥ kālasaṅkhyā tu naiva hi.

This ślōka occurs in the Matsyapurāṇa, it is also found in the Padmapurāṇa where, however, the second half is as follows: pitaras tasya tiṣṭhanti tṛptāḥ kalpaśatam divi.

The world surrounded by the swarm of bees was set a-whirling and whirled about to such an extent that Viṣṇu afraid of the consequences, assumed the shape of a rock and stopped the moving of Garuḍa and of the gods, upon which Garuḍa entered into a big hole of the rock, followed by all the gods as bees, who made themselves each a separate tenement for the conversion of the infidels.[75]

Lieutenant-Colonel F. Wilford[76] says in his essay *On the ancient Geography of India*: "The origin of this rocky "hill is connected with a most strange legend, which I shall "give in the abstract. *Vishnu*, unwilling to subject him-"self to the dreaded power, and influence, of the ruler of "the planet *Saturn*, and having no time to lose, was obliged "to have recourse to his *Māyā*, or illusive powers, which are "very great, and he suddenly became a rocky mountain.[77]

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[75] Hiraṇyagarbhō bhagavān ādyō Nārāyaṇaḥ svayam,
vajrakiṭaḥ prabhūtatvāccacāra vasudhātalē.
Sauvarṇam bhramaram dṛṣṭvā dēvās tadrūpadhāriṇaḥ,
upatasthur mahātmānam bhramantam atitējasam ;
Ṣaḍaṅghribhir jagatsarvam vyāptam ētaccarācaram,
hiraṇyagarbhabhramarair bhrāmitam bhrāntavat sadā.
Dṛṣṭvā jagatpatir Viṣṇur Vainatēyam sanātanaḥ,
rurōdha śailarūpēṇa jagatām hitakārakaḥ.
Niruddhavēgaḥ sahasā pravivēśa vilam mahat,
tasmin praviṣṭē bhramarās tadvilam viviśuḥ śubham.
Cakrus svam svam mahat vēśma kōśākāravat ātmanaḥ.
nāstikānām pratyayārtham vajrakīṭāḥ ṣaḍaṅghrayaḥ (*Dharmasaṁhitā*).

[76] See *Asiatic Researches and Transactions*, Vol. XIV, p. 414 (Calcutta, 1822

[77] In *A view of the history, literature, and religion of the Hindoos* by the Rev. W. Ward (Madras, 1863) a similar story is given on pp. 174, 175: "The reason why this stone has been deified is thus given in the Shreebhagnvutu:—Vishnoo created the nine planets to preside over the fates of men. Shunee (Saturn) commenced his reign by proposing to Brumha, that he should first come under his influence for twelve years. Brumha referred him to Vishnoo, but this god, equally averse to be brought under the dreaded influence of this inauspicious planet, desired Saturn to call upon him the next day, and immediately assumed the form of a mountain. The next day Saturn was not able to find Vishnoo, but discovering that

" This is called *Śaila-māyā, of a rocky mountain the illusive* "*form,* but *Saturn* soon found him out, and in the shape " of a worm, forced himself through, gnawing every part " of this illusive body. For one year of *Saturn* was *Vishnu* " thus tormented, and through pain and vexation, he " sweated most profusely, as may be supposed, particularly " about the temples, from which issued two copious streams, " the *Crishna* or black, and the *Swéta-Gandácí* or white " Gandácí; the one to the east, and the other to the west. " After one revolution of *Saturn, Vishnu* resumed his own " shape, and ordered this stone to be worshipped, which of " course derives its divine right from itself, without any " previous consecration, as usual in all countries in which " images are worshipped."

The stories told by Colonel Wilford and Rev. W. Ward about Saturn I have not been able to find as yet in any Purāṇa. The Rev. W. Ward is, I think, wrong in ascribing his version to the Śrībhāgavatapurāṇa. My suspicion is that both accounts are made up from different sources and that a legend of Viṣṇu as Mōhinī forms the real basis of the narrative of Colonel Wilford.

In another Sanskrit tale the gods became Vajrakīṭas through the curse of Gaṇḍakī, who in her turn was cursed into becoming a black sluggish river,[78] an allusion per-

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he had united himself to mount Gundukee, he entered the mountain in the form of a worm called vajrukeetu (thunderbolt worm). He continued thus to afflict the mountain-formed Vishnoo for twelve years, when Vishnoo assumed his proper shape, and commanded that the stones of this mountain should be worshipped, and should become proper representatives of himself; adding that each should have twenty-one marks in it, similar to those on his body, and that its name should be shalgramu."

[78] "Kīṭayōnim prapadyēthā" iti gaṇḍakyāḥ surān prati śāpē. Tēna karmavipākēna jaḍā kṛṣṇā nadī bhavēti dēvānām gaṇḍakīm prati śāpē ca jāte Viṣṇunā tatsamādhānāyōktam tathā:

Śṛṇu Brahman, Mahādēva! Śṛṇu dēva Gajānana;
sadguṇau brāhmaṇau grāhamātaṅgau śāpatō' tra vai.
Bhaviṣyatas tayōr mōkṣam bhaviṣyāmi kalēvaram,
śīrṇam bhaviṣyati yadā tanmēdōmajjasambhavāḥ,

haps to the Kṛṣṇa Gaṇḍakī mentioned above. Brahman and Śiva in fact assumed the form of Vajrakīṭas from the marrow and fat of a decayed body, but eventually the curse was removed through the agency of Viṣṇu, the gods resumed their previous forms, and Gaṇḍakī became a pure and sacred river.

The Sālagrāma-stone is in its various forms or *mūrtis* dedicated to the several deities and these forms have special names. The *Bairāgis* or wandering mendicants make the study of these various species their particular business, so much so that they are regarded as the proper authorities in this matter. Except an insignificant minority, all these shapes are dedicated to Viṣṇu, and in many instances more than one variety is ascribed to one and the same kind. There exist thus, so far as I know, 16 varieties of the Kṛṣṇa-Sālagrāma, 13 of Nṛsiṁha, 12 of Rāma, 9 of Nārāyaṇa, 6 of Gōpāla, 4 of Kūrma, Varāha and Sudarśana respectively, 3 of Balarāma, and 2 each of Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Dāmōdara and Vāsudēva. Six and occasionally more shapes are ascribed to Śiva, 5 to Brahman, 2 to Viṣṇu and Śiva collectively, and one each to the Trimūrti, Nara, Lakṣmī, Śēṣa, Sūrya, Guha, Dattātrēya, Kārtavīryārjuna, Dharmarāja, Gaṇēśa, Kuṇḍalinī, and to the five household deities (pañcāyatanamūrtayaḥ *i.e.*, to Aditya, Ambikā, Viṣṇu, Gaṇēśa and Mahēśvara).[79]

Pāṣāṇāntargatāḥ kīṭā vajrākhyāḥ prabhaviṣyatha.

See *Vāchaspatya*, compiled by Tārānātha Tarkavāchaspati, Vol. IV, p. 6000 under Śālagrāma.

[79] The names of these mūrtis of the Sālagrāma are .

1, those of Viṣṇu : Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Śvētavarāha, Lakṣmīvarāha, Bhū (Dharaṇi) varāha, Suddhavarāha, Nṛsiṁha, Vidāraṇa Nṛsiṁha, Rākṣasāntakanṛsiṁha, Aghōranṛsiṁha, Mahāṇṛsiṁha, Vivṛtāsyanṛsiṁha, Kukṣinṛsiṁha, Hāranṛsiṁha, Vibhīṣaṇanṛsiṁha, Adhōmukhanṛsiṁha, Kapilanṛsiṁha, Bālanṛsiṁha, Lakṣmīnṛsiṁha, Vāmana, Dadhivāmana, Śāntaparaśurāma, Ugraparaśurāma, Rāmamūrti, Daśaratharāma, Sītārāma, Tārakabrahmasītārāma, Daśakaṇṭhakulāntakarāma. Vīrarāma, Vijayarāma, Hṛṣṭarāma, Kōdaṇḍarāma, Kalināśakararāma, Śrīrāma, Padābhirāma, Sīrapāṇi, Balarāma, Pralambhaghna, Bauddha, Kalki,

Kuṇḍalinī or Śakti is the same as Bhavānī, and to her two varieties are ascribed. It is even said that Mahādēvī resides in the Sālagrāma.[80] The Sālagrāma-stone is found in Nepal in the upper course of the river Gaṇḍakī, also known as Sālagrāma, and marked on the maps as Sālagrāma river,

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Kēśava, Nārāyaṇa (Mahānārāyaṇa), Śyāmalanārāyaṇa, Lakṣmīnārayāṇa, Naranārāyaṇa, Rūpanārāyaṇa, Vīranārāyaṇa, Māyānārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Gōvinda, Viṣṇu, Mahāviṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Dadhivāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣikēśa, Padmanābha, Dāmōdara, Lakṣmīdāmōdara, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudēva, Śāntavāsudēva, Pradyumma, Aniruddha, Puruṣōttama, Adhōkṣaja, Acyuta, Janārdana, Upēndra, Hari, Kṛṣṇa, Bālakṛṣṇa, Gōpālakṛṣṇa, Gōvardhanakṛṣṇa, Trailōkyamōhanakṛṣṇa, Saubhāgyavaradakṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇīkṛṣṇa, Vijayakṛṣṇa, Cūḍāmaṇikṛṣṇa, Sanātanakṛṣṇa, Dhanañjayakṛṣṇa, Pārijātaharakṛṣṇa, Syamantakaharakṛṣṇa, Kaṁsamardanakṛṣṇa, Kāliyamardanakṛṣṇa, Cāṇūramardanakṛṣṇa, Gōvardhanagōpāla, Śrīgōpāla, Santānagōpāla, Lakṣmīgōpāla, Madanagōpāla, Vaṁśagōpāla, Gōvardhanadhara, Vaikuṇṭha, Hayagrīva, Caturbhuja, Puṇḍarīkākṣa, Sudarśana, Śuddhasudarśana Ubhayasudarśana, Samasudarśana, Yōgēśvara, Viṣṇupañjara, Yajñamūrti, Śiṁśumāra, Haṁsa, Paramahaṁsa, Lakṣmīpati, Garuḍadhvaja, Vaṭapatraśāyin, Śēṣaśāyin, Viśvambhara, Pītāmbharadhara, Satyavīraśravas, Amṛtaharaṇa, Garuḍa, Vanamālin, Murāri, Mukunda, Śrīvatsalāñchana, Dharaṇidhara, Yōgarāja, Śrīmūrti, Śrīsahāya, Dēvadēva, Kapila, Avyaya, Kṣīrābhiśāyin, Musalāyudha, Cakrapāṇi, Bahurūpa, Jagadyōni, Viṣvaksēna, Haihaya, &c.

II, those of Siva: Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva, Aghōra, Tatpuruṣa, Īśāna, Sarvasañjña, Śaṅkara, Candraśēkhara, Sivanābha, Bhava, Tryambaka, Dhūrjaṭi, Śambhu, Īśvara, Mṛtyuñjaya and Rudra.

III, those of Brahman: Paramēṣṭhin, Pitāmaha, Hiraṇyagarbha, Svayambhū and Caturmukha.

IV, the two mūrtis ascribed to Viṣṇu, and Śiva collectively are Harihara and Śivanārāyaṇa.

[80] Sālagrāmān, athō vakṣyē śaktikīṭasamudbhavān,
yēṣām pūjanato dēvī *Bhavānī* suprasīdati.
Śrīvidyā sā talē cakramūrdhni chatram pradṛśyatē,
vāhyē ghaṇṭāṅkitā mūrdhnā snigdhā śyāmākhilēṣṭadā.
Mahākālī tu sā jñēyā yōnicihnasamanvitā,
dvicchidrādhyā sarvaśilā trikōṇēnāṅkitā ca yā.
Yadāyudhākṛtiścōrdhvam tām dēvīm tatra nirdiśēt,
dēvīśilā sucakrā yā dakṣamārgēṇa tām yajēt;
Sārjitā vāmamārgēṇa lōkadvayasukhāvahā,
yā cakrarahitā dēvīśilām tām vamatō'rcayēt.

See *Matsyapurāṇa* XIII, 34 C:
Sālagrāmē mahādēvi śivaliṅgē śivapriyā.

a northern tributary of the Ganges. The special portion of the stream where the most valuable and most efficacious stones are found is distinguished by the name of Cakranadī, and said to be twelve yōjanas north of the lower Gaṇḍakī. The whole neighbourhood is highly esteemed and famous for its sanctity, so that a visit to the Sālagrāmatīrtha confers great merit on a man. The mighty king Bharata, however, was disappointed, for he did not obtain the desired happiness by staying in this place. The Gaṇḍakī was known to the ancients as Kondochates, as I have already mentioned elsewhere.[81]

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[81] See p. 114, N. 10, where I hinted that a connection may exist between the name of the river and that of the Gand (Gond) aborigines. Compare also the *Indische Alterthumskunde* von Christian Lassen, Vol. I, Zweite Auflage, 1867, p. 75·

"Der Hauptarm des Flusses entspringt bei Mastang auf dem Platean-Lande im Norden des *Dhavalagiri*, zwischen welchem und dem *Śvētaghara* er die höchste Kette durchbricht; an ihm ist ein Pass nach Tibet. In seinem obern Laufe bringt er *Śālagrāma* oder Ammoniten-Petrefacte mit sich, in denen der Indische Glaube Verkörperungen des *Vishnu* erblickt; daher seine Heiligkeit und der starke Besuch seiner Wallfahrtsorte; auch wird er selbst *Śālagrāmī* genannt und mit einem Namen des Gottes: *Nārājani;* wie bei der Jamunā und Gangā sind auch an seinem Ursprunge heisse Quellen. Er ist der Hauptstrom des Landes *Nepāl* im weitern Sinne. Das Gebiet ihm im Westen bis zur Rapti heist *Pārvata*, d. h. Bergland, oder *Malajabhūmi*, derselben Bedentung; darunter nach Suden liegt das Gebiet Kaohi. (*Kālagaṇḍikā*, in *Rāj. Tar.* IV, 545, die schwarze Gaṇḍika, wenn nicht etwas anderes darin liegt)." Read also Col. Wilford's: *On the ancient Geography of India,* Asiatic Researches, Vol. XIV, pp. 412, 413, 115: "The *Gaṇḍacī* or *Gaṇḍacāvatī* is called *Gandac* in the spoken dialects, and it is the *Condochates* of *Megasthenes* . . . The name of this stone is written *Śālagrām*, *Śailagrām*, *Śailachacra*, and *Gandacī-Śilā*. People, who go in search of the Sālagrām, travel as far as a place called *Thácca-cote* at the entrance nearly of the snowy mountains. To the south of it is a village, where they stop, and procure provisions. This village was probably called *Śailapur* or *Śailagrām*, from its situation near a *Śaila* or rocky hill, and from it this famous stone was denominated *Śailagrām*, as well as the river. *Thāccā* is mentioned in *Arrowsmith's* map. The river *Gaṇḍacā* is so called because it proceeds from a mountain of that name. The people of *Naypála* call it *Guṇḍacī* because it proceeds from the *Cuṇḍa-sthala* or the two

Various legends are told about Gaṇḍakī, who appears in different guises as a deity, an Apsaras in the heaven of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu, as the wife of an Asura, as identical with Tulasī or Vṛndā, and as a river. The Śrīdēvībhāgavata contains these stories in different places, and I have put these accounts here together into one narrative, in order to point out their connection with one another.

Tulasī (or *Gaṇḍakī* according to other accounts) lived as a Gōpī in Gōlōka, the heaven of Kṛṣṇa, who was very fond of her. Rasēśvarī (or Rādhī), another favorite wife of the god, saw once that Tulasī was dissatisfied with her husband, and, angry about it, cursed her into becoming a mortal.[82]

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cavities, or depressions of the temples of *Vishnu*, in the shape of a mountain, as I observed before."

Daśayōjanavistīrṇē mama kṣētrē dvijōttama,
uttarē caiva digbhāgē pramāṇam yōjanam tathā.
Sānunāmā parvatastu cakranāmāṅkitā nadī,
Viṣṇunāmāṁśakōtthāni mama rūpāṇi sarvataḥ,
Trikālam śikharīkūṭaścāpsarōgaṇasēvitaḥ,
Śailamūrtir aham tatra cakrākhyam tu ca yam viduḥ.
Ṣōḍaśair upacārais tu tatrārcām saṁvidhāya ca,
gāndharvair vividhaiścaiva saṁstūya Madhusūdanam, &c.—
(*Padmapurāṇa*).

" Gaṇḍakyāścōttarē tīrē girirājasya dakṣiṇē,
kṣētram tu Viṣṇusānnidhyāt sarvakṣētrōttamōttamam,
Yōjanadvādaśamitam bahutīrthasamākulam,
tatra Cakranadīnāmatīrtham Brahmavinirmitam.
Tasyōttarē mahāśṛṅgam mama prītikaram tathā,
taccbāyābhigatās tatra pāṣāṇāśca Khagēśvara."

(*Garuḍapurāṇa*), see p. 341, n. 57. The *Śālagrāmalakṣaṇa* contains also these verses up to *Brahmavinirmitam* or *Brahmaviniścitam* and then continues as follows :

Hiraṇyam vajrakīṭēna nirmitaiścakrasañcayaiḥ,
Sālagrāmaśilās tatra tīrthē tiṣṭhanti saṁyutāḥ.
Cakraiścihnaiśca gacchanti nānāmūrtinidhim priyē,
mūrtibhēdā nigadyantē tatraikāśītināmakāḥ.
Brāhmyaḥ Śaivyō madīyāśca varadānāt samudbhavāḥ,
tāsu mūrtiṣu yā labdhāḥ tatra pūjām carēt budhaḥ.

[82] See *Dēvībhāgavata* IX, 17, 24—26 :

24 Rasēśvarī samāgatya dadarśa rasamaṅgalē,
gōvindam bhartsayāmāsa mām śaśāpa ruṣānvitā,

Rādhā had likewise cursed a Gōpa called Sudāman, an admirer of Tulasī, causing him to leave heaven and become an Asura.[83] Kṛṣṇa consoled Tulasī, who was aggrieved at the curse, by saying, that, through doing severe penance in her next birth, Brahman would grant her a boon in making her the wife of a person containing a portion (*aṁśa*) of himself (Kṛṣṇa), and that eventually she would obtain her desire to be reunited with the god Nārāyaṇa. In due time Tulasī was re-born in this world as the beautiful and highly gifted daughter of king *Dharmadhvaja* and queen *Mādhavī*, and she went immediately to the Badarī forest to commence a most severe penance, in order to obtain Nārāyaṇa as her husband, sitting in the hot summer season between five fires, and during the rainy season in wet clothes night and day exposed to the pouring rain. Altogether her penance lasted one hundred thousand divine years, during 20,000 of which she fed on fruit and water, 30,000 on leaves, 40,000 with an empty stomach on air, and 10,000 on nothing, while standing on one foot. A similar penance is undergone by the sage *Upamanyu*, for the sake of Mahādēva whom he wished to see and whom he placed above all the gods, as the Liṅga of no other god but that of Śiva receives worship. To obtain this desire Upamanyu stood for a thousand years on the tip of his left toe, living for the first three hundred years, first on fruit, then on

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25 Yāhi tvam mānavīm yōnim ityēvam ca śaśāpa ha,
mām uvāca sa Gōvindō madaṁśam ca caturbhujam.

26 Labhiṣyasi tapas taptvā bhāratē Brahmaṇō varāt,
ityēvam uktvā dēvēśō'pyantardhānam cakāra saḥ.

About Tulasī possessing a superior portion of Prakṛti, see *ibidem* IX, 1, 63—70. Rādhā, the favourite of Kṛṣṇa is in the Dēvībhāgavata IX, 1, 44—57 described as one of the five representatives of Śakti.

[83] See *ibidem* IX, 17, 28*b*—29; see p. 354, note 85:

28*b* Sudāmā nāma gōpaśca śrīkṛṣṇāṅgasamudbhavaḥ.

29 Tadaṁśaścātitējasvī lēbhē janma ca bhāratē,
sāmpratam Rādhikāśāpāt danuvaṁśasamudbhavaḥ.

withered leaves and lastly on water, and for the remaining seven hundred on air.[84]

[84] See *Dēvībhāgavata* IX, 17, 14—19*a* :

14 Sarvair niṣiddhā tapasē jagāma Badarīvanam,
tatra dēvābdalakṣam ca cakāra paramam tapaḥ.
15 Manasā Nārāyaṇassvāmī bhavitēti ca niścitā,
grīṣmē pañcatapāśśītē tōyavastrā ca prāvṛṣi
16 Āsanasthā vṛṣṭidhārās sahantīti divāniśam.
Viṁśatsahasravarṣam ca phalatōyāśanā ca sā
17 Triṁśatsahasravarṣam ca patrāhārā tapasvinī,
catvāriṁśatsahasrābdam vāyvāhārā kṛśōdarī.
18 Tatōdaśasahasrābdam nirāhārā babhūva sā,
nirlakṣām caikapādasthām dṛṣṭvā tām Kamalōdbhavaḥ.
19 Samāyayau varam dātum param Badarikāśramam.

Compare with this Gaṇḍakīpurāṇa :

(Nārada uvāca) : Śrōtum icchāmi dēvēśa Sālagrāmasya lakṣaṇam,
sarvasiddhipradātavyam sarvakāmaprasādhakam.
Karmasthānē samutpannāḥ kē ca kāḥ kaiśca pūjitāḥ,
pūjitaiḥ kim phalāvāptir vidhānam tasya kīdṛśam.
(Brahmōvāca) : Divyavarṣasahasram tu ārādhya puruṣōttamam,
tatas tutōṣa bhagavān varadō mē mahāmunē.
Pañcāśatkōṭivistīrṇam bhūcakram Harinirmitam,
saptadvīpāt tu tacchrēṣṭham Jambūdvīpam iti smṛtam.
Navakhaṇḍāt tu tacchrēṣṭham Bhāratam varṣam uttamam,
himasētū tayōr madhyē karmabhūmir ihōcyatē.
Sarvadēvāśrayā bhūmir bhōgamōkṣapradāyinī,
sarvōttamōttamakṣētram sarvatīrthaniṣēvitam.
Darśanasparśanāt vā syāt sāynjyapadam āpnuyāt,
mahatā tapasā caiva prītō bhavati Mādhavaḥ.
Ajñānuddhāraṇārthāya sālagrāmaśilāpyabhūt,
Gaṇḍakyāścōttarē ramyē girirājasya dakṣiṇē.
Daśayōjanavistīrṇam Harikṣētram dvijōttama,
nīlavarṇā tu niṣkrāntā cakranāmāṅkitā nadī.
Viṣṇupādāmbujāt bhūtvā mahāpātakanāśanī,
sadākālam sthitō Viṣṇus tattīrthē saritō munē.
Tatraiva tatsthitā cakrā nābhidvitricaturyutā,
tatra tīrthē dvija śrēṣṭha sadā sannihitō Hariḥ.

See *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsanaparva, XIV, 168—70 :

Tatō'ham tapa āsthāya tōṣayāmāsa Śaṅkaram,
ēkam varṣasahasram tu vāmāṅguṣṭhāgraviṣṭhitaḥ.
Ēkam varṣaśatam caiva phalāhāras tatō'bhavam,
dvitīyam śīrṇaparṇāśī tṛtīyam cāmbubhōjanaḥ.
Śatānām sapta caivāham vāyubhakṣas tadābhavam,
ēkam varṣasahasram tu divyam ārādhitō mayā. . . .

Brahman at last appeared, listened to Tulasī's request, and told her that she would in the form of the Tulasī plant be united with Nārāyaṇa, but would previously become the wife of Śaṅkhacūḍa, who as Sudāman had lived in the Gōlōka and had also there made a severe penance in the Badarī forest.[85] Tulasī was well pleased with the answer Brahman gave her, but still fearing Rādhā, asked and obtained a mantra consisting of sixteen syllables as protection. She then became the wife of Śaṅkhacūḍa for the period of a manvantara. This Asura had meanwhile by his power, founded on a promise given to him by Brahman as a reward of his penance, subdued all the gods and sages, and had oppressed them to such an extent, that in their despair they went to Brahman for protection. He took them to Śiva, and all went to Viṣṇu who was in Vaikuṇṭha. Viṣṇu told them the story of Tulasī and Śaṅkhacūḍa, and gave to Śiva a lance or śūla with which to kill the Asura. Śiva, however, could do this only if the Asura was deprived of his talisman or *kavaca*, which the Asura wore always round his neck, as upon his wearing it, depended his power and his life. In the disguise of a Brāhman, Viṣṇu then visited

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[85] See *Dēvībhāgavata* IX, 17, 30—36.—I translate here *kavaca* by talisman and not by armour.

30 Śaṅkhacūḍa iti khyātas trailōkyē na ca tatsamaḥ,
gōlōkē tvām purā dṛṣṭvā kāmōnmathitamānasaḥ,

31 Vilambitum na śaśāka Rādikāyāḥ prabhāvataḥ,
sa ca jātismaras tasmāt Sudāmābhūcca sāgarē.

32 Jātismarā tvam api sā sarvam jānāsi sundari,
adhunā tasya patnī tvam sambhaviṣyasi śōbhanē.

33 Pascāt Nārāyaṇam śāntam kāntam ēva variṣyasi,
śāpāt Nārāyaṇasyaiva kalayā daivayōgataḥ,

34 Bhaviṣyasi vṛkṣarūpā tvam pūtā viśvapāvanī,
pradhānā sarvapuṣpēṣu Viṣṇuprāṇādhikā bhavēḥ,

35 Tvayā vinā ca sarvēṣām pūjā ca viphalā bhavēt,
Bṛndāvanē vṛkṣarūpā nāmnā Bṛndāvanīti ca

36 Tvatpatraīr gōpigōpāśca pūjayiṣyanti Mādhavam,
vṛksādhidēvīrūpēṇa sārdham Kṛṣṇēna santatam.

the demon, and obtained from him the protecting *kavaca.*[86] As soon as Śaṅkhacūḍa was thus deprived of his talisman, Śiva attacked him with the śūla, but the Asura knowing that his life had come to an end, prayed to Kṛṣṇa, and after his death reassumed his previous state as the Gōpa Sudāman in the Gōlōka. The bones of Śaṅkhacūḍa moreover turned to conches or śaṅkhas, which were henceforth deemed so sacred, that Hari and Laksmī are said to reside in all the places where śaṅkhas are found.[87]

Viṣṇu had meanwhile assumed the outward appearance of Śaṅkhacūḍa and had gone to the house where Tulasī resided.[88] She, believing him to be her husband, received

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86 See *ibidem* IX, 19, 87—91 :

87 Ityēvam Śaṅkhacūdaśca punastatraiva yāsyati,
mahābaliṣṭhō yōgēśas sarvamāyāviśāradaḥ.

88 Mama śūlam gṛhītvā ca śīghram gacchata Bhāratam,
Śivaḥ karōtu saṁhāram mama śūlēna rākṣasaḥ.

89 Mamaiva kavacam kaṇṭhē sarvamaṅgalakārakam,
bibharti dānavas śaśvat saṁsārē vijayī tataḥ.

90 Tasmin Brahmasthitēnaiva na kō'pi hiṁsitum kṣamaḥ,
tad yācanām kariṣyāmi viprarūpō'ham ēva ca.

91 Satītvahānis tatpatnyā yatra kālē bhaviṣyati,
tatraiva kālē tadmṛtyur iti dattō varas tvayā.

87 See *ibidem* IX, 23, 23—28 :

23 Atha śūlam ca vēgēna prayayau tam ca sādaram,
asthibhis Śaṅkhacūḍasya śaṅkhajātir babhūva ha.

24 Nānāprakārarūpēṇa śaśvat pūtā surārcanē,
praśastam Śaṅkhatōyam ca dēvānām prītidam param.

25 Tīrthatōyasvarūpam ca pavitram Śambhunā vinā,
Śaṅkhaśabdō bhavēt yatra tatra Lakṣmīs susaṁsthirā.

26 Sa snātas sarvatīrthēṣu yas snātas śaṅkhavāriṇā,
śaṅkhō Harēr adhiṣṭhānam yatra śaṅkhas tatō Hariḥ.

27 Tatraiva vasatē Lakṣmīr dūrībhūtam amaṅgalam,
strīṇām ca śaṅkhadhvanibhis śūdrāṇām ca viśēṣataḥ.

28 Bhītaruṣṭā yāti Lakṣmīs tatsthalāt anyadēśataḥ.
Śivō'pi dānavam hatvā Śivalōkam jagāma ha.

The *Indian Antiquary* contains in Vol. XVI, pp. 154—156, a popular version of this legend, in which the hero is called Jālandhara and Tulasī appears as Vṛndā.

88 See *ibidem* IX, 24, 2*b*—3*a* :

2*b* Śaṅkhacūḍasya kavacam gṛhītvā Viṣṇumāyayā,
3*a* punar vidhāya tadrūpam jagāma tatsatīgṛham.

him with all the affection due to him as such, but eventually discovered that she had been deceived by an impostor, and in her rage, owing to his hard-heartedness, she cursed him so that he became a stone. Viṣṇu had great difficulty in appeasing her, aud in proving that whatever had happened, was due to previous fate, which had destined her to become the wife of Śaṅkhacūḍa in order to obtain afterwards Nārāyaṇa as her husband, which she had herself desired in her previous birth; for after her death, which was imminent, her body would become the river Gaṇḍakī, and her hair would be turned into the Tulasī plant. Viṣṇu, moreover, reunited with her in the Gaṇḍakī river, would be with her in the form of the Sālagrāma-stone, while the Gaṇḍakī would become a pure and holy stream, and kuown as such throughout the world.[89]

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[89] See *ibidem* IX, 24, 23*b*—25*a*, 28—36, 56—58:

23*b* Hē nātha tē dayā nāsti pāṣāṇ asadṛśasya ca,
24 chalēna dharmabhaṅgēna mama svāmī tvayā hataḥ,
Pāṣāṇahṛdayas, tvam hi dayāhīnō yataḥ prabhō.
25 Tasmāt pāṣāṇarūpas tvam bhavē dēva bhavādhunā . . . .
28 (Śrībhagavān: Tapas tvayā kṛtam bhadrē madarthē Bhāratē ciram,
tvadarthē Śaṅkhacūḍaśca cakāra suciram tapaḥ.
29 Kṛtvā tvām kāminīm sō'pi vijahāra ca tatkṣaṇāt,
adhunā dātum ucitam tavaiva tapasaḥ phalam.
30 Idam śarīram tyaktvā ca divyadēham vidhāya ca,
Rāmē rama mayā sārdham tvam Ramāsadṛśī bhava.
31 Iyam tanur nadīrūpā Gaṇḍakīti ca viśrutā;
pūtā supuṇyadā nṛṇām puṇyē bhavatu Bhāratē.
32 Tava kēśasamūḍhaśca puṇyavṛkṣō bhaviṣyati,
Tulasīkēśasambhūtā tulasīti ca viśrutā.
33 Triṣu lōkēṣu puṣpāṇām patrāṇām dēvapūjanē,
pradhānarūpā Tulasī bhaviṣyati varānanē.
34 Svargē martyē ca pātālē gōlōkē mama sannidhau,
bhava tvam Tulasī vṛkṣavarā puṣpēṣu sunnadī.
35 Gōlōkē virajātīrē rāsē bṛndāvanē vanē,
Bhāṇḍīrē Campakavanē ramyē candanakānanē
36 Mādhavī kētakī kunda mālikā mālatīvanē,
vāsas tē'traiva bhavatu puṇyasthānēṣu puṇyadaḥ . .

In fact the other Purāṇas pay more attention to the penance of Gaṇḍakī than to that of Tulasī, the object of both being so far the same, as both penances are undertaken to obtain Viṣṇu as a husband. In the Varāhapurāṇa, however, Gaṇḍakī expresses a wish to become the mother of Viṣṇu and the same desire is mentioned in the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇasaṁvāda.[90] The Padmapurāṇa contains a story according to which Indra sent the nymph *Mañjuvāc*[91] to disturb the penance of the sage *Vēdaśiras*, who

56 Aham ca śailarūpēṇa Gaṇḍakītīrasannidhau
adhiṣṭhānam kariṣyāmi Bhāratē tava śāpataḥ.
57 Kōṭisaṅkhyās tatra kiṭās tīkṣṇadaṁṣṭrā varāyudhaiḥ,
tacchailakuharē cakram kariṣyanti madīyakam.
58 Ēkadvāram catuscakram vanamālāvibhūṣitam,
navīnanīradākāram Lakṣmīnārāyaṇābhidham.

[90] Gaṇḍakyāpi purā taptam varṣāṇām ayutam vidhē.
Śīrṇaparṇāśanam kṛtvā vāyubhakṣāpyanantaram.
Divyam varṣaśatam tēpē Viṣṇum cintayatī tadā.
Tataḥ sākṣājjagannāthō Harir bhaktajanapriyaḥ.
Uvāca madhuram vākyam prītaḥ praṇatavatsalaḥ,
Gaṇḍaki tvam prasannō'smi tapasā vismitō'naghē . . .
Tatō himāṁśō, sā dēvī Gaṇḍakī lōkatāriṇī,
prāñjaliḥ praṇatā bhūtvā madhuram vākyam abravīt.
Yadi dēva prasannōsi dēyō mē vāñchitō varaḥ,
mama garbhagatō bhūtvā Viṣṇō matputratām vraja.
Tataḥ prasannō Bhagavān cintayāmāsa gōpatē,
kim yācitam nimnagayā nityam matsaṅgalubdhayā.
Dāsyāmi yācitam yēna lōkānām bhava mōkṣaṇam.
Ityēvam kṛpayā dēvō niścitya manasā svayam
Gaṇḍakīm avadat prītaḥ śṛṇu dēvi vacō mama.
Sālagrāmaśilārūpī tava garbhagataḥ sadā.
Tiṣṭhāmi tava putratvē bhaktānugrahakāraṇāt,
matsānnidhyāt nadīnām tvam atiśrēṣṭhā bhaviṣyasi.
Darśanāt sparśanāt snānāt pānāt caivāvagāhanāt,
hariṣyasi mahāpāpam vāṅ manaḥ kāyasambhavam (*Varāhapurāṇa*).
In the *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇasaṁvāda* Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu says:
Gaṇḍakītapasā tuṣṭāḥ putratvēnāgatā vayam.

[91] Āsīt atītakalpē vai munir *Vēdaśirā* mahān,
Gaṅgātīrē tapas tīvram kurvan lōkasukhāvaham .
Tattapōbhītacittēna Mahēndrēṇa nṛpātmaja,
prēṣitā *Mañjuvāg dēvī* dēvakanyā manōharā . . . .
Tatsparśarōmāñcitadēham ēnam jñātvā svavaśyam nijabāhupāśam

when he perceived her intention to distract him by her beauty from his penance, cursed her that she might become a river, but moved by her supplication that it was not her fault, she being only a servant of Indra, altered his decision in so far that she should become the holy river Gaṇḍakī, in which according to the curse of Bṛndā (or Tulasī) Viṣṇu would be reborn as the Sālagrāma-stone.

So much about the connection which unites the worship of the Sālagrāma-stone with Viṣṇu. Considering the comparatively late date when Viṣṇu was identified with the Sālagrāma-stone, it must long before have attracted the attention of the aborigines and been used by them as an object of worship, with this difference, however, that they regarded it as representing the female energy, their highest deity. Traces of this cult are in fact still extant, for various Sālagrāmas are devoted to the principle of Śakti, when personating Bhavānī and Kuṇḍalinī.

How and when the Sālagrāma became the emblem of Viṣṇu is quite another question which is the more difficult to answer, when we consider the changes which Viṣṇu, who

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tatkaṇṭhapārśvē nidadhē tadāsau bubōdha cātmānam anaṅga-viddham.

Tatas tu krōdhatāmrākṣō munir Vēdaśirā mahān,
avaṣṭabhyātmanātmānam śaśāpainām mahātapāḥ.
Taraṅgaśītalatarā bhujadvayasamanvitā,
śṛṅgārahrādinī bhūtvā vikṣipantī mamōpari.
Kāmakuṇḍē majjayantī kṣēptukāmā bhavāmbudhau,
yannadīva samāhṛṣṭā tannadī bhava bhāmini.
Ēvam śaptā tu sā dēvī *Mañjuvāk* khinnamānasā,
pratyuvāca munim dīnā prasādāyāpatat padōḥ.
Parādhīnāsmi bhō Brahman prīticēṣṭām prakurvatī,
vinayāvanatā vāpi na śāpārhā prasīda mē.
Tadōvāca muniḥ śāntō nadī bhūtvā Janārdanam,
svōdarē dhārayantī ca kṛtakṛtyam janam kuru.
Sālagrāmaśilārūpī Viṣṇus tvayi janiṣyati,
tvadyaśōvistarō lōkē muktidātā nṛṇām iha . .
Saivaiṣā *Mañjuvāg* dēvī Gaṇḍakī saritām varā,
tasyām Viṣṇuḥ śilārūpī Bṛndāśāpāt babhūva ha.

first appears on the religious horizon of the Aryans as a Vedic Āditya, must have undergone in the estimation of a considerable portion of the Aryan population in India. However, so much seems clear, that, at whatever period we are inclined to fix the adoption of the Sālagrāma as an emblem of Viṣṇu, it must have been assumed at a considerably later day than the liṅga, which was most likely in some way or other already known to the ancient Aryans of India as a divine representation, and we are the more justified in this opinion, as the liṅga worship spread over the whole world, while that of the Sālagrāma must have been originally confined to this country, even if the worship of this stone should be found existing beyond the borders of India, for the Sālagrāma-stone is a product peculiar to India. As a connection between Śiva and the liṅga did not exist in the earliest worship of Śiva, the representation of Viṣṇu by the Sālagrāma-stone must even be ascribed to later period. The changes in religious dogmas and the acceptance of new emblems of worship are of great historical importance, however difficult it may be to account for them. I believe that the adoption of the Sālagrāma-stone by the Vaiṣṇavas was made to mark their opposition to the worship of the liṅga, and, if this assumption is true, the Vaiṣṇava emblem must have been adopted at a later period, than was the liṅga by the Śaivas.

On the Modification of the Worship of Viṣṇu.

And this is also the place to consider and allude to the strange transformation which Viṣṇu, the second person of the Trimūrti, has undergone in the religious tenets of a very considerable, if not the most numerous, section of the Brahmanic community of India. No doubt Viṣṇu represents the preserving principle, and preservation can be appropriately regarded as one of the chief qualities of the female principle. Yet there is still a great gulf between

the admission of the latter and the identification of Viṣṇu with the female energy which the Smārta Brāhmans revere in him. It is unnecessary here to lay stress on the various legends in which Viṣṇu appears in the guise of the beautiful Mōhinī,[92] one of which is even directly connected with the origin of the Gaṇḍakī river and the Sālagrāma-stone—a legend which for its indecency is hardly equalled by any other I know—as there exists early and indisputable evidence on this point.

In consequence of the sacredness of its text, of the highest importance is in this respect a mantra of the Ṛgvēda (X, 184, 1) which is repeated at the close of the wedding ritual.[93] It is also found in a passage of the mantrapraśna of the Kṛṣṇayajurvēda, *i.e.*, in the fifth verse of the thirteenth chapter of the Āpastambagṛhyasūtra. Viṣṇu is here mentioned in connection with the female organ. This mantra goes back to a far distant age and is in consequence significant as it prepared the mind to still more important modifications of the position of Viṣṇu. The peculiar wording of the Vedic text need not necessarily imply that Viṣṇu is to be regarded as the representative

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[92] Three occasions are specially noted when Viṣṇu appears as Mōhinī, one is connected with the churning of the ocean, the other with Śiva's visit as a begging brahmacārin in the Dāruka forest, and the third with the giant Bhasmāsura. The Śivarahasya relates these legends at some length.

[93] See Ṛgvēda, X, 184, 1—3.

1. Viṣṇur yōnim kalpayatu tvaṣṭā rūpāṇi piṁśatu,
   ā siñcatu prajāpatir dhātā garbham dadhātu tē.
2. Garbham dhēhi sinīvāli garbham dhēhi sarasvati,
   garbham tē aśvinau dēvāvā dhattām puṣkarasrajā.
3. Hiraṇyayi araṇī yam nirmanthatō aśvinā,
   tam tē garbham havāmahē daśamē māsi sūtavē.

(1. Viṣṇu may form the womb, Tvaṣṭā may shape the forms, Prajāpati pour in (the seed), Dhātā may lay on thee the germ. 2. Grant germ, Sinīvālī, grant germ o Sarasvatī, the two Aśvins, the gods, may grant the germ with flower garland, 3, which with golden wood the Aśvins elicit, that thy germ we call for bringing it forth in the tenth month.)

of the *yōni*, because the word *kalpayatu* can be explained as signifying taking care of, or protecting.[94] In the Rudrahṛdayōpaniṣad, however, Viṣṇu is identified with Umā,[95] who elsewhere is explained to represent the female organ. The above mantra is recited and addressed on the night of the nuptial ceremony to the bride and bridegroom, when sitting on their bed.

I need not specially mention that in the vēdikā-liṅga the base immediately under the liṅga is assigned to Viṣṇu, and that Brahman resides beneath him.

I deem it necessary to make these remarks in order to explain the various aspects in which Viṣṇu can be and is actually viewed at present by the various Hindu sects.

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[94] The common explanation is *garbhādhānakṣamam karōtu.*

[95] See *Rudrahṛdayōpaniṣad :*

Rudrasya dakṣiṇē pārśvē Ravir Brahmā trayō'gnayaḥ.
Vāmapārśvē Umā dēvī Viṣṇuḥ Sōmō'pi tē trayaḥ.
Yā Umā sa svayam Viṣṇur yō Viṣṇuḥ sa hi Candramāḥ.
Yē namasyanti Gōvindam tē namasyanti Śaṅkaram.
Yē'rcayanti Harim bhaktyā tē'rcayanti Vṛṣadhvajam.
Yē dviṣanti Virūpākṣam tē dviṣanti Janārdanam.
Yē Rudram nābhijānanti tē na jānanti Kēśavam
Rudraḥ pravartatē bījam bījayōnir Janārdanaḥ.

Compare also the following slōka from the *Ēkākṣarōpaniṣad :*

Tvam viśvabhūr yōniparō'si garbhē kumāra ēkō viśikhassudhanvā
vitatya bāṇam taruṇārkavarṇam vyōmāntarē bhāsi hiraṇyagarbhaḥ.

The *Vaidikāgama* ascribed to Parāśara contains the following verses in explanation to the above quoted Vedic mantra :—

Viṣṇur yōnir iti śrutvā liṅgapīṭham samīritam,
ādipīṭham bhavēd Brahman, Māyāpīṭham tu madhyamam,
Ūrdhvā vēdir Viṣṇupīṭham Viṣṇur yōnir iti śrutiḥ.

With this compare the following ślōka in the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana-parvan, XIV, 235 :

Pulliṅgam sarvam Īśānam strīliṅgam viddhi cāpy Umām,
dvābhyām tanubhyām vyāptam hi carācaram idam jagat.

It is not necessary to quote further evidence in support of these views; this fact should, however, not be overlooked, that the Smārtas while regarding Viṣṇu as the representative of the female energy do not intend to throw any slur on the character of that deity, whom they themselves daily worship with the greatest reverence.

Viṣṇu is painted of a dark blue colour, with four hands, two of which are open and empty, for granting consolation and conferring gifts ; in the other two he holds a *cakra* and a *śaṅkha,* of which I have spoken already. On his head he wears a crown and on his forehead the Kastūri mark. His whole body is covered with pearls, jewels, gold and silver, and his garment is embroidered with gold, from the shoulders downwards garlands of flowers and of sālagrāma-stones encircle his body, while with his feet he rests on a lotus flower.

As Viṣṇu has retained his popularity among the people, his worship being very widely spread, and his thousand names uttered with piety by millions of his worshippers, the manifestations in which he is revered are also of necessity very numerous. Many non-Aryan superstitions, however, have crept into his worship and are held sacred by his followers. Without entering now further into this subject, I wish to draw attention only to the adoration offered to him as Tirumala, Perumāl, Viṭṭhōbha, Veṅkōba (Veṅkaṭeśa), or Ballāji and others. His connection also with the Aiyanār legend proves the influence of the Gauda-Dravidian element, which had to be considered when expanding his worship among foreign non-Aryan tribes of the population.

On Viṣṇu's Wives.

Lakṣmī is the well-known and renowned wife of Viṣṇu. She possesses as Viṣṇu's Sakti all the female powers, and is specially famous as the goddess of beauty. As Mahālakṣmī she combines the eight kinds of prosperity and is as such called *Aṣṭalakṣmī.* These eight prosperities are (1) *Mahālakṣmī,* the great Lakṣmī, that is herself, from whom the others depend ; (2) *Dhanalakṣmī,* the goddess of wealth ; (3) *Dhānyalakṣmī,* the goddess of grain ; (4) *Dhairyalakṣmī,* the goddess of venture ; (5) *Vīralakṣmī,* the goddess of

bravery; (6) *Vidyālakṣmī*, the goddess of wisdom; (7) *Santānalakṣmī*, the goddess of progeny; and (8) *Bhāgyalakṣmī*, the goddess of fortune. Lakṣmī is represented as the wife of Viṣṇu at every avatāra where he is regarded as married. As *Lakṣmī* she appeared in the avatāra of Narasiṁha; as *Sītā* in that of Rāma; as *Dhāraṇī* (Bhūmi) in that of Paraśurāma; as *Rukmiṇī* in that of Kṛṣṇa; and as Padmā when Viṣṇu was an Āditya. According to one legend she was the daughter of *Dakṣa* or of *Bhṛgu*, while, according to another, she sprang from the sea of milk when the gods churned the ocean to obtain the drink of immortality, or she with her friends arose from the amṛta at the same time as the Amṛtaliṅga came into existence. Lakṣmī is on account of this coincidence regarded as the sister of Śiva.[96]

Viṣṇu possesses also two other consorts, Bhūmidēvī and Nīlā. The former is the goddess of the earth and the mother of everything which exists on it. She is the prototype of humility and she carries patiently her burden. She is revered, especially in South India, and invoked as a witness of everything that happens on earth. She is represented with two hands, one of which hangs down empty,

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[96] Lakṣmī is described as an aṁśa of Śakti in *Dēvībhāgavata* III, 6, 49—51, and also *ibidem* IX, 1, 22—28.

22. Śuddhasattvasvarūpā yā Padmā sā paramātmanaḥ,
sarvasampatsvarūpā sā tadadhiṣṭhātṛdēvatā.
23. Kāntātidāntā śāntā ca suśīlā sarvamaṅgalā
lōbhamōhakāmarōṣamadāhaṅkāravarjitā.
24. Bhaktānuraktā patyuśca sarvābhyaśca pativratā
prāṇatulyā bhagavataḥ prēmapātram priyamvadā.
25. Sarvasasyātmikā dēvī jīvanōpāyarūpiṇī
Mahālakṣmīśca vaikuṇṭhē patisēnā ratā satī.
26. Svargē ca svargalakṣmīśca rājalakṣmīśca rājasu,
gṛhēṣu gṛhalakṣmīśca martyānām gṛhiṇām tathā.
27. Sarvaprāṇiṣu dravyēṣu śōbhārūpā manōharā
prītirūpā puṇyavatām prabhārūpā nṛpēṣu ca.
28. Vāṇijyarūpā vaṇijām pāpinām kalahāṅkurā
dayārūpā ca kathitā dēvōktā sarvasammatā.

while the other holds a lotus flower. Her skin is brown, her face red; on her head she wears a crown, and she stands on a lotus flower. In her dress and ornaments she resembles the other goddesses. She is worshipped in the temples, her image standing on the left side of Viṣṇu, while that of Lakṣmī is on his right. She may be connected with the Aryan Dhāraṇī, Dēmētēr or Ceres, or perhaps with the Gauda-Dravidian goddess of the earth, who plays such an important part, especially among the Gonds.[97]

Nīlā is also called Nāgnajitī, the daughter of Nagnajit, the king of the Gāndhāras, she stands with Bhūmi on the left side of Viṣṇu. She is of green-colour and especially revered in the southern part of South India.[98]

CHAPTER XVI.

On Rudra or Śiva.

General Remarks.

Rudra, the howler or roarer, who, armed with a strong bow shoots fleet unerring arrows at the wicked, occurs in various hymns of the Ṛgvēda, either as a distinct separate deity

[97] In the Bhūsūkta she is described as dark-brown, adorned with jewels and garments of different colours, seated on a lotus (or with four arms), with swelling breasts, with eyes like blue lilies carrying ears of corn aud wearing a parrot.

Śyāmām vicitrāṁśukaratuabhūṣaṇām
Padmāsanām (*or* caturbhujām) tuṅgapayōdharānvitām
Indīvarākṣīm dhṛtaśālimañjarīm (*or* navaśālimañjarīm)
Śukam dadhānām vasudhām bhajāmahē.

[98] Bhagavad Rāmānujācārya describes the three goddesses Srī, Bhū, and Nīlā as follows in his work *Nitya:* "Bhagavantam praṇamya dakṣiṇataḥ Śrīm Śriyai nama iti gōrōcanavarṇām Śriyam āvāhya praṇamya, vāmē ōm Bhūm Bhūmyai nama iti śyāmām Bhūmim tatraiva nīm Nīlāyai nama iti haritavarṇām Nīlām ōm sarvābhyō bhagavaddivyamahiṣībhyō nama iti sarvā bhagavaddivyamahiṣīssamantataḥ praṇamēt iti", as quoted in the *Gōpāladēśikāhnikam.*

In Dēvībhāgavata IX, 1, 93*b*—96*a* Vasundharā is described as possessing a superior share of Prakṛti.

or as Agni. His energetic sons are the swift Maruts. Though generally appearing as a destroyer of men and cattle, he is likewise revered as the greatest of physicians dispensing healing medicines. He is therefore also called the benevolent and auspicious, or *Śiva*; however, he is not mentioned in the Ṛgvēda as Śiva.[99] He is likewise called *Śaṅkara*, the propitious, and revered as *Bhava*, a deified king, or the bowman *Śarva* (who both are often mentioned together), as *Nīlakaṇṭha* or *Nīlagrīva*, whose throat turned blue by swallowing the poison at the churning of the ocean, as *Giriśa* (*Girīśa*), the lord of the mountain, as *Paśupati*, the lord of cattle, and as *Mahādēva* or *Mahēśvara* he is identified with the supreme spirit, yea even with Viṣṇu; eventually he is even called the creator of Brahman and Viṣṇu. He destroys the castles of the Asuras, he fights with Viṣṇu as well as with Kṛṣṇa, and is worshipped by both these gods, as he is also by Brahman. At times he is identified with Viśvakarman, when Viśvakarman appears as a mortal or of earthly origin. With the various forms of Rudra may be compared the various Rudras who are mentioned together in the Ṛgvēda along with the Vasus and Ādityas, and, as in the case of Viṣṇu, these different names represent different gods who in course of time have been all merged into the great supreme deity, the dread member of the Hindu Trimūrti. By those who do not worship him, he is regarded as an offspring of either Brahman, Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. In every Kalpa he is, differing in color, born as a kumāra from Brahman. Śiva is now generally represented white, though as *Kāla* or *Mahākāla* (time) he appears black. As *Ardhanārīśa* his body is half male, half female, uniting in himself the principles of generation. His body is surmounted by one or by five heads decorated with a crown. With these five faces which represent Brahman, Viṣṇu,

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99 This name may have also been given to Rudra euphemistically.

Rudra, Mahēśvara and Sadāśiva correspond the five actions ascribed to him. These actions are creation, preservation, destruction, vanishing and grace.[100] As Pañcānana [101] he has fifteen eyes, ten arms and hands, two hands are empty, with the four hands on the right he holds a deer, a lance, a tambourine and a sword respectively, and in those on the left a battleaxe, a trident, fire and a shield. When represented with one face he has generally four hands,[102] two of which appear empty in a blessing and fear-forbidding attitude, while in the other two he carries an antelope and battleaxe, or a trident and a noose. His other emblems are a rosary, a boar's tusk, a human skull, &c. He has three eyes, the third standing high in the middle of his forehead, representing as it were, the three varieties of time, the past, present and future.[103] On his forehead he wears three

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[100] See *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, pp. 96 and 97 ·
Pañcavidham tatkṛtyam sṛṣṭisthitisaṁharaṇatirōbhāvāḥ
tadvadanugrahakaraṇam prōktam satatōditasyāsya. (97)
and : anugrahatirōbhāvādānalakṣaṇasthitilakṣaṇōdbhavalakṣaṇakṛtyapañcakakāraṇam. (96)

[101] Śiva is called, when represented with five faces, Pañcamukha, Pañcavaktra, Pañcānana, Pañcāsya, etc. As no special temples are dedicated to Rudra, Mahēśvara, and Sadāśiva, these three are under the name of Īśvara revered as Śiva ; see p. 385 on the five-faced liṅga.

[102] To Śiva are at different times assigned two, four, eight or ten arms and hands ; his image at Elephanta representing him as Mahākāla has eight arms, two of which are broken, four hold a human figure, a sword, a basin and a sacrificial bell, while the remaining two draw a veil, which covers the sun and causes the destruction of the world.

[103] As such he is called Trikālajña (also the name of Kṛṣṇa), Tricakṣus, Triṇayana (Trinayana), Trinētra, Trilōcana, Tryakṣa and Tryambaka. Similarly are Zeus and Jupiter called Triophthalmos and Trioculus. According to a widely spread legend Śiva placed a third eye on his forehead to prevent a re-occurrence of the calamity which happened to the world once when Pārvatī in play covered his two eyes with her hands. Śiva is described in the *Dēvībhāgavata* III, 3, 11—13, IX, 2, 83—88 and elsewhere :

11 Nirgatō bhagavān Śambhur vṛṣārūḍhaḥ trilōcanaḥ
pañcānanō daśabhujaḥ kṛtasōmārdhaśēkharaḥ.

parallel white stripes, the *Tripuṇḍra* or Vibhūti and a moon's crescent near his central eye. His body is decked with jewels and gold and silver ornaments; as a necklace he wears a string of flowers or a serpent and over his shoulders hangs a garland of skulls. His abdomen covered with a coloured cloth, and a golden girdle encircling his waist, he stands with his two feet on a water lily.

He goes under many names; the Mahābhārata contains a thousand and eight of them, and manifold are the occupations assigned to him, high and honorable as well as low and disreputable, for he is styled the general of the gods, the king of the Bhūtas, and also the lord of thieves, assuming indeed occasionally the garb of the latter. In the braids of his hair he intercepted on his head the Gaṅgā, which was descending from heaven and kept her there confined for some time until as Bhāgīrathī she descended below to the earth. To preserve the gods he swallowed, as already mentioned, the poison which was at the Kūrma-avatāra ejected by the serpent Vāsuki. To save the world from sudden darkness when Pārvatī had covered his eyes, he placed a third eye on his forehead. To him as well as otherwise to Brahman is assigned the highest of the fourteen

12. Vyāghracarmaparīdhānō gajacarmōttarīyakaḥ
pārṣṇirakṣau mahāvīrau Gajānanaṣaḍānanau.
13. Śivēna saha putrau dvau vrajamānau virējatuḥ,
nandiprabhṛtayas sarvē gaṇapāśca varāśca tē.
83. Śuddhasphaṭikasaṅkāśaḥ śatakōṭiraviprabhaḥ
triśūlapaṭṭiśadharō vyāghracarmāmbarō Haraḥ,
84. Taptakāñcanavarṇābhō jaṭābhāradharaḥ paraḥ
bhasmabhūṣitagātraśca sasmitaḥ Candraśēkharaḥ,
85. Digambarō nīlakaṇṭhaḥ sarvabhūṣaṇabhūṣitaḥ
bibhraddakṣiṇahastēna ratnamālām susaṁskṛtām,
86. Prajapan pañcavaktrēṇa brahmajyōtiḥ sanātanam
satyasvarūpam śrīkṛṣṇam paramātmānam īśvaram,
87. Kāraṇam kāraṇānām ca sarvamaṅgalamaṅgalam
janmamṛtyujarāvyādhiśōkabhītiharam param.
88. Samstūya mṛtyōr mṛtyum tam yatō mṛtyuñjayābhidhaḥ
ratnasiṁhāsanē ramyē samuvāsa Haraḥ puraḥ.

worlds, or the seventh of the upper worlds commonly known as Satyalōka, the world of the good and virtuous.[104] His favorite abode, in fact the paradise of Śiva, is the top of the high Kailāsa mountain, which is often frequented by Kubēra.

His power is supreme, and his vigor is increased by hymns. The most sacred Vedic text, the Gāyatrī, has been adapted for his special glorification.[105] A person who does not revere

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[104] See Note 19 on p. 301.

[105] These altered versions of the Gāyatrī are mainly extant in the Nārayaṇīyōpaniṣad (a portion of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka) and in the Liṅgapurāṇa. In the former extract the deities invoked are: Rudra, Danti, Nandi, Ṣaṇmukha, Garuḍa, Brahman, Viṣṇu, Narasiṁha, Āditya, Agni and Durgi (standing for Durgā). The prayers in the Liṅgapurāṇa begin and end with Śiva (Rudra) and his wife Gaurī (Durgā), and after the verses in honour of his sons, vehicle and follower, come those concerning Viṣṇu, Brahman and six guardians of the quarters of the world, with the omission of Kubēra and Īśāna (Śiva), instead of whom stand Rudra and Durgā. As I shall return to this subject I quote here in full those passages.

Nārāyaṇīyōpaniṣad I, 5—7 (Telugu edition, pp. 824, 825) :

Puruṣasya vidmaḥ sahasrākṣasya mahādēvasya dhīmahi tannō *Rudraḥ* pracōdayāt. Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē vakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi, tannō *Dantiḥ* pracōdayāt. Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē cakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi tannō *Nandiḥ* pracōdayāt. Tatpuraṣāya vidmahē mahāsēnāya dhīmahi tannaḥ *Ṣaṇmukhaḥ* pracōdayāt. Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē suvarṇapakṣāya dhīmahi tannō *Garuḍaḥ* pracōdayāt. Vēdātmanāya vidmahē hiraṇyagarbhāya dhīmahi tannō *Brahmā* pracōdayāt. Nārāyaṇāya vidmahē vāsudēvāya dhīmahi tannō *Viṣṇuḥ* pracōdayāt. Vajranakhāya vidmahē tīkṣṇadaṁṣṭrāya dhīmahi tannō *Narasiṁhaḥ* pracōdayāt. Bhāskarāya vīdmahē mahādyutikarāya dhīmahi tannō *Ādityaḥ* pracōdayāt. Vaiśvānarāya vidmahē lālīlāya dhīmahi tannō *Agniḥ* pracōdayāt. Kātyāyanāya vidmahē kanyakumāri dhīmahi tannō *Durgiḥ* pracōdayāt.

With respect to *Kātyāyanāya* and *Durgiḥ* Sāyaṇa says in his commentary that the expression Kātyāyanāya refers to the worship of Durgā that Durgi stands for Durgā, and that the Vedic language is not strict in its forms (Durgām prārthayatē *Kātyāyanāya* iti . . . Durgiḥ Durgā liṅgādivyatyayaḥ sarvatra chāndasō draṣṭavyaḥ).

See *Liṅgapurāṇa* II, 48, 4—5 (Telugu edition, p. 396) :

4. Śaktīnām sarvakāryēṣu yōnikuṇḍam vidhīyatē
Gāyatrīm kalpayēcchambōḥ sarvēṣām api yatnataḥ
5. Sarvē Rudrāṁśajā yasmāt saṅkṣēpēṇa vadāmi vaḥ.
(Mantram. Gāyatrībhēdāḥ :)

Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē vāgviśuddhāya dhīmahi tannaḥ Śivaḥ pracōdayāt.

Śiva does not obtain final beatitude.[106] He seizes his victims at a sacrifice, and accepts even human creatures as offerings. He is shunned and feared in consequence of his violence and fierceness. He cursed and turned to ashes Kandarpa, the god of love; offended by Dakṣa, his father-in-law, he interrupted and nullified his sacrifice, and in the shape of Vīrabhadra cut off his head; he pulled out the beard of

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Gaṇāmbikāyai vidmahē karmasiddhyai ca dhīmahi tannō Gaurī pracōdayāt.
Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē mahādēvāya dhīmahi tannō Rudraḥ pracōdayāt.
Tatpuruṣāya vidmahē vakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi tannō Dantiḥ pracōdayāt.
Mahāsēnāya vidmahē vāgviśuddhāya dhīmahi tannaḥ Skandaḥ pracōdayāt.
Tīkṣṇaśṛṅgāya vidmahē vēdapādāya dhīmahi tannō Vṛṣaḥ pracōdayāt.
Harivaktrāya vidmahē rudravaktrāya dhīmahi tannō Nandī pracōdayāt.
Nārāyaṇāya vidmahē Vāsudēvāya dhīmahi tannō Viṣṇuḥ pracōdayāt.
Mahāmbikāyai vidmahē karmasiddhyai ca dhīmahi tannō Lakṣmīḥ pracōdayāt.
Samuddhṛtāyai vidmahē viṣṇunaikēna dhīmahi tannō Dharā pracōdayāt.
Vainatēyāya vidmahē suvarṇapakṣāya dhīmahi tannō Garuḍaḥ pracōdayāt.
Padmōdbhavāya vidmahē vēdavaktrāya dhīmahi tannaḥ Sraṣṭā pracōdayāt.
Śivāsyajāyai vidmahē dēvarūpāyai dhīmahi tannō Vācā pracōdayāt.
Dēvarājāya vidmahē vajrahastāya dhīmahi tannaḥ Śakraḥ pracōdayāt.
Rudranētrāya vidmahē śaktihastāya dhīmahi tannō Vahniḥ pracōdayāt.
Vaivasvatāya vidmahē daṇḍahastāya dhīmahi tannō Yamaḥ pracōdayāt.
Niśācarāya vidmahē khaḍgahastāya dhīmahi tannō Nirṛtiḥ pracōdayāt.
Śuddhahastāya vidmahē pāśahastāya dhīmahi tannō Varuṇaḥ pracōdayāt.
Sarvaprāṇāya vidmahē yaṣṭihastāya dhīmahi tannō Vāyuḥ pracōdayāt.
Sarvēśvarāya vidmahē śūlahastāya dhīmahi tannō Rudraḥ pracōdayāt.
Kātyāyanyai vidmahē kanyakumāryai dhīmahi tannō Durgā pracōdayāt.
Ēvam prabhidya gāyatrīm tattaddēvānurūpataḥ.

Professor Albrecht Weber first drew attention to these Gāyatrīs in the first volume of his *Indische Studien*, and Dr. J. Muir has treated on this subject in his *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. III, pp. 263, 264, and Vol. IV, pp. 425—430.

106 Sivapūjām vinā jantōḥ muktir naiva bhavēt bhuvi (Sūtasaṁhitā). Śiva is addressed by his worshipper with the following prayer:

Vandē Śambhum Umāpatim suragurum, vandē jagatkāraṇam, vandē pannagabhūṣaṇam mṛgadharam, vandē paśūnām patim, vandē sūryaśaśāṅkavahninayanam, vandē mukundapriyam, vandē bhaktajanāśrayam ca varadam, vandē Śivam Śaṅkaram.

Bhṛgu who had offended him by his laughter, he tore out the eyes of Bhava after he had felled him to the ground, and beat out the teeth of Pūṣan who, while laughing, had shown his teeth.[107]

Śiva is worshipped all over India. In the North he is revered in the Himālaya, who, personified as the god of the mountain, is the father of his wife Umā or Pārvatī. At Gaṅgādvāra, where the earthly Gaṅgā breaks through the mountain peaks, his shrine is crowded with pious believers. Celebrated temples of Śiva are in Gōkarṇa in the West, in Kaliṅga in the East, and South-India abounds particularly in sacred places devoted to his worship. If the number of localities and of shrines dedicated to Śiva affords an estimate of the extent of his popularity, he must be certainly considered the most generally revered god of the Indian pantheon, and his worshippers rank among the most powerful portion of the Indian population. This popularity he also owes greatly to the qualities ascribed to him, qualities which appeal particularly to the sympathy of the aboriginal inhabitants. And in fact of all the three gods of the Trimūrti it is Śiva, who, by his intimate connection with the earth, represents chiefly the Non-Aryan or Turanian element in the Hindu theogony, and he does this in his capacity of lord of the mountain and master of the ghosts. The worship of the ancient Gauda-Dravidians was specially celebrated on mountain tops, his wife Pārvatī was the mountain goddess *κατ᾽ ἐξοχήν*, while to their son Subrahmaṇya are sacred all the hills and mountain peaks.

To Śiva are ascribed twenty-five various forms or *līlās*, and according to the Liṅgapurāṇa also twenty-eight avatāras.[108]

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[107] With this legend is connected the custom of cooking rice in milk (*pālpoṅgal*) in the Poṅgal festival, in order to present it to the toothless *Pūṣan*.

[108] They are called: Candraśēkhara, Umāpati, Vṛṣabhavāhana, Mahātāṇḍava, Girijākalyāṇa, Bhikṣāṭana, Manmathadahana, Kālamardana,

When worshipping Śiva, his followers draw with ashes of cowdung the Vibhūti on their foreheads, and place in the middle of the second line a black dot or akṣata.. They also besmear their bodies with sandal-powder and hang a rosary of rudrākṣa-berries (rudrākṣamālā) round their necks. Śiva is, however, principally adored in the form of the liṅga.

On the Liṅga.

The emblem of his worship is the liṅga. Its origin in India is shrouded in mystery, and the opinions of competent scholars are greatly divided whether to ascribe to it an Aryan or a Non-Aryan source.

There occur in the Ṛgvēda two words which have been connected with the liṅga, the terms *śiśnadēvāḥ* and *vaitasa*.[109] No competent authority applies the expression *śiśnadēvāḥ* to the Non-Aryans, as if the god they adored was the śiśna or *membrum virile*. The commentary ascribed to Sāyaṇa gives as its meaning *unchaste men*, though we are not compelled to abide by this rendering. Professor *von Roth* translates it in German as *Schwanzgötter*, implying by this expression, that the original term should be taken sarcastically as priapic or sensual demons. *Śiśna* signifies also tail.[110]

Tripuraharaṇa, Jalandharaharaṇa, Mahāliṅga, Dakṣādhvaraharaṇavīrabhadra, Śarabhēndra, Ardhanārīśvara, Brahmaśirōharaṇa, Kaṅkāladhara, Khaṇḍēśvara, Viṣapāna, Cakradāna, Gaṇēśa, Sōmāskanda, Naṭēśa, Sukhamūrti, Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Gaṅgādhara. Compare Note 24, p. 308.

About the Avatāras see Liṅgapurāṇa, VII, 30—35, and XXIV. These 28 avatāras are: Śvēta, Sutāra, Damana, Suhōtra, Kaṅkaṇa, Lōkākṣi, Jaigīṣavya, Dadhivā hana, Ṛṣabha, Muni, Ugra, Atri, Subālaka, Gautama, Vēdaśīrṣa, Gōkarṇa, Guhāvāsin, Śikhaṇḍabhṛt, Jaṭāmālin, Aṭṭahāsa, Dāruka, Lāṅgalin, Mahākāya, Śūlin, Muṇḍīśvara, Sahiṣṇu, Sōmaśarman and Lakulin.

109 See about *śiśnadēvāḥ* Ṛgvēda VII, 21, 5 and X, 99, 3, and about *vaitasa* Ṛgvēda X, 95, 4 and 5.

110 Sāyaṇa to Ṛgvēda VII, 21, 5: "Śiśnadēvāḥ, śiśnēna dīvyanti krīḍanti iti śiśnadēvāḥ, abrahmacaryāḥ ityarthaḥ, tathā ca Yāskaḥ . . śiśnadēvāḥ abrahmacaryāḥ." *Durga*, the commentator on the Nirukta, explains *śiśnadēvāḥ* by: śiśnēna nityaṃ ēva prakīrṇābhiḥ strībhiḥ sākaṃ krīḍanta

The word *vaitasa,* reed, occurs in the conversation between Urvaśī and Purūravas twice euphemistically in the sense of *membrum virile.* However much light these expressions may throw on the moral and social character of the ancient Aryans, they throw none whatever on the nationality of the liṅga worship, which according to its very nature need not have been confined to any particular tribe or race.

The Rev. Dr. Stevenson[111] in various essays and especially in that entitled the Ante-Brahmanical religion of the Hindus was one of the first to suggest that the worship of Śiva, and especially his worship in the form of the Liṅga was of Non-Aryan and not of Aryan origin. He pointed out that "Siva is not named at all in the ancient "Hymns of the Vēda, and therefore we have no evidence "that such deity was worshipped by the ancient Brahmans. "Although Rudra must be held as identified with Agni, "Agni cannot be identified with the Siva of the Puranas. "The place that Siva now occupies in the Saiva system, "and Vishnu in the Vaishnava, was held in ancient times "by Soma. How very different the rank attributed to "Rudra is, and how clearly he is identified with Siva in "the Linga Purána, the composition of one of his sectaries, "appears from every page. That Daksha considered that

āsatē śrantāni karmāṇyntsṛjya. See *Jāska's Nirukta* herausgegeben von Rudolph Roth, Göttingen, 1852, p. 47; "Die çiçnadeva, wie es scheint ein spottender Name für geschwänzte oder wollüstige Demonen." Professor A. Ludwig translates *śiśnadēva* by "Phallus vererer." For *śiśnu* in the sense of *tail* see Ṛgvēda I, 105, 8.

[111] See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. VIII, pp. 330—339.

In the *Sanatkumārasaṁhitā* we find the following verses:

Kim kartavyam manuṣyēṇa jagatkāraṇapūjanam
śiśnōpasthākṛtimayam jagatkāraṇam aiśvaram,
Mūrtitrayaikyam vijñēyam sarvavēdātmakam param
sapāṇipiṭham sandhyāsu śivaliṅgam samarcayēt.
Viśvarūpō mahēśānas tēna priṇāti Śaṅkaraḥ.

"he had all the Rudras present with him, though he had "not invited Śiva, and that none of the ancient Munis "except Dadhícha, looked on Śiva as possessing any right "to a share in the sacrifice, and that, moreover, his sacred "rites were not performed after the Brahmanical method. "If it is impossible to identify Śiva with any of the gods "of the Veda, much less is it possible to trace any connec- "tion between the symbol of the Liṅga, under which he "is usually adored, and any of the ancient Brahmanical "emblems. There is an obscure intimation in the Liṅga- "Purána itself, that the worship of the Linga was only "introduced at a late period. Our conclusion from these "authorities in reference to the worship of Śiva is strength- "ened by the fact, that the sacred places considered as "the peculiar residence of Jyoti-Liṅgas, are generally in "the south and north-east of India, at a great distance "from the originally Brahmanical Settlements, to the "north of the Ganges and west of the Sarasvati, none "being nearer than Mount Abu in Guzarat; and that the "south of India is almost the only place where the sect of "the Lingāyats abounds; and that in the south and east "of India the worshippers of Śiva and his incarnations, "are far more numerous than those of Vishnu, while in the "north-west the contrary is the case. That the Liṅga is "not originally a Brahmanical object of worship, seems to "me very evident by a fact that I have not seen noticed, "but which as far as the Maráthi country, where Saivas "greatly prevail, is concerned, I can vouch for from an "extensive observation; it is, that no Brahman officiates "in a Liṅga temple. The Brahmans alone officiate as "image dressers in the temples of Vishnu, and of all the "gods connected with the ancient Brahmanical worship; "but for the temples of the Liṅga, a distinct order of men "originally of Sudra origin, have been set apart, and form "now a separate caste under the name "Guravá."

The late Professor Christian Lassen thought that the liṅga was an emblem peculiar to the aboriginal inhabitants of India, as it is particularly used by Śiva's worshippers in South India, and because Brāhmans never officiate in South India as priests in such liṅga-temples.[112] He further speaks of a goddess *Mahāsahā*, the mother of the gods, which is revered in the shape of a *liṅga* or of a Phallus.[113] The word Mahāsahā appears to stand for *Mahiṣahā*, a popular form for *Mahiṣaghnī*, slayer of the demon Mahiṣa, which is an epithet of Durgā; however, I do not know anything about her connection with the liṅga-worship. Professor Lassen's opinion was mostly founded on the statements of the Rev. Dr. Stevenson. The Rev. Dr. Germann, in his

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[112] See Christian Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. 1, pp. 924, 925 (old edition, p. 783); "*Çiva* ist auch ein Vertilger der bösen Geister. Die Verehrung dieses Gottes unter dem Bilde des *linga*, des *Phallus*, wird schon in mehreren Stellen des grossen Epos erwähnt. Da dieses Symbol besonders bei den Verehrern des *Çiva* im südlichen Indien im Gebrauche ist, lässt sich vermuthen, dass es bei den Urbewohnern sich vorfand und erst später auf *Çiva* übertragen worden ist. Was dafür spricht, ist dieses, dass noch jetzt die Brahmanen des Südens nie bei Tempeln, in welchem das *linga* verehrt wird, das Amt des Priesters annehmen." Compare *ibidem*, Vol. IV, pp. 233, 237, and 617: "Die Verehrung des *Çiva* zählt in dem grossen Gebiete im Norden des *Vindhya* jetzt wenig eifrige Anhänger, obwohl es eine bedeutende Zahl von ihm geweiheten Tempeln giebt, in denen er in der Gestalt des *linga* oder des Phallus angebetet wird; eine Ausnahme bildet nur sein Tempel in *Benares*, wo er den Namen *Viçveçvara*, d. h. Herr des Alls, führt. Dagegen waltet heut zu Tage der Kult dieser Gottheit in Dekhan vor."

[113] *Ibidem*, Vol. IV, p. 265: "Ferner in dem Dienste der *Holī* und der *Mahāsahā* genannten Göttinnen; das Fest der ersten Göttin ist einem Karneval ähnlich; die zweite Göttin gilt als Mutter der Götter und wird in der Gestalt eines *linga* oder eines Phallus angebetet." The Rev. F. Kittel, in his excellent essay *Ueber den Ursprung des Lingakultus in Indien*, Mangalore, 1876, remarks on pp. 9, 10: "Mit Bezug auf die im *Nordwestlichen* Dekhan verehrte Göttin *Mahāsahā* must der Schreiber dieses bekennen, dass er eine solche nicht kennt, wie es auch Andern ausser ihm geht. Der Name selbst ist indess Sanscrit: 'sie die mächtig aushält,' oder: 'sie die mächtig siegt.' Dieser Umstand deutet auf einen *ārischen* character." The Marathi *Mahisa* stands for the Sanskrit *Mahiṣa*.

edition of Ziegenbalg's *Genealogy of the Malabar Gods,* supported the opinion of his predecessors and tried to strengthen the argument in favor of the Non-Aryan origin of the liṅga by the statement that Rāvaṇa, the representative of the aborigines of South India was according to the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the Rāmāyaṇa, a staunch votary of the liṅga, carrying in fact always with him a golden liṅga which he worshipped with incense and flowers. He also refers to the legend according to which Rāvaṇa was waylaid by Gaṇapati at Gōkarṇa when he was on his way to Laṅkā and compelled to leave the Prāṇa-Liṅga, which he had extorted from Śiva by his severe penance at the first named place on the Western coast.[114] I have alluded to this story previously and given the version supplied by the late Hon. Viśvanāth Nārāyan Mandlick, and I also referred to an account contained in the Archæological Survey of India concerning the temple of Mahādēva Rāvaṇēśvara at Baijnāth in Bengal.[115]

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[114] See *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter*. von Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg, erster Abdruck besorgt durch Dr. Wilhelm Germann, Madras, 1867, p. 156, Note: "Von Rāvana dem Vertreter der südlichen Ureinwohner wird in Uttarakānda Rāmāyanam erwähnt, dass überall wohin er ging, ein goldnes Linga mit ihm getragen wurde, welches er mit Weihranch und Blumen verehrte. Ferner die Sage, nach welcher Vināyaka in etwas bübischer Weise dem Ravana die übliche Verehrung abzwingt, zeigt ihn uns ein Linga nach Lanka bringend (freilich angeblich von Kailāsa), der Tempel welches Linga jetzt Gokarna heissen soll (Saiva Sam. V, V, III. Fr. 18 ff). Also Ravana erscheint immer mit dem Linga."

Another *Rāvaṇa*, the son of Indrajit, the third king of Kaśmīr after Gōnanda III (perhaps identical with King Kaniṣka of the Śaka era) erected the *Vaṭēśvara liṅga.*

[115] See above, pp. 136—138. I have alluded there to the legend given in the Archæological Survey of India, Vol. VIII, pp. 143—145, and as it contains some peculiar items, I now quote it below: "Rāvana used daily to go to Uttara Khanda (*sic!!!*) to worship Śiva. One day he went there, and in the exuberance of physical strength he shook the mountain, disturbing Pārvatī. Having done this, he went towards Śiva's abode to worship; when he approached, Nandi forbade his advance, as Śiva and Pārvatī were asleep together. Rāvana, however, was not to be denied;

Dr. John Muir and the Rev. F. Kittel were, according to my opinion, the first to point out the error of these views,

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he told Nandi that he being in the place of a son to Śiva, there was no harm in his going in at any time. Saying this and pitching away Nandi to a distance, he entered. Śiva was much pleased at his courage and firm faith, and desired him to ask a gift. Rāvana said, 'It is a long distance for me to come daily from Lanka to worship you here, be pleased to go to Lanka and abide there.' Śiva consented on the condition that Rāvana was to carry him all the way, without for a moment setting him down. Rāvana gladly took up the lingam, and proceeded, when he arrived at Lájhuri village, near the place where the temples stand (the village is now known as Harlájhuri), he felt it necessary to go to the fields; he could not carry the lingam with him and pollute it, and he was cogitating what to do. In this emergency Vishnu, who saw that if Rāvana succeeded in carrying Śiva to his kingdom he would become invincible, assumed the guise of a poor Brahman, and being accosted by Rāvana, and requested to hold the lingam for a few minutes, while he went a short way, the pretended Brahman agreed. Rāvana now made over the lingam to the Brahman, and went aside. While Rāvana was engaged, the Brahman quickly walked away with the lingam, arriving finally at the spot where the great temple stands, there he set the lingam down and vanished. Rāvana on returning at the expiration of the whole day (for Varuna had entered into him and occupied him all that time in letting out the sea of waters within him) found the Brahman gone. After some search he found the lingam, but on attempting to lift it up, Śiva reminded him of the agreement between them and refused to stir. Rāvana enraged, pressed the lingam down, saying, 'Since you wont go to Lanka, go to Pātāla instead.' This is the mark which exists on the summit of the lingam to this day. The lingam thus established became known as Mahadeo Rāvanesvara. In course of time the site of the lingam was overgrown with jangal, and no one but a poor gwāla knew of its existence. This man, Baiju by name, used to dwell in the vicinity, living on roots and fruits; he was ordered by Mahadev in a vision to worship him; the poor man accordingly used to bring Bel leaves for the worship daily, but having no vessel to bring water, used to bring water for the libation in his mouth. This strange libation, however, did not please Śiva, who after much patient endurance, complained to Rāvana of the gwāla's treatment. Rāvana came, washed the lingam with water from Haridwār, and ordained that thenceforth none but Ganges water from the Tirthas of Haridwār, Gangotri, and Dasāsumeth (Ajodhya) was to be poured on the lingam. Śiva at last was pleased with the untiring devotion of Baiju Gwāla, and offered to give him any gift he should ask. The independent gwāla replied . . . grant that henceforth my name should precede yours. From that day, the lingam known as Rāvaneswara came to be known as Baijnāth."

so far as the worship of the liṅga is concerned. The extent of the area in which the liṅga cult prevails at present, cannot be adduced as a reason, that it did not previously exist elsewhere or that the liṅga was not worshipped in the north-west and north, but only in the north-east and in the south of India. As a proof that the liṅga was worshipped in the north by Aryans, may be quoted the sage *Taṇḍi* who revered Mahādēva in the Kṛtayuga on the Himālaya mountain, and *Upamanyu,* who visited the hermitage of Taṇḍi, and was one of the most fervent believers in the divine power of the liṅga. But also many holy liṅga shrines in the south are ascribed to or connected with holy Aryan sages and heroes. The sage Ṛśyaśṛṅga revered thus the liṅga of *Candraśēkhara* in a temple near Śṛṅgēri-maṭham in Mysore; the *Saptakōṭīśvaraliṅga* at Narvem in the Portuguese territory of Gōa is by the legend ascribed to the Saptarṣis; the *Rāmaliṅga* at Rāmēśvaram is said to be erected by Dāśaratha Rāma, and a great number of liṅgas in the Koṅkaṇa country were established by Para-śurāma.[116]

With respect to Rāvaṇa, even if he is at times reviled as a Rākṣasa, it must not be forgotten that he is through his grandfather Pulastya, the great grandson of Brahman, that he obtained his power, though he abused it later on, by his pious penance, and that in spite of the unholy life he led, he was burnt according to Brahmanical rites. If Rāvaṇa is on the other hand regarded as the representative of the aboriginal population, and I quite agree in this view, he may well have been a worshipper of Śiva, as *Bhūtēśa* or *Bhūtanātha,* the lords of the demons or ghosts, but I believe that his representation as a worshipper of the liṅga, is a

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[116] See *Original Sanskrit Texts,* by J. Muir, D.C.L., LL.D., Ph.D., Vol. II, pp. 202, 391, IV, pp. 189—196, 405—420, and *Ueber den Ursprung des Lingakultus* von F. Kittel, pp. 2, 4—8.

later addition, though it is to be found in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.[117]

The Paulastya Rāvaṇa stands besides not alone in his worship of Śiva, for the Asura *Bāṇa* is also mentioned as a devoted follower of Śiva together with the cowherd *Caṇḍa*.[118]

The existence and worship of Śiva as a great Brahmanical Hindu deity is no less a matter of historical certainty, than is the fact that Śiva had been separately revered for a considerable length of time, before he was connected with the liṅga. The origin and development of the cult of Śiva as the chief of the demons, or Bhūtas, is no doubt mainly due to the Non-Aryan demon worshipping population of India, yet, however many Non-Aryan elements are mixed with the present Śaiva religion, its association with the liṅga need not be due to Non-Aryan influence. For it is a remarkable and indisputable fact, that, while the Non-Aryan aborigines are on the whole throughout the country adherents of the worship of *Śakti*, or female energy, as exemplified by their adoration of Grāmadēvatās, a worship which united with that of the ghosts, demons or devils, fills the mind of terrified man with an indescribable awe of the mysterious forces of nature contained in the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, an awe which manifests itself in the reverence paid to serpents, trees and

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[117] The ślōkas in the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (XXXI, 42, 43) are:
Yatra yatra ca yāti sma Rāvaṇō rākṣasēśvaraḥ,
jāmbūnadamayam liṅgam tatra tatra sma nīyatē.
Bālukāvēdimadhyē tu talliṅgam sthāpya Rāvaṇaḥ,
arcayām āsa gandhais ca puṣpais cāmṛtagandhibhiḥ.

[118] After the performance of the Pañcāyatanapūjā the remaining portions of the offering are presented to Śiva's attendants with this half verse:

Bāṇa-Rāvaṇa-Caṇḍēśa-Nandi-Bhṛṅgiriṭādayaḥ.

Nandi is the son of the Brāhman Śilāda and Bhṛṅgi, an incarnation of Gāyatrī, is a dancer in the heaven Kailāsa.

stones,—there exists hardly any evidence to show that these same people worshipped the liṅga or the organ of generation, and even at the present day we cannot point out any aboriginal tribe, who has retained intact its national customs, as revering the Phallus. On the other hand it is well known that in all the famous liṅga-temples in South-India at least, if not in the whole of India, the priestly office has been and is still filled by Brāhmans, and yet it is well known that Brāhmans do not like, as a rule, to have anything to do with the administration of the property of Śiva; an illustration of this antipathy supplies the Tamil proverb *Śiva sottu kulanāśanam*, the property of Śiva is the ruin of a family.[119]

Such liṅga temples are spread all over India in great numbers. Among these are celebrated the *Kēdārēśaliṅga* on the Himālaya, the *Vaidyanāthaliṅga* at Deograh in Bengal, the *Viśvēśvaraliṅga* in Benares, the *Mahākālaliṅga* and *Amarēśvaraliṅga* in and near Ujjain in Mālva, the *Oṁkāraliṅga* on the Narmadā, the *Sōmēśvaraliṅga* at Somnāth in Surāṣṭra, the *Tryambakaliṅga* near Nasik and the *Bhīmaśaṅkaraliṅga* near the source of the Bhīma in Mahārāṣṭra, the *Mahābalēśvaraliṅga* at *Gōkarṇa* in Kanara, the *Mallikārjunaliṅga* at Śrīśaila in Karnūl, the *Rāmaliṅga* at Rāmēśvaram in Madura. The south of India possesses moreover five holy liṅgas representing the five elements earth, *pṛthivī*, water, *ap*, fire, *tējas*, wind, *vāyu* and air, *ākāśa*, respectively at Kāñcī or Kañjivaram, Jambukēśvaram or

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119 See *Ziegenbalg* in Dr. Germann's edition, p. 31: "In den Pagoden darf Niemand anders dem Linga opfern, als nur Brahmanen, denn solche Figur steht im allerinnersten oder heiligsten der Pagode." With respect to Dr. Stevenson's remark that no Brāhmans officiate in liṅga—while they do in Viṣṇu temples Dr. Muir observes *loco citato* IV, p. 407 (Note): "This distinction does not, I think, exist in Northern India. In the temple of Viśveśvara, at Benares, the officiating priests, if I am not mistaken, are Brahmans. The same is the impression of Professor Fitz-Edward Hall, with whom I have communicated on the subject."

Tiruvānaikāval between Trichinopoli and Śrīraṅgam, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai or Aruṇācala, Kālahasti and Chidambaram.[120]

There exists, it is trne, a particular and widely-spread sect of worshippers of the liṅga, the so-called Liṅgāyats, a sect which arose about the end of the twelfth century and which mainly consists of Non-Aryan Śūdras, but the founder of this sect was a Brāhman, the famous *Basava*, who left his caste in order to teach to Śūdras and to despised Holeyas the doctrine of Śiva and the liṅga, and to elevate them after their conversion to respectable castemen or kulajas.[121]

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[120] Compare F. Kittel's *Lingakultus*, pp. 5, 6; the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 15, where a *Gautamēśaliṅga* of unknown place is mentioned among the twelve liṅgas, while the Mahābalēśvaraliṅga at Gōkarṇa is omitted.—*Tiruvārur* in Tanjore claims also the ākāśaliṅga.

[121] See Rev. F. Kittel's *Liṅgakultus*, pp. 11, 12: "Zu Ende des 12ten Jahrhunderts bildete sich, nach dem Sturze der westlichen Cālukya-Dynastie, in Kalyāṇa die *Sekte der Liṅgāytas* (der jetzigen Rechnung nach Śūdras) in opposition gegen bestehende Heterodoxie (bauddha und jaina) und Orthodoxie; und in ihren zahlreichen Liṅga-Tempeln fungiren keine Brahmanen. In den alten, d. h. brahmanischen, Liṅga-Tempeln dagegen, sind die pūjāris *ausschliesslich* Brahmanen oder Āryas; and in diese Liṅga-Tempel, z. B. der zu Gokarṇa und alle die obgenannten, sind es, welche zu allgemeiner Berühmtheit gelangt sind. Auch Liṅgāytas können sie besuchen, aber dürfen nicht hinein; es scheint aber, dass zur Zeit der ersten Kraft der Sekte in dieser Beziehung ein Unterschied stattfand;" and pp. 31, 32, 33: "Um gleich etwaigen Vermuthungen in dieser Beziehung vorzubeugen, bringen wir hier die Thatsache herein, dass nach geschichtlichen Zeugnissen *noch im Beginn des* 13. *Jahrhunderts p. Chr. die anārischen Śūdras, und Holeyas* (d. i. Unreine, die unter den Śūdras stehen) in Kalyāṇa unter dem jaina-vaishṇava Könige Bijjala I als Klassen *keine Liṅga-Verehrer* waren, der Stifter der liṅgāyta Sekte aber, Basava, ein geborner Brahmane, *auf Kosten seiner Kaste und seines Rufes*, es darauf anlegte ihnen dadurch, dass er sie zu solchen, respective *Liṅgāytas*, machte, eine höhere Stellung in der Gesellschaft zu geben . . . Die Tendenz des Basavapurāṇa ist darzuthun, dass Basava das *Privilegium der Āryas unmittelbare Liṅga-Verehrer zu sein*, auch auf die Anāryas ausdehnen, oder das Liṅga zum Gemeingut Aller machen wollte, wenn auch meist aus sectirerischen Rücksichten. Es war der erste und letzte derartige Versuch."

Though we possess no irrefutable proof that the ancient Aryans of India were acquainted with the worship of the organ of generation, or that they worshipped it themselves, the circumstance that the word *liṅga* which is now generally used in this meaning, is not found in this sense in the earlier Sanskrit writings, but in those belonging to a later period, and that as applied to the divinely revered representative of Śiva, the term *liṅga* occurs only in some not very old portions of the Sauptika-, Śānti and Anuśāsana-parvans of the Mahābhārata, in the last part (*Uttarakāṇḍa*) of the Rāmāyaṇa and in similar places,[122] does not offer sufficient evidence to assume, that the ancient Hindu Aryans were not acquainted with, or did not worship, the Phallus.

It is equally difficult to state when the liṅga cult became prevalent in India, as it is to fix the time when the worship of Śiva coalesced with that of the liṅga. That Śiva was revered in the form of the liṅga in the North before the first century B.C. appears pretty certain, for this worship seems to have been the state-religion in Kaśmīr in the time of King Kaniṣka. However, as India had for three centuries been then already subject to Grecian influence, and as the Phallus-worship prevailed among the Greeks, it was possible that the Hindus obtained it from their conquerors, yet no evidence exists to prove such an assertion.

In fact the worship of the male member was known all over the world. The Phœnician legend of Adonis, the Phrygian of Athys, the Egyptian of Osiris (or perhaps of Khem), and many others of a similar kind bear testimony to this fact. The Hebrew custom of circumcision represents originally a like idea. Derived no doubt from Egypt, it offers an example how a simple surgical operation can be transformed into a religious performance of the highest

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[122] See Sanskrit-Wörterbuch von O. Böthlingk, and R. Roth; Vol. VI, p. 540, under *liṅga*.

sanctity by establishing it as a sign of a covenant between God and the house of Abraham, thus depriving this ceremony of every taint of indecency and lasciviousness. And in a similar manner the cult of the *membrum virile* was also viewed by the wise men and priests of Egypt, and by the esoteric liṅga worshippers of India, with many of whom it is unconnected with sensuality. The common mass on the other hand takes everywhere delight in the exhibition of coarse and vile practices to which must be counted the indecent Phallic processions in Egypt, Greece and Italy. Melampūs, the son of Amytheōn, introduced according to Herodotos the worship of Dionysos, and the procession of the Phallus first from Egypt into Greece,[123] where it degenerated, as was also the case in Italy, and filled the streets of the towns and the lanes of the country with crowds of riotous men and lascivious women, so that these processions had eventually to be suppressed by legal measures and by main force.

Śiva is said to be more pleased by being worshipped in the form of the liṅga, than by any other adoration, as he declared to Aśvatthāman.[124] Tradition has it that Śiva assumed first the shape of the liṅga in the contest which took place between Brahman and Viṣṇu, and at the day of Śivarātri he appears in the form of the Mahāliṅga.

There exist on the earth seven various species of liṅgas, which are called after Brahman, the Gods, Ṛṣis, Siddhas, Rākṣasas, Men and Bāṇa.[125]

Different liṅgas should be worshipped inside and outside the houses. Those used inside by householders should be

[123] See Herodotos, II. 49.

[124] See *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇasaṁvāda*, 18th chapter:
Liṅgapūjā Śivasyēṣṭā vigrahārādhanāt priyē
Aśvatthāmnē ca gaditam Śivavākyam tathaiva hi.

[125] *Ibidem:*
Svāyambhuvam daivam ārṣam saiddham rākṣasam ēva ca,
Mānuṣam Bāṇapūjyam ca sapta liṅgāni bhūtalē.

made of gold, or precious stones, or quicksilver, or other similar material. There exists twenty-two various kinds of such liṅgas. Brāhman householders should use liṅgas made of rock crystal, Kṣatriyas of silver, Vaiśyas of bell-metal, Śūdras of earth and Rākṣasas of gold.[126]

In the ritual of the Pañcāyatana are mentioned various kinds of liṅgas which can be worshipped, as the Narmadā or Bāṇaliṅga, an artificial liṅga, a Pāṇipīṭha liṅga, an earthen liṅga, one consisting of a jewel, or one made of butter, or one of gold, silver or copper, or one which representing life, is drawn as it were from the heart.[127]

The natural stone liṅgas are found in various rivers, but those of the Narmadā and Gaṇḍakī excel all others in value and efficiency, and of the stones of these two streams those of the Narmadā are in their turn preferred.[128] It is a peculiar coincidence that the Gaṇḍakī which harbours in its bed the Sālagrāma-stones should be also renowned for its stone liṅgas.

The origin of the liṅgas in the Narmadā is ascribed to the asura *Bāṇa* who worshipped in olden times in its neighbourhood and placed the Liṅgas in the Narmadā. Of the three species which are found in the river the bubble-shaped are

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[126] *Ibidem :*
Gṛhastham gēhapūjāyām ratnasvarṇarasādihhiḥ,
dvāviṁśatividhāni syur liṅgānyētāni tatra ca.
Sphāṭikam brāhmaṇānām tu rājatam bāhujanmanām,
vaiśyānām kāṁsyaracitam mṛnmayam pādajanmanām,
Svarṇaliṅgam rākṣasānām praśastam gṛhapūjanē.

[127] Nārmadē vā kriyāliṅgē pāṇipīṭhayutē' pi vā
pārthivē maṇiliṅgē vā navanītamayē' pi vā,
Sauvarṇē rājatē tāmrē prāṇaliṅgē yajēt Śivam,
aṣṭamūrtiṣu vā Śambhum nityam ārādhayēt dvijaḥ.

Under Pāṇipīṭha liṅga is also occasionally understood a **liṅga made** of earth and placed for worship in the left haud.

[128] See *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇasaṁvāda* loco citato :
Bhaumam bhōgapradam tatra dvē liṅgē sarvakāmadē
Narmadā-Gaṇḍakī-liṅgē tatrāpyuttamam īritam
Sarvadā liṅgam abjākṣi Narmadāliṅgam arcayēt.

regarded as the best, next come the egg-shaped, and the last the bull-hump-shaped should not be worshipped at all by men. Wise persons should further worship those liṅgas which have a reddish colour like a ripe roseapple, or are dark blue like the muzzle of a female buffalo, or brown like the eyes of the wonderful cow Kapila.[129]

The Bāṇaliṅga which stands always near Śiva should be as long as the distance from the Māṣaline to the end of the hand, like a ripe roseapple, like honey, like a bee, a crystal, if blue, smooth like a mirrored image and with a basis of the same colour, like a bullhump, the nipple of a cow's udder, a fowl's egg and smooth.[130]

Avoided should be those liṅgas, which are rough, uneven, short, light, thick, sharp-pointed, thin, triangular, long, without marks, with a hole, blue-coloured, low, cut, which have lines, spots or stains, are like a śūla, are flat, tawny, glittering like a diamond, have a cracked basis, or a pericarp of a lotus. Persons who desire final emancipation should avoid these liṅgas.[131]

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[129] See *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇasaṁvāda* loco citato :
Arcayitvā Narmadāyām Bāṇēna nihitam purā,
Śivaliṅgam śilārūpam tatrābhīṣṭaphalapradam,
Uttamam budbudākāram madhyamam tvaṇḍasannibham
Pūjanīyam dvayam liṅgam gṛhasthair liṅgamandirē.
Vṛṣabhaskandhasadṛśam adhamam santyajēt naraḥ.
Jambūpakvaphalaprakhyam mahiṣīnāsikāprabham
Kapilākṣisamam kāntyā pūjanīyam trayam budhaiḥ.

[130] Bāṇam liṅgam adhiṣṭhitēśam aniśam māṣādihastāntakam,
Jambūpakvaphalōpamam madhunibham bhṛṅgaprabham kācabham,
Nīlam vā pratibimbabandhabharitam tadvarṇapīṭham kakut—
Tulyam gōstanakukkuṭāṇḍasadṛśam snigdham sadārcyam śriyai.
Worth quoting is this stanza taken from the *Śivadharmōttara :*
Pūjanīyas sadā Śambhuḥ svayamvyaktaḥ phalādiṣu.
A natural liṅga is often found within certain fruits and flowers.
The *Māṣa* is the upper line which crosses the palm of the hand.

[131] Varjyam karkaśarūkṣakubjam aguru sthūlam śitāgram kṛśam
Tryaśram dīrgham alakṣaṇam sasuṣiram nīlābhanīcakṣatam
Rēkhābindukalaṅkaśūlacipiṭam piṅgam sphuraddhīrakam
Pīṭham vā sphuṭitam sakarṇikam idam sarvam mumukṣus tyajēt.

Fourteen krores of Bāṇaliṅgas are found in eight different places of the world, one krore each in the Amarapati (kṣētra ?), Mahēndra mountain, in Nepal (Gaṇḍakī), Kanyā (kubja) and Tīrthāraṇya, 3 krores each in Śrīgiri (Śrīśaila), Liṅgaśaila and Kālīgarta. Besides these liṅgas there exist many liṅgas with or without *pīṭhas* worshipped in maṇṭapas by the eight Dikpālas.[132]

The Gaṇḍakī supplies six varieties of liṅgastones which are called respectively: *Śivanābha, Aghōra, Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna,* of these six the *Aghōra* alone is unfit for worship, as it possesses an indistinct appearance, and has on its top a red braid of hair and the crescent of the moon. Śiva is occasionally worshipped in the form of a cross-shaped liṅga. Four of these liṅgas face the four cardinal points and the fifth looks upwards, standing in the middle on the top of them. These five liṅgas are called Sadyōjāta, Vāmadēva, Aghōra, Tatpuruṣa and Īśāna. The first faces the west, the second the north, the third the south, the fourth the east, and the fifth the sky. At the erection of a liṅga the five mantras of which the first begins with *sadyōjātam* should be repeated.[133]

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[132] Asmillōkē caturdaśakōṭibāṇaliṅgāvasthānasthalaviśēṣā ucyantē.
Pratyēkam kōṭir ēkā hy Amarapati-Mahēndrādri-Nēpāla-Kanyā-
Tīrthāraṇyēṣu, kōṭitritayam atha pṛthak Śrīgirau Liṅgaśailē
Kāligartē ca pīṭhair virahitasahitānyēva liṅgāni sarva—
Prāsādōpētapīṭhānyatha haridadhipārcyāni kāmyāni ca syuḥ.

This latter information about the Bāṇaliṅga was supplied to me by M.R.Ry. A. Krishnasvami Iyer, B.A.

[133] *Ibidem.*
Gaṇḍakījātam abjākṣi Śivanābham iti smṛtam,
Śivanābhir Aghōraśca Sadyōjātas tathaiva ca.
Vāmadēvas Tatpuruṣa Īśānaḥ ṣaḍvidhāḥ smṛtāḥ,
Aghōram tu parityajya pūjyāḥ pañcavidhāḥ smṛtāḥ.
Sarvatra saṁhitākārā mūrdhni raktajaṭēndudhṛk
Aghōramūrtiḥ sā tyājyā gṛhasthaiḥ śubhakāṅkṣibhiḥ.

With respect to these five liṅgas it may be added that the Sadyōjāta-liṅga is in Kāñcī, the Tatpuruṣa in Kālahasti, the Aghōra and Īśāna in Cidambaram and the Vāmadēva-liṅga in Jambukēśvara. These mantras

The two streams Gaṇḍakī and Narmadā provide thus together seven auspicious kinds of the liṅga, five come from the former, two from the latter.[134]

Ten general distinctive marks (lakṣaṇa) are ascribed to the stone-liṅgas, the *āḍhya* is like a half-moon, the *anāḍhya* like a triangle, the *surēḍya* like a fowl's egg, the *sarvasa* like an umbrella, the other six are the *nāgara, drāviḍa, vēsara, sarvadēśika, kaliṅga* and *varāṭa*.

In the preceding three chapters I have dealt with the three gods which constitute the Trimūrti, and, by inquiring into the origin and nature of some of their characteristic emblems, I have been able to point out and to explain the changes in the position and worship of these gods, which occurred in course of time. From the consideration of the Trimūrti I now turn to the gradually developed conception of a Supreme Spirit (Parātman, Paramātman, Brahman or Parabrahman) and thence to the worship of the Energy or Śakti.

CHAPTER XVII.

On Paramātman, the Supreme Spirit.

Though Viṣṇu and Siva still claim the chief adoration of the masses and are devoutly worshipped by their adherents, the great Indian thinkers have long ago discarded popular superstitions and arrived at a higher and purer

begin respectively with Sadyōjātam, Vāmadēvāya, Aghōrēbhyaḥ, Tatpuruṣāya and Īśānaḥ, and occur in the Nārāyaṇīyājñikī Upaniṣad, 17—21. In the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, on pp. 96 and 97 in Tārānāthatarkavācaspati's edition (Śaka 1793, A.D. 1871) it is said that the Supreme lord has the *Īśāna* as his head, the *Tatpuruṣa* as his mouth, the *Aghōra* as his heart, the *Vāmadēva* as his secret parts, and the *Sadyōjāta* as his feet: "Īśānamastakastatpuruṣavaktrō ghōrahṛdayō vāmadēvaguhyaḥ sadyōjātapāda īśvara iti." The same is expressed in the ślōka:

Tadvapuḥ pañcabhir mantraiḥ pañcakṛtyōpayōgibhiḥ
Īśatatpuruṣāghōravāmādyair mastakād idam. See p. 366.

[134] *Ibidem*:
Gaṇḍakīsambhavē pañca Narmadāsambhavē dvayam,
Pūjanīyāni liṅgāṇi naraiḥ saptavidhānyapi.

conception of the Godhead. However, their teaching has neither reached nor penetrated the mind of the masses to whom the worship of an abstract incorporeal and invisible divinity could only appear meaningless, and in whom it could not excite any fervour.

A great religious reform in Brahmanism was, as is well known, effected by the famous Śaṅkarācārya who was a native of Southern India, like the great teachers Bhagavad Rāmānujācārya and Madhvācārya who appeared after him.

It is not my intention here to discuss the development or pursue the history of Modern Brahmanism, I only wish to sketch in a few lines some of the striking points of the worship of the Godhead and to proceed then to the description of the adoration of Śakti or female energy, a subject which leads us back to the national religion of the Non-Aryan population of India.

Śaṅkarācārya, the founder of the Advaita belief, declared that the Supreme Spirit alone is real, is pure intelligence, free from all distinctions, eternal, stainless, knowing and free, and that matter (*jagat* or *māyā*) is unreal; or that the former does not possess any qualities while the latter does; or that the former represents knowledge and the latter ignorance. In consequence the Supreme Spirit is invisible yet all-seeing, omniscient, the cause, the maker and the giver of all. He cannot be comprehended by mind or speech and is impervious to the distinctions of place, time or matter, he is the lord and protector of all and shines through his own essence.[135]

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[135] Compare *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 55: "Aśēṣapratyanīkam cinmātram brahmaiva paramārthaḥ tacca nityaśuddhabuddhamuktasvabhāvamapi," and *Ibidem*, p. 96:

Sa jñaḥ sarvasya kartṛtvāt sādhanāṅgaphalaiḥ saha.
yō yajjānāti kurutē sa tadēvēti susthitam.

See also *Dēvībhāgavata* III, 6, 70, and IX, 2, 13, 14, 70.

70. Dṛśyañca nirguṇam lōkē na bhūtam nō bhaviṣyati.
nirguṇaḥ paramātmāsau na tu dṛśyaḥ kadācana.

The Advaita philosophy admits six essential elements, five of which disappear, while one remains imperishable; these six are the life, the lord, the pure intellect, the difference between the latter and the previous two, ignorance, and the difference between it and the pure intellect. This pure intellect does not perish.[136]

The natures of the Supreme Spirit and of Energy (Māyā, Prakṛti, or Śakti) are originally identical, and no difference exists between them. What he is is she, and what she is is he, confusion of mind only creates a difference, though a subtle distinction does in reality exist. Though eternal and without a second, Brahman arrives at the time of creation at a dual state, and though originally without any attributes, he unites himself for the purpose of creation with matter (Māyā) and becomes thus *Saguṇabrahman*, Brahman with attributes. As the light through some cause becomes double, either through reflection or by means of a mirror, so also is the one (Paramātman) the reflection of the other (Prakṛti).[137]

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13. Tējōrūpam nirākāram dhyāyantē yōginaḥ tadā
vadanti ca param Brahma Paramātmānam Īśvaram,

14. Adṛśyam sarvadraṣṭāram sarvajñam sarvakāraṇam
sarūpam tamarūpam ca tam Vaiṣṇavāḥ tanna manvatē.

The idea concerning the position of Brahman to matter is expressed in such axioms as: Brahma satyam jaganmithyā; Brahma nirguṇam Brahma saguṇam; Brahma jñānarūpam Māyā ajñānarūpiṇī. Otherwise the Supreme Spirit is described as *vāṅmanasāgōcaram*, *dēśakālavastuparicchēdaśūnyam* and *svayamprakāśavastu*.

[136] Jīva īśō viśuddhā cit bhēdastasyāḥ tayōr dvayōḥ
avidyā taccitor bhēdaḥ ṣaṭ asmākam anādayaḥ.

Ṣaḍanādayaḥ tēṣu pañca naśyanti, ēkō viśuddhā cit na naśyati, ētat ēva Brahman.

Compare with this *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 103:
Patividyē tathāvidyā paśuḥ pāśaśca kāraṇam
tannivṛttāviti prōktāḥ padārthāḥ ṣaṭ samāsataḥ.'

[137] See *Dēvībhāgavata* III, 6, 1—6, and IX, 2, 5—7.

1. Iti pṛṣṭā mayā dēvī vinayāvanatēna ca
uvāca vacanam ślakṣṇam ādyā bhagavatī hi sā.

The Supreme Spirit is manifested in five different aspects, one of which the individual believer regards as the principal form, the *iṣṭadēvatā*, and round this he arranges the other four. These five varieties form united the one Godhead.[138]

They are known as the *Pañca Āyatanāni*, called Āditya, Ambikā, Viṣṇu, Gaṇanātha and Mahēśvara, and are respectively represented by a crystal, metal ore, Sālagrāma-stone, redstone and a bāṇaliṅga. Whichever of these five is chosen by the worshipper, is placed in the middle, and the other four occupy a fixed position in the North-East, South-East, South-West and North-West. If Śiva is the middle then Viṣṇu, Āditya, Gaṇēśa and Ambikā are respectively in the N. E., S. E., S. W.; and N. W., if Viṣṇu occupies the centre then Śiva, Gaṇēśa, Āditya and Ambikā are in the corresponding positions; if Āditya is chosen the order is

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2. Sadaikatvam na bhēdō'sti sarvadaiva mamāsya ca
   yōśau sāham aham yōśau bhēdō'sti mativibhramāt.
3. Āvayōr antaram sūkṣmam yō vēda matimān hi saḥ
   vimuktaḥ sa tu saṁsārāt ucyatē nātra saṁśayaḥ.
4. Ēkam ēvādvitīyam vai brahma nityam sanātanam
   dvaitabhāvam punar yāti kāla utpitsusañjñakē.
5. Yathā dīpaḥ tathōpādhēr yōgāt sañjāyatē dvidhā
   chāyēvādarśamadhyē vā pratibimbam tathāvayōḥ.
6. Bhēda utpitsukālē vai sargārtham prabhavatyaja
   dṛśyādṛśyavibhēdō' yam dvaividhyē sati sarvathā;

and IX, 2, 5—7:

5. Nitya ātmā nabhō nityam kālo nityō diśō yathā
   viśvānām gōlakam nityam nityō gōlōka ēva ca.
6. Tadēkadēśē vaikuṇṭhō hyabhramārgānusārakaḥ
   tathaiva prakṛtir nityā Brahmalīlā sanātanī.
7. Yathāgnau dāhikā candrē prahlādō bhā ravau yathā
   śaśvad yuktā na bhinnā sā tathā prakṛtir ātmani.

[138] Vastutō nirguṇam Brahma śuddhādvaitam pracakṣatē.
Māyayā saguṇam tasya pūjyatā pūjakaiḥ kṛtā.
Upāsakānām kāryārtham brahmaṇō guṇakalpanam
yādṛśī bhāvanā yasya siddhir bhavati tādṛśī.
Svasvapriyatamam dēvam madhyē sthāpya śucivrataḥ
caturdikṣu caturmūrtīḥ pañcāyatanam arcayēt. (Nirṇayasindhu.)

Śiva, Gaṇēśa, Viṣṇu and Ambikā; if Ambikā then Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇēśa and Āditya; and if Gaṇēśa or Gaṇanātha is in the middle Viṣṇu, Śiva, Āditya and Ambikā are respectively stationed in the N. E., S. E., S. W., and N. W.[139]

In the Vaiṣṇava belief, or Visiṣṭādvaita Vēdānta, the desire of Viṣṇu is the Māyā, which is subject to Viṣṇu and through which he destroys the world after having created and protected it.[140]

The Supreme Spirit is according to the belief of the Vaiṣṇavas always endowed with attributes, and is therefore always *saguṇa*. Bhagavad Rāmānujācārya, the great Vaiṣṇava reformer, teaches a triad of principles, the Supreme Spirit represented by Hari, the individual spirit by the soul, and the visible world by the non-soul. The individual spirits, or souls, are eternal. The Supreme Spirit of the Vaiṣṇavas, Vāsudēva, is also viewed under five different forms (mūrti), as *arcā*, adoration, in images; *vibhava*, mani-

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[139] Sambhau madhyagatē harīnaharabhūdēvyō, Harau śaṅkarē-
bhāsyēnāgasutā Ravau Haragaṇēśājāmbikās sthāpitāḥ,
Dēvyām Viṣṇuharaikadantaravayō, Lambōdarē'jēśvarē-
nāryāḥ, Śaṅkarabhāgatōtisukhadā vyastāstu tē hānidāḥ.

According to the various deities worshipped, there are six principal religions sects in India, their respective deity being Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sakti, Sūrya, Gaṇapati, or Kapālin. The special characteristics of each are contained in the following lines:

Śaivē liṅgadhṛtir hi Śāktikamatē hālāhṛtir Vaiṣṇavē
Mudrātāpavidhir Gaṇādhipamatē tūcchiṣṭavastugrahaḥ
Saurē lōhitacandanārcanavidhiḥ Kāpālikē mānuṣa
dhvastiḥ, yēna kalau nirākṛtam abhūt, sōmō guruḥ Śaṅkaraḥ.

In *Śṛṅgēri* the principal seat of Śaṅkarācārya the Pañcāyatanam is revered as follows:

Śrīcandramaulīśvaraśāradāmbā Śrīratnagarbhārkanṛsiṁharūpam,
ārādhanīyam satatam manuṣyair Brahmaiva pañcāyatanam prapadyē.

Candramaulīśvara represents the principal forms of the liṅga, *Śāradāmbā* the principal form of Dēvī or Ambikā, *Ratnagarbha* the principal of the 21 Gaṇēśamūrtis, *Arka* the principal of the twelve Ādityamūrtis and *Nṛsiṁha* the principal of the Viṣṇumūrtis.

[140] Viṣṇōr icchaiva Māyā, sā Viṣṇōr adhīnā, tayaiva Viṣṇur jagat sṛṣṭvā pālayitvā saṁharati.

festation, in the incarnations; *vyūha,* formation, in the fourfold appearance as Saṅkarṣaṇa, Vāsudēva, Pradyumna and Aniruddha; *sūkṣma,* subtile, in the Supreme Spirit Vāsudēva with his six attributes, the first of which is exemption from sin; and *antaryāmi,* interior spirit, controlling the individual soul.[141]

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[141] Compare *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 55:
Īśvaraścidaciccēti padārthatritayam hariḥ
īśvaraścita ityuktā jīvādṛśyam acit punar,
Ibidem 64:
tatra cicchabdavācyajīvātmānaḥ paramātmanaḥ sakāśād bhinnā nityāśca
Also 65: Vāsudēvaḥ param brahma kalyāṇaguṇasaṁyutaḥ
bhuvanānām upādānam kartā jīvaniyāmakaḥ.

Sa ēva Vāsudēvaḥ paramakāruṇikō bhaktavatsalaḥ paramapuruṣaḥ tadupāsakānuguṇatattatphalapradānāya svalīlāvaśād arcāvibhavavyūhasūkṣmāntaryāmibhēdēna pañcadhāvatiṣṭhatē. Tatrārcā nāma pratimādayaḥ, rāmādyavatārō vibhavaḥ vyūhaścaturvidhaḥ Vāsudēva-Saṅkarṣaṇa-Pradyumnāniruddhasañjñakaḥ, sūkṣmam sampūrṇam ṣaḍguṇam vāsudēvākhyam param brahma guṇā apahatapāpmatvādayaḥ sō'pahatapāpmā vijarō vimṛtyurviśōkō vijighatsaḥ apipāsaḥ satyakāmaḥ satyasaṅkalpa iti śrutēḥ, antaryāmī sakalajīvaniyāmakaḥ ya ātmani tiṣṭhannātmānam antarōyamayatīti śrutēḥ. "I have corrected a few mistakes occurring in the print. In the *Yatīndramatadīpikā* the five mūrtis of Parabrahman are given in the opposite order: paravyūhavibhavāntaryāmyarcāvatārarūpēṇa pañcaprakāraḥ."

Compare also the description of the Supreme Śrīkṛṣṇa as found in the *Dēvībhāgavata,* IX, II, 15—25:

15. Vadanti caiva tē kasya tējas tējasvinā vinā
tējōmaṇḍalamadhyastham Brahma tējasvinam param.
16. Svēcchāmayam sarvarūpam sarvakāraṇakāraṇam
atīva sundaram rūpam bibhratam sumanōharam.
17. Kiśōravayasam śāntam sarvakāntam parātparam
navīnanīradābhāsam dhāmaikam śyāmavigraham.
18. Śaranmadhyāhnapadmaughaśōbhāmōcanalōcanam
muktācchaviviuindyaikadantapaṅktimanōharam.
19. Mayūrapiñchacūḍam ca mālatīmālyamaṇḍitam
sunasam susmitam kāntam bhaktānugrahakāraṇam.
20. Jvaladagniviśuddhaikapītāṁśukasuśōbhitam
dvibhujam muralīhastam ratnabhūṣaṇabhūṣitam.
21. Sarvādhāram ca sarvēśam sarvaśaktiyutam vibhum
sarvaiśvaryapradam sarvasvatantram sarvamaṅgalam.
22. Paripūrṇatamam siddham siddhēśam siddhikāraṇam
dhyāyantē vaiṣṇavāś śaśvad dēvadēvam sanātanam.

According to the Śaiva religion Māyā constitutes half the body of Śiva on his left side, she is in reality Śakti as Pārvatī, or Viṣṇu in the form of Māyā.[142]

Religious fervour pervades the mind of the Indian population, and the various philosophical and scientific systems are anxious to define the nature of the Supreme Spirit. We need not therefore be surprised that attempts have been made to connect Brahman with sound and to identify him with the word *sphōṭa*, as Bhartṛhari (Hari) does in his verse, stating that it is: "Brahman, without beginning and end, the imperishable essence of speech, which revolves by the state of things, and whence arises the formation of the world."[143]

In order to give an idea of how the majority of intelligent Hindus comprehend the nature of the Supreme Spirit, I extract from the Bhagavadgītā, the sacred portion of the Bhīṣmaparvan of the Mahābhārata, a few lines concerning Him. In the discourse of the divine *Kṛṣṇa* with the Pāṇḍava hero, *Arjuna*, the former says:

" Earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, intellect and self-consciousness constitute my eightfold divided nature; however, know that, besides this, I possess a superior, an animate, nature, by which, O long-armed, the world is

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23. Janmamṛtyujarāvyādhiśōkabhītiharam param
    Brahmaṇō vayasā yasya nimēṣa upacaryatē.
24. Sacātmā sa param brahma Kṛṣṇa ityabhidhīyatē
    kṛṣistadbhaktivacanō naśca taddāsyavācakaḥ.
25. Bhaktidāsyapradātā yas sa ca kṛṣṇaḥ prakīrtitaḥ
    ityāhur vaiṣṇavās tatra siddhāntaḥ prōcyatē mayā.

[142] Śaivamatē Māyā Śivasya ardharūpam vāmāṅgam saiva Śaktiḥ; which idea is also thus expressed: Śaivamatē Viṣṇur Māyārūpaḥ, Śivasya vāmāṅgē Pārvatīrūpēṇa vartatē.

[143] See *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 158: "Sphōṭākhyō niravayavō nityaḥ śabdō brahmaivēti. Hariṇābhāṇi:

Anādinidhanam brahma śabdatattvam yadakṣaram
vivartatē'rthabhāvēna prakriyā jagatō yataḥ.

This theory about the eternity of the sound *sphōṭa* is contradicted in Kapila's Sāṅkhyasūtras V, 57 and 58.

supported. Understand that this is the source of all creation. I am the cause and likewise the dissolution of the whole universe. Nothing higher, O Dhanañjaya, exists than me; all this is strung on me like a multitude of pearls on a string. I am the moisture in the water, O son of Kuntī, I am the splendour of the sun and the moon, I am the mystical syllable (*ōm*) of all the Vēdas, the sound in the ether, manliness in men. I am the pure flavour of the earth, and the light in the fire, the life in all beings, and the penance of ascetics. Know me, O son of Pṛthā, to be the eternal seed of all beings, the intellect of all intelligent creatures, the brilliance of all brilliants. I am the strength of the strong, free from desire and passion, O bull of the Bharatas, I am in animate beings the desire consistent with righteousness. Know that all the existences that partake of the qualities of Sattva (goodness), Rajas (passion), and Tamas (darkness) are from me, but not in me. The whole world, beguiled by the existences influenced by these three qualities, does not know me, who am distinct from them, and immutable. My divine illusion, depending on the three qualities, is hard to overcome; those, however, who have recourse to me, cross this illusion."[144]

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[144] See *Mahābhārata*, *Bhīṣmaparvan*, XXXI, 4—14:

4. Bhūmir āpō'nalō vāyuḥ kham manō buddhir ēva ca
ahaṅkāra itīyam mē bhinnā prakṛtir aṣṭadhā.
5. Aparēyam itas tvanyām prakṛtim viddhi mē parām
jīvabhūtām mahābāhō yayēdam dhāryatē jagat.
6. Ētadyōnīni bhūtāni sarvāṇītyupadhāraya
aham kṛtsnasya jagataḥ prabhavaḥ pralayas tathā.
7. Mattaḥ parataram nānyat kiñcidasti, Dhanañjaya,
mayi sarvam idam prōtam sūtrē maṇigaṇā iva.
8. Rasō'ham apsu, Kauntēya, prabhāsmi śaśisūryayōḥ
praṇavaḥ sarvavēdēṣu śabdaḥ khē pauruṣam nṛṣu.
9. Puṇyō gandhaḥ pṛthivyām ca tējascāsmi vibhāvasau
jīvanam sarvabhūtēṣu tapaścāsmi tapasviṣu.
10. Bījam mām sarvabhūtānām viddhi Pārtha sanātanam
buddhir buddhimatām asmi tējas tējasvinām aham.

"*Brahman* is supreme and imperishable, *Adhyātman* is individual constitution, the quality which makes the production of things is called action, *Adhibhūta* represents the perishable, the *Adhidaivata* is Puruṣa. I am here in this body Adhiyajña, O best of corporeal beings. He who, at the end of time, when leaving his body, remembers me, goes to my state; there is no doubt about it. Moreover, O son of Kuntī, he goes to that exact state which he remembers when leaving his body. Therefore remember me at all times and fight, fixing the intelligence of your mind on me. He who with a mind endowed with the practice of meditation does not stray elsewhere, goes, O son of Pṛthā, to the Divine Soul (Puruṣa). He who at the time of his departure thinks of the ancient prophet, of the ruler, of him who is more minute than an atom, who preserves all, whose form is inconceivable, who has the colour of the sun, and who is beyond darkness, with a steady mind, with faith and power of abstraction, fixing his breath in the middle of his brows, goes to that supreme Divine Soul. I shall now briefly tell you about that place, which the Vedic scholars call imperishable, which the ascetics whose passions have gone enter, and longing for which they live a celibate life. He who, on leaving his body, departs, having closed up all the doors (senses), having confined his mind within his heart, placing his breath within his head, intent on persevering devotion, uttering the mantra consisting of the one syllable *Ōm*, while remembering me, goes to the highest happiness. To him, O son of Pṛthā, who always remembers me with a mind undiverted to other

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11. Balam balavatāṁścāhaṁ kāmarāgavivarjitam
dharmāviruddhō bhūtēṣu kāmō'smi Bharatarṣabha.
12. Yē caiva sāttvikā bhāvā rājasāstāmasāśca yē
matta ēvēti tān viddhi na tvaham tēṣu tē mayi.
13. Tribhir guṇamayair bhāvair ēbhis sarvam idam jagat
mōhitam nābhijānāti mām ēbhyaḥ paramavyayam.
14. Daivī hyēṣā guṇamayī mama māyā duratyayā
mām ēva yē prapadyantē māyām ētām taranti tē.

objects, to such a devout devotee I am easily accessible. Those high-minded persons who have attained the highest perfection and have reached me, do not incur rebirth, the transient dwelling of pain. The worlds downwards from the abode of Brahman, O son of Kuntī, revolve again, but when I am reached there is no more rebirth."[145] "I am the Spirit, O curly-haired, which resides in all beings. I am the beginning, the middle, and the end of things. Among the Ādityas I am Viṣṇu, among the luminaries I am the radiant sun, among the Maruts I

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[145] See *Bhīṣmaparvan*, XXXII, 3—15:

3. Akṣaram paramam Brahma svabhāvō'dhyātma ucyatē
bhūtabhāvōdbhavakarō nisargaḥ karmasañjñitaḥ.
4. Adhibhūtam kṣarō bhāvaḥ puruṣaścādhidaivatam
adhiyajñō'ham ēvātra dēhē dēhabhṛtām vara.
5. Antakālē ca mām ēva smaran muktvā kalēvaram
yaḥ prayāti sa madbhāvam yāti nāstyatra saṁśayaḥ.
6. Yam yam vāpi smaran bhāvam tyajatyantē kalēvaram
tam tam ēvaiti Kauntēya sadā tadbhāvabhāvitaḥ.
7. Tasmāt sarvēṣu kālēṣu mām anusmara yudhya ca
mayyarpitamanōbuddhir mām ēvaiṣyasyasaṁśayaḥ.
8. Abhyāsayōgayuktēna cētasā nānyagāminā
paramam puruṣam divyam yāti Pārthānucintayan.
9. Kavim purāṇam anuśāsitāram aṇōr aṇīyāṁsam anusmarēd yaḥ
sarvasya dhātāram acintyarūpam ādityavarṇam tamasaḥ parastāt.
10. Prayāṇakāle manasācalēna bhaktyā yuktō yōgabalēna caiva
bhruvōr madhyē prāṇam āvēśya samyak sa tam param puruṣam upaiti divyam.
11. Yadakṣaram vēdavidō vadanti viśanti yad yatayō vītarāgāḥ
yad icchantō brahmacaryam caranti tattē padam saṅgrahēṇa pravakṣyē.
12. Sarvadvārāṇi saṁyamya manō hṛdi nirudhya ca
mūrdhnyādhāyātmanaḥ prāṇam āsthitō yōgadhāraṇām.
13. Ōm ityēkākṣaram brahma vyāharan mām anusmaran
yaḥ prayāti tyajan dēham sa yāti paramām gatim.
14. Ananyacētās satatam yō mām smarati nityaśaḥ
tasyāham sulabhaḥ Pārtha nityayuktasya yōginaḥ.
15. Mām upētya punar janma duḥkhālayam aśāśvatam
nāpnuvanti mahātmānaḥ saṁsiddhim paramām gatāḥ.
16. Ābrahmabhuvanāllōkāḥ punar āvartinō'rjuna
mām upētya tu Kauntēya punar janma na vidyatē.

am Marīcī, among the stars I am the moon. Among the Vēdas I am the Sāmavēda, among the gods I am Vāsava, among the senses I am the mind, of living beings I am the life. Among the Rudras I am Śaṅkara, among the Yakṣas and Rakṣas I am the lord of wealth, among the Vasus I am Pāvaka, among the high mountains I am Mēru. Know, O son of Pṛthā, that I am Bṛhaspati, the chief among the high priests. Among army leaders I am Skanda, among the sheets of water I am the Ocean, among the great sages I am Bhṛgu, among words I am the one syllable (*Ōm*), among sacrifices I am the Japa, among immovable things I am the Himālaya, among all trees I am the Aśvattha, among the divine sages I am Nārada. Among the Gandharvas I am Citraratha, among the Siddhas I am the sage Kapila. Among horses know me to be Uccaiśśravas which arose with the amṛta, among the grand elephants the Airāvata, and the king among men. Among weapons I am the thunderbolt, among cows I am the Kāmadhuk. I am the progeny-producing Kandarpa, I am Vāsuki among serpents. Among the Nāgas I am Ananta, I am Varuṇa among aquatic beings, I am Aryaman among the Pitṛs, I am Yama among those who restrain, I am Prahlāda among the Daityas, the Time among those who count. I am the Lion among beasts, and Vainatēya among birds. Among purifiers I am the wind, Rāma among the weapon-bearers. I am the Makara among fishes, the Jāhnavī (Gaṅgā) among streams. I am, O Arjuna, the beginning, the end, and the middle of all things; among the sciences I am the science of the Supreme Spirit, the speech of speakers. Of the letters I am the letter *a*, and of the compound words I am the Dvandva, I am also the undecaying time, I am the preserver whose face is turned everywhere. I am all-seizing death and the cause of all future things. Among feminines I am fame, fortune, speech, memory, understanding, fortitude, patience; among the Sāma-hymns I am the Vṛhatsāman, among metres

I am the Gāyatrī, among the months I am the Mārgaśīrṣa, among seasons the season of flowers, I am the gambling of cheats, of splendid things I am the splendour. I am victory, industry and the goodness of all good. I am Vāsudēva among the Vṛṣṇis, Dhanañjaya among the Pāṇḍavas, I am also Vyāsa among the saints, the seer Uśanas among the seers, I am the rod of those who subdue, I am the Policy of those who desire victory. I am also silence among secrets, and the knowledge of the knowing. That which is, O Arjuna, the seed of all beings, that I am, there does not exist a movable or immovable thing that is without me. O subduer of foes, there is no end of my divine powers, and this detailed description of my power is only mentioned by me by way of example."[146]

With these few remarks on the Supreme Spirit or Paramātman, I pass over to consider the adoration of the Female Energy or Śakti, which arising from foreign sources was received in the Aryan theogony. Its influence gradually increased, until it obtained equality with the male principle, and at last developed into the well known and widely spread Śakti worship.

CHAPTER XVIII.

On Śakti.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The principal deities of the ancient Aryans were of the male sex, and their consorts, whatever influence they possessed otherwise, derived their power mainly from being the wives of the great gods. The Aryan Pantheon did not admit a goddess to supreme authority, nor did it allow to the wives of the gods an equal share in ruling. Pallas

[146] See, *Bhīsmaparvan,* XXXIV, 20—40. This passage is so well known that I need not give it in the original.

Athēnē (Minerva) the daughter, and Hērā (Juno) the wife of Zeus (Jupiter) were thus dependent on the will of the chief of the gods, and Indrāṇī, Agnāyī and Varuṇānī, the wives respectively of Indra, Agni and Varuṇa, occupied as such in the Vēda only a secondary position. But this principle of male exclusiveness did not prevail among the Turanian races, for Davkina, the lady of the earth, was revered in ancient Babylonia as respectfully as was Ea, the lord of the water, and she was also worshipped as the creator of the world. The same idea predominates among the Gauda-Dravidians of India, where from a far remote period the Mother Earth, the representative of the Female Energy, was worshipped as the principal deity, and where even at the present day its substitute the local Grāmadēvatā is revered as the founder or creator of each village or town, as had been the practice in ancient Babylonia.[147] This non-Aryan worship has to such an extent been accepted by the Aryan population of India, that almost all important sacred places, to which pilgrims resort from the Himālaya mountains in the North to Cape Comorin in the South are under the guardianship of the principle of female energy, *i.e.*, of Dēvī, Kālī, or Śakti, &c. The original Gauda-Dravidian Grāmadēvatā, which is now also revered by the Brāhmans, is in most of these places represented by or transformed into an aryanised Kṣētradēvatā. This Kṣētradēvatā or titular deity of a town, district or country is acknowledged as a manifestation of Śakti, and the worship of these Śaktis is specially performed on the eighth day (*aṣṭamī*) of the Durgāpujā.[148]

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[147] See page 327.

[148] In the Purāṇas are given the names of many of such Kṣētradēvatās and below I quote the following which are mentioned in the Śrīdēvībhāgavata and the Matsyapurāṇa: Abhayā, Amōghākṣī, Amṛtā, Anaṅgā, Ánnapūrṇā, Ārōgyā, Bhadrā, Bhadrakarṇī, Bhadrakarṇikā, Bhadrasundarī, Bhairavī, Bhavānī, Bhīmā, Bhīmēśvarī, Bhṛti, Bhramarī, Bhūti, Bhuvanēśvarī, Bilvapatrikā, Caṇḍamuṇḍī, Caṇḍikā, Candralā, Daṇḍinī, Dēvakī, Dēvamātṛ,

Before the Aryan invaders became familiar with the religious tenets of their national foes, whose country they had conquered, and whom they had reduced to a state of

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Dēvī, Dhvani, Ēkavīrā, Gaurī, Gāyatrī, Gōmatī, Guhyakālī, Hiṅgulā, Hiraṇyākṣī, Jambūnadēśvarī, Jayā, Jayanti, Jvālāmukhī, Kalā, Kālī, Kalyāṇī, Kāmacāriṇī, Kāmākhyā, Kamalā, Kambalā, Kāmukā, Kapilā, Kauśikī Kōṭyakṣī, Kulēśvarī, Kumārī, Kuśōdakī, Lakṣmī, Lalitādēvī, Liṅgadhāriṇī, Lōlā, Mā, Mādhavī, Madōtkaṭā, Mahābhāgā, Mahādēvī, Mahālakṣmī, Mahālasā, Mahāmāyā, Mahānandā, Mahāntakā, Mahēśvarī, Makuṭēśvarī, Maṇḍakī, Maṇḍalēśā, Maṅgalā, Manmathā, Mārgadāyinī, Mātā, Mēdhā, Mīnākṣī, Mṛgāvatī, Mukuṭēśvarī, Nandā, Nandinī, Nārāyaṇī, Nīlāmbā, Nīlasarasvatī, Ōṣadhī, Paramēśvarī, Parāśakti, Pāṭalā, Piṅgalāvatī, Pracaṇḍā, Puruhūtā, Puṣkarāvatī, Puṣkarēkṣaṇā, Puṣṭi, Rādhā, Ramaṇā, Rambhā, Rati, Ratipriyā, Rēṇukā, Rudrāṇī, Rukmiṇī, Sahasrākṣī, Śākambarī, Śaṇḍakī, Śaṅkarī, Śarvāṇī, Satyavādinī, Siṁhikā, Sītā, Śivapriyā, Smṛti, Sthānī, Sthāṇupriyā, Sthāṇvīśā, Sthūlāsyā, Subhadrā, Śuddhi, Sugandhā, Sūkṣmā, Śūladhāriṇī, Sunandā, Sundarī, Svayambhuvī, Svāhā, Tārā, Tripurabhairavī, Trisandhyā, Triśūlā, Ugrā, Umādēvī, Urvaśī Utpalākṣī, Vagalā, Vandanīyā, Varārōhā, Vastrēśvarī, Vimalā, Vidhi, Vindhyanivāsinī, Vipulā, Viśālākṣī, Viśvā, Viśvamukhī, Viśvēśā, Yaśaskarī, Yōgēśvarī, etc.

See *Śrīdēvībhāgavata*, VII, 38, 3—31:

3 Sarvam dṛśyam mama sthānam sarvē kālā vratātmakāḥ
utsavās sarvakālēṣu yatō'ham sarvarūpiṇī.
4 Tathāpi bhaktavātsalyāt kiñcit kiñcid athōcyatē
śṛṇuṣvāvahitō bhūtvā nagarāja vacō mama.
5 Kōlapuram mahāsthānam yatra lakṣmīs sadā sthitā
Mātuḥpuram dvitīyam ca Rēṇukādhiṣṭhitam param.
6 Tulajāpuram tṛtīyam syāt Saptaśṛṅgam tathaiva ca
Hiṅgūlāyā mahāsthānam Jvālāmukhyās tathaiva ca.
7 Śākambharyāḥ param sthānam Bhramaryās sthānam uttamam
Śrīraktadantikāsthānam Durgāsthānam tathaiva ca.
8 Vindhyācalanivāsinyās sthānam sarvōttamōttamam
Annapūrṇāmahāsthānam Kāñcīpuram anuttamam.
9 Bhīmādēvyāḥ param sthānam Vimalāsthānam ēva ca
Śrīcandralāmahāsthānam Kauśikīsthānam ēva ca.
10 Nīlāmbāyāḥ param sthānam Nīlaparvatamastakē
Jambūnadēśvarīsthānam tathā Śrīnagaram śubham.
11 Guhyakālyā mahāsthānam Nēpalē yat pratiṣṭhitam
Mīnākṣyāḥ paramam sthānam yacca prōktam Cidambarē.
12 Vēdāraṇyam mahāsthānam Sundaryā samadhiṣṭhitam
Ēkāmbaram mahāsthānam Parāśaktyā pratiṣṭhitam,
13 Mahālasā param sthānam Yōgēśvaryās tathaiva ca
tathā Nīlasarasvatyās sthānam Cinēṣu viśrutam.

serfdom, a considerable period of time must have elapsed. It is, however, probable that the more enlightened and more peacefully inclined men of both races came gradually in

14 Vaidyanāthē tu Vagalāsthānam sarvōttamam matam
Śrīmacchrībhuvanēśvaryā maṇidvīpam mama smṛtam.
15 Śrīmattripurabhairavyāḥ Kāmākhyā Yōnimaṇḍalam
bhūmaṇḍalē kṣētraratnam mahāmāyādhivāsitam.
16 Nātaḥ parataram sthānam kvacid asti dharātalē
pratimāsam bhavēt dēvī yatra sākṣād rajasvalā.
17 Tatratyā pṛthivī sarvā dēvīrūpā smṛtā budhaiḥ
nātaḥ parataram sthānam Kāmākhyā Yōnimaṇḍalam.
18 Tatratyā dēvatās sarvāḥ parvatātmakatām gatāḥ
parvatēṣu vasantyēva mahatyō dēvatā api.
19 Gāyatryāśca param sthānam śrīmatpuṣkaram īritam
Amarēśē Caṇḍikā syāt Prabhāsē Puṣkarēkṣaṇā.
20 Naimiṣē tu mahāsthānē dēvī sā liṅgadhāriṇī
Puruhūtā Puṣkarākhyē Aṣāḍau ca Ratis tathā.
21 Caṇḍamuṇḍī mahāsthānē Daṇḍinī Paramēśvarī
Bhārabhūtau bhavēd Bhūtir Nākulēna Kulēśvarī.
22 Candrikā tu Hariścandrē Śrīgirau Śaṅkarī smṛtā
Japyēśvarē Triśūlā syāt Sūkṣmā cāmrātakēśvarē.
23 Śaṅkarī tu Mahākālē Śarvāṇī Madhyamābhidē
Kēdārākhyē mahākṣētrē Dēvī sā Mārgadāyinī.
24 Bhairavākhyē Bhairavī sā Gayāyām Maṅgalā smṛtā
Sthāṇupriyā Kurukṣētrē Svayambhuvyapi Nākulē.
25 Kanakhalē bhavēd Ugrā Viśvēśā Vimalēśvarē
Aṭṭahāsē Mahānandā Mahēndrē tu Mahāntakā.
26 Bhīmē Bhīmēśvarī prōktā sthānē Vastrāpathē punaḥ
Bhavānī Śaṅkarī prōktā Rudrāṇī tvardhakōṭikē.
27 Avimuktē Viśālākṣī Mahābhāgā Mahālayē
Gōkarṇē Bhadrakarṇī syāt Bhadrā syāt Bhadrakarṇikē.
28 Utpalākṣī Suvarṇākṣē Sthāṇvīśā Sthāṇusañjñikē
Kamalālayē tu Kamalā Pracaṇḍā Chāgalāṇḍakē.
29 Kuraṇḍalē Trisandhyā syānmakōṭē Mukuṭēśvarī
Maṇḍalēśē Śaṇḍakī syāt Kālī Kālāñjarē punaḥ.
30 Śaṅkukarṇē Dhvaniḥ prōktā Sthūlāsyā Sthūlakēśvarē
jñāninām hṛdayāmbhōjē Hṛllēkhā Paramēśvarī.
31 Prōktānīmāni sthānāni dēvyāḥ priyatamāni ca
tat tat kṣētrasya māhātmyam śrutvāpūrvam nagōttama.

Compare with it *Matsyapurāṇa*, XIII, 26—54:

26 Smartavyā bhūtikāmair vā tāni vakṣyāmi tattvataḥ,
Vārāṇaśyām Viśālākṣī Naimiśē Liṅgadhāriṇī.
27 Prayāgē Lalitādēvī Kāmukā Gandhamādanē
Mānasē Kumudā nāma Viśvā Viśvēśvarē viduḥ

contact with one auother and acquired some knowledge of the peculiar thoughts, manners, and customs of their neighbours. This could to a certain extent be more easily done in those

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28 Mā nāma Viśvakāyāntu Icchāyām Madanōtkaṭā
Gōmantē Gōmatīnāma Mandārē Kāmacāriṇī.
29 Madōtkaṭā Citrarathē Jayantī Hastināpurē
Kanyākubjē tathā Gaurī Rambhā Malayaparvatē.
30 Nandā Himavataḥ pṛṣṭhē Gōkarṇē Bhadrakarṇikā
Sthāṇēśvarē Bhavānīti Bilvakē Bilvapatrikā
31 Śrīśailē Mādhavī nāma Bhadrā Bhadrēśvarē tathā
Jayā Varāhaśailē tu Kambalā Kamalālayē.
32 Puṣkarē Puruhūtēti Kēdārē Mārgadāyinī
Rudrakōṭyām tu Rudrāṇī Kālī Kālāñjarē girau.
33 Mahāliṅgē tu Kapilā Makuṭē Makuṭēśvarī
Sālagrāmē Mahādēvī Śivaliṅgē Śivapriyā.
34 Māyāpuryām Kumārī tu Santatā Lalitē tathā
Utpalākṣē Sahasrākṣī Hiraṇyākṣī Mahōtpalē.
35 Gayāyām Maṅgalā nāma Vipulā Puruṣōttamē
Vipāśāyām Amōghākṣī Pāṭalā Puṇḍravardhanē.
36 Nārāyaṇī Supārśvē tu Trikūṭe Bhadrasundarī
Vipulē Vipulā nāma Kalyāṇī Malayācalē.
37 Kōṭyakṣī Kōṭitīrthē tu Sugandhā Māgadhē vanē
Kubjāmrakē Trisandhyā tu Gaṅgādvārē Ratipriyā
38 Śivakuṇḍē Sunandā ca Nandinī Dēvikātaṭē
Rukmiṇī Dvāravatyām tu Rādhā Bṛndāvanē vanē.
39 Dēvakī Mathurāyām tu Pātālē Paramēśvarī
Citrakūṭe tathā Sītā Vindhyē Vindhyanivāsinī.
40 Sahyādrāvēkavīrā tu Hariścandrē tu Caṇḍikā
Ramaṇā Rāmatīrthē tu Yamnnāyām Mṛgāvatī.
41 Karavīrē Mahālakṣmīr Umādēvī Vināyakē
Ārōgyā Vaidyanāthē tu Mahākālē Mahēśvarī.
42 Abhayā Suklatīrthē tu Smṛtir vā Vindhyakandarē
Māṇḍavyē Maṇḍakī nāma Svāhā Māhēśvarē purē.
43 Chāgalāṇḍē Pracaṇḍā ca Caṇḍikāmarakaṇṭakē
Sōmēśvarē Varārōhā Prabhāsē Puṣkarāvatī.
44 Dēvamātā Sarasvatyām Pārāvārataṭē matā
Mahālayē Mahābhāgā Payōṣṇē Piṅgalāvatī.
45 Siṁhikā Kṛtaśōcē tu Kārtikēyē Yaśaskarī
Utpalāvartakē Lōlā Subhadrā Sindhusaṅgamē.
46 Mātā Siddhavanē Lakṣmīr Anaṅgā Bharatāśramē
Jālandharē Viśvamukhī Tārā Kiṣkindhaparvatē.
47 Dēvadāruvanē Puṣṭir Mēdhā Kāśmīramaṇḍalē
Umādēvī Himādrau tu Saṣṭhē Vastrēśvarī tathā.

early days, when the differences of birth and occupation had not yet produced the intolerant distinctions of caste. As soon as intercourse between the opposing camps had been established, and had led to an interchange of ideas between the two alien races, the minds of the thinking members of the two communities began to meditate about, and to assimilate, doctrines hitherto strange to them. In this way, I suppose, did the principle of the Female Energy and the worship of Śakti become known to the Aryans and enter into their philosophical theories, naturally in a considerably modified form. For I do not believe that any Vedic account of the creation, *e.g.*, the 129th hymn of the 12th maṇḍala of the Ṛgvēda, can be rightly interpreted as proving that a belief in such a principle existed among the ancient Aryan population of India. No doubt *Dyaus* and *Pṛthivī* appear in the Ṛgvēda respectively as God of Heaven and Goddess of Earth, and are called father and mother, but this latter expression admits of a totally different explanation, and does not indicate a worship of Mother Earth such as we find among the Gauḍa-Dravidian Hindus, a worship which in this form is also nowhere

48 Kapālamōcanē Śuddhir Mātā Kāyāvarōhaṇē
Śankhadvārē Dhvanir nāma Bhṛtiḥ Piṇḍārakē tathā.
49 Kalā tu Candrabhāgāyām Acchōdē Śūladhāriṇī
Vaiṇāyām Amṛtā nāma Badaryām Urvaśī tathā.
50 Ōṣadhī cōttarakurau Kuśadvīpē Kuśōdakī
Manmathā Hēmakūṭē tu Kumudē Satyavādinī.
51 Aśvatthē Vandanīyā tu Vidhir Vaiśravaṇālayē
Gāyatrī Vēdavadanē Pārvatī Śivasannidhau.
52 Dēvalōkē tathēndrāṇī Brahmāṅgē tu Sarasvatī
Sūryabimbē Prabhā nāma Mātṛṇām Vaiṣṇavī tathā.
53 Arundhatī Satīnām tu Rāmāsu ca Tilōttamā
Cittē Brahmakalā nāma Śaktis Sarvaśarīriṇām.
54 Ētad uddēśataḥ prōktam Nāmāṣṭaśatam uttamam
Aṣṭōttaram ca tīrthānām śatam ētad udāhṛtam.

About the worship of the titular deities of different districts on the 8th day of the Durgāpujā, see *Durga Puja*, pp. 76, LXV and LXVI.

found among the other Aryan nations.[149] Yet, it had already appeared at an early date in the Sāṅkhya system which is ascribed to Kapila. According to general tradition he is said to have been a Brāhman, who lived about the seventh or eighth century B.C. However, the meaning of the word *kapila*, monkey-coloured, brown, from *kapi*, monkey, suggests a nickname, perhaps even alludes to a (foreign) extraction. The teaching of Kapila was at variance with the Vēda, and did not prove the existence of a Supreme Deity. In consequence it was stigmatized as heretical and atheistical.[150] On the other hand Kapila is called a son of Brahman, as are also the six sages Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana, Āsuri, Vōḍhu and Pañcaśikha.[151] Kapila was the precursor of Gautama Buddha who some centuries later was born in Kapilavāstu, the town of Kapila, said to have been founded by the sons of Ikṣvāku at the

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[149] See *Essays and Lectures chiefly on the Religion of the Hindus* by the late H. H. Wilson; edited by Dr. Reinhold Rost, London, 1862, Vol. I, pp. 241, 242. "The worship of the female principle, as distinct from the divinity, appears to have originated in the literal interpretation of the metaphorical language of the Vedas, in which the *will or purpose to create* the universe is represented as originating from the Creator and co-existent with him as his bride, and part of himself." See also *Religious Thought and Life in India*, by Monier Williams, pp. 180—182.

[150] See *Sāṅkhyasūtra* 1, 92; "*Īśvarāsiddhēḥ*," from there being no proof that there is a God (Īśvara). The term in Sanskrit is *nirīśvara*. Śaṅkarācārya says that Kapila errs by not admitting the identity of Brahman and the Universe, by disagreeing from the Vēda and acknowledging an independent Prakṛti and a diversity of souls. See his *Brahmasūtras* II, 1: Kapilō hi na sarvātmatvadarśanam anumanyatē ātmabhēdābhyupagamāt ataś ca ātmabhēdakalpanayā'pi Kāpilasya tantrasya vēdaviruddhatvam vēdānusārimanuvacanaviruddhatvam ca na kēvalam svatantraprakṛtiparikalpanayā ēvēti siddham.

[151] See *Sāṅkhyakōrikābhāṣyam* in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* by Īśvara Krishna, translated by Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Esq.; also the Bhāṣya of Gauḍapāda, translated by H. H. Wilson, Bombay, 1887, p. 2:

Sanakaśca Sanandaśca tṛtīyaśca Sanātanaḥ
Āsuriḥ Kapilaścaiva Vōḍhuḥ Pañcasikhas tathā,
ityētē Brahmaṇaḥ putrāḥ sapta prōktā maharṣayaḥ.

instigation of Kapila. Viṣṇu who, as has been previously pointed out, appeared as Buddha in order to destroy the Daityas by leading them astray, became in his fifth avatāra incarnate as Kapila, whose dangerous principles were put into practice by Gautama.[152] The existence of a connexion between the teachings of Kapila and Buddha is an admitted fact. Their doctrines appealed to the feelings of the populace, already outraged by the insolence of the Brahmanic priests, though with the difference, that the Sūtras of Kapila were more appreciated by the learned, while the doctrine of Buddha set the masses in motion; in other words, the doctrine of Kapila remained a philosophical theory while the teaching of Buddha developed into a practical religion. It is therefore easily intelligible, that the assistance of the deity, *i.e.*, of Viṣṇu, was required and invoked by the orthodox Brāhmans in order to obviate any disastrous consequences and to appropriate to their own tenets, whatever appeared useful to retain.

Kapila assumed the existence of an absolute Soul (*Puruṣa*) and of an independent Creative Force (Prakṛti, Pradhāna), which altogether form 25 Tattvas or categories, and from the counting of which the philosophical system of Kapila has received the name Sāṅkhya (enumerating).[153] "Together with Kapila 'thus says the *Sāṅkhyakārikābhāṣya*' were born Virtue, Knowledge, Dispassion and Power: for he being born, and observing the world plunged in

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[152] See pp. 308, 310, and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* I, 3, 10 :
Pañcamaḥ Kapilō nāma siddhēśaḥ kālaviplutam
prōvācāsurayē sāṅkhyam tattvagrāmavinirṇayam.

Janaka, king of Vidēha, is said to have dismissed his hundred instructors and followed the sage Pañcaśikha, a pupil of Āsuri, who was in his turn a pupil of Kapila.

Elsewhere (in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*) Kapila is called a son of Vitatha and also of Kardama.

[153] Saṅkhyām prakurvatē caiva prakṛtiśca pracakṣatē
Caturviṁśatitattvāni tēna sāṅkhyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ. (Mahābhārata.)

profound darkness by the succeeding series of worldly revolutions, was filled with compassion; and he communicated to his kinsman, the Brāhman *Asuri*, a knowledge of the twenty-five principles, from which knowledge the destruction of pain proceeds." [154] It is the aim of the Soul, the last tattva, to obtain its final emancipation by acquiring a complete knowledge of the other twenty-four tattvas, which are described as follows. "Creative Force is an "equal state of goodness, passion and darkness; from "creative force (comes) mind, from mind self-conscious-"ness, from self-consciousness the five subtile principles "and both the organs (external and internal), and from "the subtile principles the gross elements. (Besides these) "the Soul. This is the number twenty-five."

The first eight tattvas are also called the *prakṛtis* or producers and the following sixteen the *vikāras* or productions. Kapila, moreover, contended that the Soul does not possess any qualities, that the Creative Force is eternal, that Soul and Creative Force are both not created, that Creative Force is always the cause, and that nothing comes out of nothing.[155]

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[154] See *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, pp. 2, 3: Kapilasya matōtpannā dharmō jñānam vairāgyam aiśvaryam ceti; ēvam sa utpannaḥ san andhatamasi majjajjagadālōkya saṁsārapāramparyēṇa satkāruṇyō jijñāsamānāya Āsurisagōtrāya brāhmaṇāyēdam pañcaviṁśatitattvānām jñānam uktavān.

[155] Compare *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, I, 61. "Sattvarajastamasām sāmyāvasthā prakṛtiḥ prakṛtēr mahān mahatō'haṅkārō'haṅkārāt pañca tanmātrāṇyubhayam indriyam tanmātrēbhyaḥ sthūlabhūtāni puruṣa iti pañcaviṁśatir gaṇāḥ. . . . . Nirguṇādiśrutivirōdhaścēti (54). Mūlē mūlābhāvāt amūlam mūlam (67). Samānaḥ prakṛtēr dvayōḥ (69). Ādyahētutā taddvārā pāramparyē'pyaṇuvat." (The Sāṅkhya aphorisms of Kapila by James R. Ballantyne, 3rd edition, 1885, pp. 56, 71, 82, 85 and 90.)

The five *tanmātras* are *śabda*, *sparśa*, *rūpa*, *rasa* and *gandha*. The external and internal organs (*bāhyābhyantarēndriyāṇi* or the *jñānēndriyāṇi* and *karmēndriyāṇi*) are respectively *śrōtra*, *tvac*, *cakṣus*, *jihvā* and *ghrāṇa*, and *vāc*, *pāṇi*, *pāda*, *pāyu* and *upasthā*.

The *sthūlabhūta* or *mahābhūta* or *pañcīkṛtabhūta* are *pṛthivī*, *āpaḥ*,

The belief in the twenty-five principles secures final beatitude, for "he who knows the twenty-five principles, whatever order of life he may have entered, and whether he wear braided hair, a top-knot only, or be shaven, he is liberated (from existence), of this there is no doubt."[156]

Kapila's investigation was made in consequence of an assumed infliction of three kinds of trouble which are personal (*ādhyātmika*), material (*ādhibhautika*) and supernatural (*ādhidaivika*).[157]

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tējas, *vāyu*, and *ākāśa*, they form the perishable *sthūlaśarīra* or material body, while the *apañcīkṛtabhūta* form the imperishable *sūkṣma* or *liṅga-śarīra*.

[156] See *Sāṅkhyakārikābhāṣya*, pp. 2, 3:
Pañcaviṁśatitattvajñō yatra tatrāśramē vasēt
jaṭī muṇḍī śikhī vāpi mucyatē nātra saṁśayaḥ.

[157] See *ibidem*, p. 2: "Duḥkhatrayābhighātājjijñāsēti; tatra duḥkhatrayam: ādhyātmikam, ādhibhautikam, ādhidaivikam, cēti." Compare about the Sāṅkhya-philosophy *the Yōgasūtra of Patañjali* translated by Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi, Bombay, 1890, Introduction, pp. III, IV: "The *Sāṅkhya* is an enumeration (*sāṅkhya*) or analysis of the universe. It starts with the proposition that the world is full of miseries of three kinds, physical (*ādhibhautika*), supernatural (*ādhidaivika*), and corporeal (*ādhyātmika*); and that these are the results of the properties of matter (*prakṛti*) and not of its inseparable correlate intelligence or consciousness (*puruṣa*). The inseparable *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* are enough in themselves to account for the whole of the phenomena of the universe, and the idea of a Creator is looked upon the Sāṅkhyas as a mere redundant phantom of philosophy. *Puruṣas* are each a centre of simple consciousness, being ever unchangeable and unique *Prakṛti* is that substratum wherein the three properties, passivity (*sattva*), energy or activity (*rajas*), and grossness (*tamas*), exist in a state of equilibrium. Energy moves the other two and evolution begins. From the first differentiation of *prakṛti* proceeds *mahat* or the germ of individuality which gives birth to *Ahaṅkāra* or individuality proper. *Ahaṅkāra* from its passive and gross sides produces, under the influence of energy, the eleven organs of action and perception, internal and external, and the five states (*tanmātras*) preceding material formation. From the *tanmātras* are evolved the five definite material elements, *ākāśa* *vāyu*, *tējas*, *jala*, *pṛthvī*, the five states of matter properly speaking, which enter into the formation of things. These are the twenty-four *forms* of *prakṛti* which, with the *puruṣa*, make up the twenty-five elements into which the *sāṅkhya* revolves the whole of the universe. All pain is the

The Dēvībhāgavata which has for its object the glorification of Dēvī, Prakṛti or Śakti, reproduces and adopts on the whole the theses of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. Everything that exists in this world possesses the three qualities; no visible thing exists in this world which has no qualities; the Supreme Soul or Spirit (*Paramātman*) alone has no qualities (is *nirguṇa*), but is never visible. Śakti however is both *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa*, she is always the cause but never the effect; as cause she has qualities, but, when near the Soul (*Puruṣa*) she is without qualities. Mind, self-consciousness, the qualities and the subtile principles revolve continually as cause and effect by night and day. Self-consciousness is produced by Śakti, and through it she becomes the cause. Self-consciousness which possesses the three qualities is the effect of Śakti; from self-consciousness comes that mind which is called intellect (*buddhi*); intellect is the effect, self-consciousness the cause; the subtile principles originate always from self-consciousness. They are at the time of creation the cause of the five gross elements; there are also five organs of knowledge and five organs of action, the gross elements are also five, and the mind is the sixteenth; effect and cause are surely a class of sixteen. The Supreme Being is neither effect nor cause.[158]

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result of *rajas;* all grossness, ignorance, darkness of *tamas*; all pleasure, passivity, knowledge, peace of *sattva*, the mind is a result of *rajas*, and it is *sattva* alone which by its light illumines it and enables it, at times, to catch glimpses of the blissful *puruṣa* ever near to *sattva*."

Compare the passage from the Bhagavadgītā on p. 394:

[158] Compare *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 3, 11-13, 22, etc., pp. 20, 59-72, 106.

3 Mūlaprakṛtir avikṛtir mahadādyāḥ prakṛtivikṛtayaḥ sapta
Ṣōḍaśakas tu vikārō na prakṛtir na vikṛtiḥ puruṣaḥ.

11 Trignṇam avivēki viṣayaḥ sāmānyam acētanam prasavadharmi,
Vyaktam tathā pradhānam tadviparītas tathā ca pumān.

12 Prītyaprītiviṣādātmakāḥ prakāśapravṛttiniyamārthāḥ.
anyō'nyābhibhavāśrayajananamithunavṛttayaśca guṇāḥ.

13 Sattvam laghu prakāśakam iṣṭam upaṣṭambhakam calam ca rajaḥ.
guru varṇakam ēva tamaḥ pradīpavaccārthatō vṛttiḥ.

The twelve Buddhist principles whose observance leads to final beatitude are the five organs of knowledge and the five organs of actions, together with the mind and the intellect. It is not difficult to observe, that they were derived from the Sāṅkhya philosophy.[159]

Intimately connected with the Sāṅkhya is the Yōga system, from which it mainly differs by adding, to the twenty-five tattvas for the purpose of meditation, a supreme God or *Īśvara*, who is a particular soul uninfluenced by affliction, works, fruition, and impressions. In consequence of this

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22 Prakṛtēr mahāṁstatō'haṅkāras tasmād gaṇaśca ṣōḍaśakaḥ.
tasmādapi ṣōḍaśakāt pañcabhyaḥ pañca bhūtāni.

Read *Dēvībhāgavata*, III, 6, 69—78 :

69. Ēbhir vihīnam saṁsārē vastu naivātra kutracit,
vastu mātrantu yad dṛśyam saṁsārē triguṇam hi tat.
70. Dṛśyañca nirguṇam lōkē na bhūtam nō bhaviṣyati,
nirguṇaḥ paramātmāsau na tu dṛśyaḥ kadācana.
71. Saguṇā nirguṇā cāham samayē Śaṅkarōttama
sadāham kāraṇam Śambhō na ca kāryam kadācana.
72. Saguṇā kāraṇatvād vai nirguṇā Puruṣāntikē,
mahattatvam ahaṅkārō guṇāḥ śabdādayas tathā.
73. Kāryakāraṇarūpēṇa saṁsārāntē tvaharniśam,
madudbhūtaḥ tvahaṅkāraḥ tēnāham kāraṇam Śiva.
74. Ahaṅkāraśca mē kāryam triguṇō'sau pratiṣṭhitaḥ,
ahaṅkārānmahattatvam buddhiḥ sā parikīrtitā.
75. Mahattatvam hi kāryam syād ahaṅkārō hi kāraṇam,
tanmātrāṇi tvahaṅkārād utpadyantē sadaiva hi.
76. Kāraṇam pañcabhūtānām tāni sarvasamudbhavē,
karmēndriyāṇi pañcaiva pañca jñānēndriyāṇi ca.
77. Mahābhūtāni pañcaiva manaḥ ṣōḍaśam ēva ca,
kāryam ca kāraṇam caiva gaṇō'yam ṣōḍaśātmakaḥ.
78. Paramātmā pumān ādyō na kāryam na ca kāraṇam,
ēvam samudbhavaḥ Śambhō sarvēṣām ādisambhavē.

Compare these with the preceding ślōkas 29 and 30 :

29. Śāśvatam kṣaṇikam śūnyam nityānityam sakartṛkam,
ahaṅkārāgrimam caiva saptabhēdair vivakṣitam.
30. Gṛhāṇāja mahattatvam ahaṅkāraḥ tadudbhavaḥ,
tatassarvāṇi bhūtāni racayasva yathā purā.

159 See *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 28 :
Jñānēndriyāṇi pañcaiva tathā karmēndriyāṇi ca
manō buddhir iti prōktam dvādaśāyatanam budhaiḥ.

assertion the philosophy of Patañjali is called *Sēśvarasāṅkhya,* the Sāṅkhya with an Īśvara, in order to distinguish it from that of Kapila, which goes by the name of *Nirīśvaraśāṅkhya,* or Sāṅkhya without an Īśvara; for according to Kapila the existence of a god is not proved.[160] The main object of Yōga is to obtain by means of practical exertions the requisite knowledge (jñāna) for securing final beatitude or mōkṣa. The use of Yōga is necessary to the worshippers of Śakti, as without it they would be unable to obtaiu their ultimate aim. Yet without faith or *bhakti* the practice of yōga is useless. This faith is of three different kinds. It is external faith or *bāhyabhakti* which teaches a person to follow all the observances of the Śāstras, to convince him that whatever he does, he does with the will and consent of the Deity, *i.e.*, in this case of *Śakti,* and that he is in consequence in no way responsible for his actions; or it is firmly concentrated faith, *ananyabhakti,* which grants neither hope nor expectation of any return for any good or bad deed in the present birth, as the individual creature is only the instrument for carrying out the dictates of the Divinity, who in his turn will provide him in his lifetime with whatever he requires; or lastly it is exclusive faith, *ēkāntabhakti,* which causes a man to concentrate all his thoughts on his God, without distracting them to the consideration of mere worldly affairs.[161]

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160 See *The Yōgasūtra of Patañjali, XXIV, in* M. N. Dvivedi's translation, pp. V, 15, and above p. 403, note 150.

161 The *bāhyabhakti* is performed by listening to the praises of the Deity, by praising and remembering the same, by prostrating oneself before it, by revering and serving it, by treating it like a friend, and by giving oneself entirely over to it. The Sanskrit ślōka alluding to the worship of Viṣṇu describes it as follows:—

Śravaṇam kīrtanam Viṣṇōḥ smaraṇam pādasēvanam
arcanam vandanam dāsyam sakhyam ātmanivēdanam.

According to the *Saubhāgyaratnākara* the smaraṇam consists of the nāthapārāyaṇam, nāmapārāyaṇam, ghaṭikāpārāyaṇam, tattvapārāyaṇam,

Through *bhakti* a man secures the three first of the four objects of human life, *dharma* righteousness, *artha* wealth, and *kāma* pleasure, and after a successful practice of yōga he reaches final beatitude or the fourth step *mōkṣa,* with the help of knowledge (jñāna). It has been occasionally asserted that these four aims correspond to the special desires and aspirations which prevail at the various periods of life, that *kāma* should be cultivated in youth, *artha* acquired in middle life, and *dharma* practised in old age, so that at the end of life, after death, *mōkṣa,* final beatitude, or freedom from rebirth may be gained.

The yōga whose practice is instrumental to obtaining the necessary knowledge is of four kinds; *mantrayōga, layayōga, haṭhayōga* and *rājayōga.* In the first yōga the devotee confines himself to continually uttering the praṇava or mystical syllable ŌM, whose letters A, U, M represent respectively either Brahman (creation), Viṣṇu (preservation) and Śiva (destruction), or the *sthūla-, sūkṣma-* and *kāraṇa-śarīra,* or the *icchā-, kriyā-* and *jñāna-śakti.* The Layayōga is undertaken to procure by total abstraction an assimilation of one's soul with the Supreme Soul, while in the *Haṭhayōga* the mind is forced to abstain from considering external objects and to obtain mental concentration by submitting to the eight mortifications, viz., *yama* forbearance, *niyama* restraint, *āsana* posture, *prāṇāyāma* breath-

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nityapārāyaṇam and mantrapārāyaṇam. There are forty different modes of *arcanam* and *vandanam.*

The *ananyabhakti* requires entire concentration when worshipping the deity, and the Śakti worshippers repeat continually the words *sarvam śaktimayam jagat.* The irresponsibility of the worshipper is expressed in these words: Jānāmi dharmam na ca mē pravṛttiḥ, jānāmyadharmam na ca mē nivṛttiḥ, yathā niyuktō'smi tathā karōmi (I know righteousness: it is no effort of mine; I know unrighteousness; its refusal is not mine; as I am ordered, thus I do).

The *ēkāntabhakti* regards everything as produced by the all-knowing, all-seeing Deity.

restraining, *pratyāhāra* sense-restraining, *dhāraṇā* steadying of the mind, *dhyāna* contemplation, and *samādhi* profound meditation.

When at last the desired knowledge (jñāna) has been secured by yōga, and the devotee has reached *mōkṣa* (final beatitude), he finds it consisting of certain gradations. These, at first four in uumber, have been eventually extended to five aud six. The four best known beatitudes are: *sālōkya* (living together in the same world as), *sāmīpya* (living in proximity to), *sārūpya* (living in conformity with) and *sāyujya* (becoming identical with, the Supreme Deity). However, the beatitude secured by the *sāyujya* only lasts up to the end of the kalpa, for when after the general destruction, or *pralaya*, a new creation makes its appearance, the soul of the person who has secured *sāyujya* will participate in that creation, unless he has previously gained the two highest degrees of mōkṣa,—*sārṣṭitva* (equality) and *vidēhakaivalya* (incorporeal beatitude), *i.e.*, perfect union (*aikyam*) with the *Supreme Spirit*, and has thus become absolutely absorbed.[162]

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[162] Compare Introduction to the *Yōga-Sūtra of Patañjali*, by Manilal Nabhubhai Dvivedi, pp. v, vi, vii. "The end proposed by *yōga* is *samādhi* leading to *kaivalya*, *Yōga* and *Samādhi* are convertible terms, for both mean *vṛttinirōdha* or suspension of the transformations of the thinking principle. *Samādhi* is of two kinds, *savikalpa* and *nirvikalpa*, called *samprajnāta* and *asamprajnāta* in the text. The first, generally speaking, is that wherein the mind is at rest only for the time, the second is that wherein, through supreme universal non-attachment, it is centred in *Sattva* and realises *Sattva* everywhere for all time. The mind being, as it were, annihilated, *puruṣa* alone shines in native bliss. This is *Kaivalya*. *Prakṛti* has played itself out for that individual *puruṣa* . . . . It is held that the breath (*prāṇa*) in the body is a part of the universal breath (*prāṇa*), and that health of mind and body, accompanied by spiritual bliss and knowledge, will ensue on controlling the individual (*piṇḍa* or *vyaṣṭi*) breath in such a manner as to attune it to the cosmic (*brahmāṇḍa* or *samaṣṭi*) breath. This principle in its enunciation is perfectly correct; but there are some who hold that this can be accomplished by regulating the breath (*prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, etc.), because *vṛtti*

According to the Śāktas or Śakti worshippers, only those who revere the Śakti in preference to any other deity obtain in this life supernatural powers and in the next final beatitude or absorption with Śakti; and as some of their ceremonies abound in the vilest indecencies, they boastingly proclaim that the grandeur of their creed is manifested by the fact, that while the devotee is apparently indulging in the grossest carnal passions his mind is concentrated on the Supreme Spirit.

It is in my opinion incorrect to regard Śāktism as a mere offshoot of Śaivism, though it has eventually become more intimately connected with it.[163] The veneration of the female energy is of non-Aryan origin and independent as such of Śiva. Even now a Śākta calls his goddess by any special name he choses, either Lakṣmī, Pārvatī, Sarasvatī or otherwise; according to his individual predilection as a

always follow *prāṇa*. These are called *haṭhayōgins*, because they aim only at that union of *ha* (*prāṇa*) and *ṭha* (*apāna*) which leads to *samādhi*. Their methods are therefore more physical than mental. There are, however, others who hold the contrary opinion, and address themselves principally to the work of *vṛttinirōdha*, firmly believing that *prāṇa* follows *vṛtti*. This is *rāja-yōga* (direct union with the Illustrious-soul or *Brahma*) the essence of the teachings of the unitary *Vēdānta*. The *vedāntic rāja-yōga* is the real *tāraka-jñāna*, and indeed the word rajayōga is a synonym of *samādhi*. The end proposed in *hatha*—as well as *rāja-yōga* is the same, but the methods differ . . . The Yōga believes that *prakṛti* or matter is all full of life and it pervades everything and obeys the directions of a well-trained will . . . . Two other kinds of *yōga* are often mentioned, but they are more or less included in the above. The first is *mantra-yōga* which consists in mentally repeating certain formulæ with intent contemplation of their meaning. This process is useful in every act of *hatha*— as well as *rāja-yōga*. The second is *laya-yōga* which consists in intently contemplating any external object or, more properly, the internal *nāda* (sound) heard on closing the ears. This may be carried to the extent of *samōdhi*. Care, however, should be taken in all *yōga*-practices not to fall into the negative condition of passive mediumship, nor to lose the point in contemplation. The *laya-yōga* also is useful in all *Hatha*- and *Raja*- practices."

[163] See *Religious Thought and Life in India* by Monier Williams, p. 184: "Practically, as we shall see, the Śāktism of the present day is a mere offshoot of Śaivism."

Vaiṣṇava, Saiva, etc. But in whatever form Śakti is worshipped, she is regarded as the mother of all, including Brahman, as identical with the four aims of life, as being inherent in all things and containing all things, and as being the sole existence.[164]

The worship of Śakti or Prakṛti is sanctioned in the Purāṇas, but the Tantras contain the prescriptions of the Śākta ritual,[165] and are in fact esteemed by the Śāktas as a fifth Vēda. According to the Śivatantra, the five holy texts proceeded from the mouth of Śiva, the eastern, western, southern, northern, and upper, which five are famous as the paths to final emancipation. There exist many holy texts, but none is equal to the Upper text (or Vēda).[166] The Tantras occupy a high position even in the estimation of the orthodox Brāhmans, for Kullūkabhaṭṭa in his Commentary on the Mānavadharmaśāstra declares that the Revelation is twofold; Vedic and Tantric.[167] Some of the Tantras are of undoubted antiquity.

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[164] Compare this extract from the *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* (Wilson, *Religion of the Hindus*, Vol. I, p. 247):

> Sarvamantramayī tvam vai Brahmādyās tvatsamudbhavāḥ
> caturvargātmakī tvam vai caturvargaphalōdayā,
> Tvattaḥ sarvam idam viśvam tvayi sarvam jagannidhē
> Yaddṛśyam yadadṛśyam ca sthūlasūkṣmasvarūpataḥ,
> Yat tattvam śaktirūpēṇa kiñcinna tvadṛtē kvacit.

[165] Of such Tantra works may be mentioned the Gautamīya, Kālikātantra, Kāmākhyā, Kulacūḍāmaṇi, Kulārṇava, Mahānirvāṇa, Mantramahōdadhi, Rudrayāmala, Śaktisaṅgama, Sanatkumāra, Śāradātilaka, Śyāmārahasya, Uḍḍīsa, Vīra, Viśvasāra, Viṣṇuyāmala, etc. These Tantras are generally written in the form of dialogues between Śiva and Umā (or Pārvati), in which Śiva answers the questions of the latter concerning ceremonies and prayers, and Śiva does this even in the Vaiṣṇavatantras, *e.g.*, in the Gautamīya and Sanatkumāra.

[166] See *Śiva Tantra*; Wilson, p. 248, and *Aufrecht*, Bodleyan Catalogue VIII, p. 91:

> Mama pañcamukhēbhyaśca pañcāmnāyā vinirgatāḥ
> pūrvaśca paścimaścaiva dakṣiṇaścōttaras tathā.
> Ūrddhvāmnāyaśca pañcaitē mōkṣamārgāḥ prakīrtitāḥ
> āmnāyā bahavaḥ santi ūrddhvāmnāyēna nō samāḥ.

[167] See *Kullūkabhaṭṭa's* Commentary to Manu II, 1.

> Śrutiśca dvividhā vaidikī tāntrikī ca.

The Śāktas are spread all over India and form a very numerous community among the Hindus, more especially in Bengal. Their great festival, the famous Daśaharā, is celebrated after the autumnal equinox, and extends over ten days, during which Śakti is worshipped as Durgā with great devotion and splendour and at a great expense.[168]

The Śāktas are divided with respect to their ceremonial into two main sects, the *Dakṣiṇācāris*, or right hand worshippers, and the *Vāmācāris* (Vāmis) or left hand worshippers. The *Dakṣiṇācāra* represents the purer right hand ritual, and, the *Vāmācāra*, or left hand ceremonial the gross and lascivious adoration of the Female Energy. The former cult is based on the Purāṇas, the latter on the Tantras; in the former only edible rice mixed with milk and sugar is, as a rule, now presented as an offering (*bali*), while the latter delights in bloody sacrifices;[169] the former does not indulge in obscene display, while the latter enacts the observance of some or of all the five things beginning with *m*, the so called five *Makāras*, i.e., *madya*, drinking liquor; *māṁsa*, eating meat; *matsya*, eating fish; *mudrā*, mystical intertwining of the fingers;[170] and *maithuna*, sexual intercourse.[171]

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[168] See *Durga Puja:* with notes and illustrations by Pratāpachandra Ghosha, B.A., Calcutta, 1871, and *A View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos*, by the Rev. W. Ward, Madras, 1863, pp. 64—104.

[169] See *Dakṣiṇācāratantrarāja* by Kāśīnātha:

Dvividhō balir ākhyātō rājasaḥ sāttvikō budhaiḥ
rājasō māṁsaraktādyaḥ palatrayasamanvitaḥ.
Mudgapāyasasaṁyuktō madhuratrayalōlitaḥ
brāhmaṇō niyataḥ śuddhaḥ sāttvikam balim āharēt.

[170] *Mudrā* has also in the Vīraśaiva-worship the meaning of eating "*fried grain.*" See *Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati's Vācaspatya*, p. 4757 and *Śabdastōmamahānidhi*, p. 488, about *Mudrā:* "Tantraprasiddhē vīrācārasēvyē; pṛthukās taṇḍulā bhṛṣṭā gōdhūmacaṇakādayaḥ, tasya nāma bhavēnmudrā, ityuktē pañcamakārādidravyabhēdē. Dēvaviśēṣārādhanayā-aṅgulyādisannivēśaviśēṣē." This practice does, however, not refer to the Śakti worship, as Sir M. Williams thinks *l.c.* on page 192.

[171] As according to the *Śyāmārahasya:*

Madyam māṁsañca matsyañca mudrā maithunam ēva ca,
makārapañcakañcaiva mahāpātakanāśanam.

The Dakṣiṇācāra is regarded as pure and according to the Vēda, while the Vāmācāra is deemed low, and though fit for a Śūdra, is unfit for a Brāhman, who by drinking liquor defiles himself and in consequence ceases to be a Brāhman,[172] but bloody sacrifices, especially of goats, are also occasionally made by Brāhmans. There is no doubt that human beings were not seldom immolated on the shrine of Kālī, for according to the Kālikāpurāṇa the blood of a tiger pleases the goddess for a hundred years, the blood of a lion, a reindeer or a man a thousand, but by the sacrifice of three men her favour is gained for 100,000 years.[173]

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[172] See *ibidem* (Wilson, Vol. I, p. 251):

Dakṣiṇācāratantrōktam karma tacchuddhavaidikam.

In consequence, the Dakṣiṇācāris are said to observe the *nigama* and the Vāmācaris the *āgama*. With respect to the Vāmācāra being only fit for Śūdras, read the following couplet:

Vāmāgamō maduktō'yam sarvaśūdraparaḥ priyē
brāhmaṇō madirādānād brāhmaṇyēna viyujyatē.
Na kartavyam na kartavyam na kartavyam kadācana
idam tu sāhasam dēvi na kartavyam kadācana.

Śakti should according to the right ritual be worshipped together with Śiva, and he who omits to adore the latter, will not only be unsuccessful in his prayer, but will also go to hell.

Sivaśaktim ayam rūpam sampūjyam sādhakōttamaiḥ
yas tu sampūjayēcchaktim Śivam naiva prapūjayēt
sa ēva pātakī rōgī māntrikō durgatir bhavēt.

[173] See Appendix, pp. LIV and LV to *Durga Puja* by Pr. Ghosha: "The Śastras say that to see the idol is meritorious, but to bow to it is more meritorious than to see it, and to touch it more meritorious than to bow to it, and to worship it more than to touch it. But to bathe it is more than to touch it and to offer oblations to it more than to bathe it, but the most meritorious of all is to offer the meat of buffalo and kid as sacrifice . . . The goat for sacrifice should be well-formed and horned and of uniform black color. Both the Puranas and Tantras prohibit the sacrifice of a female animal." About the human sacrifice compare Rev. W. Ward's *View of the History, etc., of the Hindoos*, p. 91. Those animal sacrifices, though they please the goddess, expose the sacrificer to punishment, for according to the Vēdas, he who slays an animal is afterwards slain by the slain, and the king Suratba had to suffer heavily for a similar offence. He had sacrificed a great many sheep, goats, and buffaloes to Durgā, in the hope that he would enjoy as many years of happiness in heaven as there

The Vāmācāris declare Śakti to be superior to Śiva, as being his cause. In this connexion with Śakti, Śiva is specially revered as Bhairava, the terrible Bhūtēśa, and he personates in this form the chief non-Aryan God. The preference which the Vāmācāris have for the worship of the Female Principle, *i.e.*, their devotion to Dēvī, Kālī, Durgā, Rādhā, or Lakṣmī, and especially to Ambā or Jagadambā, supplies probably a proof of their connexion with, and adherence to, the original Śakti-worship of ancient times.[174]

The most influential sect of the Vāmācāris is that of the *Kaulas* or *Kulīnas*, who, not desirous of being known as such in public, adhere in secret to the Śākta ceremonial, and appear outwardly as Śaivas and socially as Vaiṣṇavas, yet, claim for themselves superiority over all other sects.[175]

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were hairs on the slain animals. But after his death Yama decided that exactly as many lives as he had once destroyed, so many times should he be for each life slain by his victims and reborn, and that not until he had atoned for each death, could he go to heaven.

[174] Compare the following passage of *Śaṅkaravijaya* : "Śaktiḥ Śivasya balakāriṇī tayā vinā tasya tṛṇacalanakriyāyām asamarthatvāt, ataḥ Śaktir ēva Śivasya kāraṇam," and "Nityapadārthayōr madhyē śaktēr adhikatvam." With respect to Bhairava the *Śyāmārahasya* says :

> Bhairavō'ham iti jñātvā sarvajñō'ham guṇānvitaḥ
> iti sañcintya yōgīndraḥ kulapūjām samācarēt.

[175] About the behaviour of the Kaulas compare *Śyāmārahasya* :

> Antaḥ śāktā bahiḥ śaivāḥ sabhāyām vaiṣṇavā matāḥ
> nānārūpadharāḥ kaulā vicaranti mahītalē;

and about their pretension to superiority the *Kulārṇava* :

> Sarvēbhyaḥ cōttamā vēdā vēdēbhyō vaiṣṇavam param
> vaiṣṇavād uttamam śaivam śaivād dakṣiṇam uttamam.
> Dakṣiṇād uttamam vāmam vāmāt siddhāntam uttamam
> siddhāntād uttamam kaulam kaulāt parataram na hi.

Only those, however, who sincerely believe in the Kaula rites, and drink wine, eat flesh, and have sexual intercourse in the firm belief of obtaining through it eternal emancipation, reap the benefit of their exertions. Others who drink wine, etc., do not obtain it according to the following ślōkas of the Kulārṇava :

> Bahavaḥ kaulikam dharmam mithyājñānaviḍambakāḥ
> svabuddhyā kalayantīttham pāramparyavivarjitāḥ.

In order to realize the object of his devotion, a Śākta has recourse to several mantras, which must be carefully recited so that they become efficient. Men and women assemble together to worship the Goddess in proper style, the male devotees are called Bhairavas or Vīras, and the women Bhairavīs or Nāyikās. Śakti herself is represented by a naked woman, and the above mentioned *makāras* are observed. Such a ceremony is called the Holy Circle (*Śrīcakra*) or full inauguration (*Pūrṇābhiṣēka*), and it is celebrated to ensure identification (*Sāyujya*) with the Supreme Spirit. No distinction of caste is made at these meetings; so long as they last, all the various members of the company are Brāhmans and equals; after they are over, each individual reverts to his proper station in life.[176]

It is not my intention to pursue this subject further, especially as it is a subject that lies beyond the scope of my enquiry, which is mainly devoted to the discovery of the original source from which Śakti-worship has flowed. It now remains for me to endeavour to trace that worship back to its fountain-head.

Ambikā has like Brahman, Viṣṇu (Rāma, Kṛṣṇa), and Śiva a thousand names by which her adherents address and honour her.[177] Various kinds of prayers are devoted to her, among which the following two are very frequently used: "O only mother of the world, hail to thee, who art four-armed, who

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Madyapānēna manujā yadi siddhim labhanti tat
madyapānaratāḥ sarvē siddhim yānti samīhitām.
Māṁsabhakṣaṇamātrēṇa yadi puṇyagatir bhavēt
lōkē māṁsāśinaḥ sarvē puṇyavantō bhavanti kim?
Strīsambhōgēna dēvēśi yadi mōkṣam vrajanti tat
sarvē'pi jantavō lōkē muktāḥ syuḥ strīniṣēvaṇāt.
Kulamārgayutō dēvi na mayā ninditaḥ kvacit
ācārarahitā yē'tra ninditās tē na cētarē.
Kuladravyāṇi sēvyantē ye'nyadarśanam āśritāḥ
tadaṅgarōmapramāṇam punar janma bhaviṣyati.

176 Pravṛttē bhairavītantrē sarvē varṇā dvijōttamāḥ
nivṛttē bhairavītantrē sarvē varṇāḥ pṛthak pṛthak.

177 See *Śrīlalitāsahasranāmastōtram*, Madras, 1885, and pp. 289, 367.

hast as thy crest the digit of the moon, art high-breasted, red through the colour of saffron, and who hast in thy hand a flower-bow, a goad, a noose and a sugarcane." Secondly: one should in due form of prayer remember Ambikā, who is painted with saffron, whose musk perfume is kissed by bees, whose eye expresses a gentle smile, who has a goad, noose, bow and arrow, who allures all people, who has red garlands, ornaments and dress, and who is shining like a China rose (Hibiscus).[178]

The supreme Goddess can be worshipped in various objects and representatives, as in a golden image, in a well-ornamented pot, in water, in the flame of a lamp, in the Śrīcakra, in a married woman, in a girl, in the full moon, and in cows.[179]

On Umā, Amma, Ambā, Etc.

Ambā, Ambikā, Umā, Pārvatī, Durgā, Kātyāyanī and many other, in fact, as mentioned above, a thousand, names are given to the great Dēvī, the mother of all, who is revered as the Prakṛti (Mūlaprakṛti) and Śakti (Parāśakti). This mother of the world, the sublime knowledge, is first mentioned as *Umā* in the Kēna- or Talavakāra-Upaniṣad, where she appears as Umā Haimavatī to Indra, and attests that Brahman had won a victory for the gods. The expression Umā Haimavatī is explained, as referring either to the sublime knowledge, which manifests itself as a golden

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[178] Caturbhujē candrakalāvataṁsē kucōnnatē kuṅkumarāgaśōṇē
puṇḍrēkṣupāśāṅkuśapuṣpabāṇahastē namas tē jagadēkamātaḥ.
Sakuṅkumavilēpanām alikacumbikastūrikām
samandahasitēkṣaṇām saśaracāpapāśāṅkuśām
aśēṣajanamōhinīm aruṇamālyabhūṣāmbarām
japākusumabhāsurām japavidhau smarēd ambikām.

[179] Hiraṇyapratimāyām vā sālaṅkāraghaṭē' pi vā
jalē dīpaśikhāyām ca yantrē dēvīm prapūjayēt
Suvāsinyām ca kanyāyām pūrṇacandrēṣu gōṣu ca
dēvīm ārādhayēnnityam jagatām jananīm śivām.

(*haimavatī*) and very resplendent woman Umā, or to Umā, the daughter of the mountain Himavat, in whose neighbourhood was residing the supreme Īśvara, the Umāpati or Ambikāpati.[180] In consequence of the co-existence of the Supreme Spirit with this divine knowledge the former is also called *Sōma* (sa+uma), being with Umā.[181]

The first wife of Bhava or Śiva was *Satī*. She was a daughter of Dakṣa, who, angry with his son-in-law, invited neither him nor his daughter to his great sacrifice. Satī, nevertheless, came uninvited, but as her father treated her disrespectfully, she preferred not to outlive the insult, and perished by fire. Incensed at this, Śiva disturbed the sacrifice and cut off the head of Dakṣa. Satī was eventually reborn as Umā, the daughter of Himavat and Mēnā. This pair had according to the Rāmāyaṇa two daughters, Gaṅgā and Umā ; but three, Aparṇā, Ēkaparṇā and Ekapāṭalā, according to the Harivaṁśa; Aparṇā the eldest corre-

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[180] Compare *Kēnōpaniṣad* (or *Talavakārōpaniṣad*) III, 2: "Sa tasminnēva ākāśē striyam ājagāma bahu śōbhamānām Umām Haimavatīm, tām ha uvāca kim ētad yakṣam iti."

The Commentator remarks: "Tasya Indrasya yakṣē bhaktim buddhvā Vidyā Umārūpiṇī prādnrabhūt strīrūpā. Sa Indraḥ tām Umām bahu śōbhamānām sarvēṣām hi śōbhamānānām śōbhanatamām Vidyām tadā *bahu śōbhamānā* iti viśēṣaṇam npapannam bhavati. Haimavatīm hēmakṛtābharaṇavatīm, iva bahu śōbhamānam ityarthaḥ. Athavā Umā ēva Himavatō duhitā Haimavatī nityam ēva sarvajñēna Īśvarēṇa saha vartatē iti jñātum samarthā iti kṛtvā tām npājagāma. Iudraḥ tam ha Umām kila uvāca papraccha kim ētad darśayitvā tirōbhūtam yakṣam."

Śiva is called in the *Kaivalyōpaniṣad* (Telugu edition, p. 219) the husband of Umā (Umāsahāyam paramēśvaram prabhum trilōcanam nīlakaṇṭham praśāntam).

[181] See Sāyaṇa on *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* X, 1,150: "Tadviṣayaḥ (Paramātmā) Umayā saha vartamānatvāt Sōmaḥ," and to Anuvāka 18: "Umā brahmavidyā tayā saha vartamāna Sōma paramātman." Ambikā jaganmātā Pārvatī tasyāḥ patayē bhartrē, tasyāḥ ēva Ambikāyāḥ brahmavidyātmakō dēhaḥ Umāśabdēna ucyatē, tādṛśyāḥ Umāyāḥ patayē svāminē Rūdrāya punar namaskārō'stu". Compare Dr. J. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV, pp. 420—23.

sponding to Umā.[182] The name of Umā is in the latter work explained as being derived from the two Sanskrit words "*u mā*, o (do) not," addressed by Mēnā to her eldest daughter Aparṇā, while she was subjecting herself to an extraordinarily severe penance in order to obtain the favour of Mahādēva.[183] Professor Albrecht Weber long ago proposed to derive

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[182] See *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, I, 8, 9, 10:
9. Ēvamprakārō Rudrō'sau Satīm bhāryām avindata
Dakṣakōpācca tatyāja sā Satī svam kalēvaram.
10. Himavadduhitā sā'bhūt Mēnāyām dvijasattama
upayēmē punaścōmām ananyām bhagavān Bhavaḥ;
also Rāmāyaṇa I, 36, 15:
15. Tasyām Gaṅgēyam abhavajjyēṣṭhā Himavataḥ sutā
Umā nāma dvitīyābhūt kanyā tasyaiva Rāghava.

[183] See *Harivaṁśa*, XIII, 13—20:
13. Ētēṣām mānasī kanyā Mēnā nāma mahāgirēḥ
patnī himavataḥ śrēṣṭhā yasyā Maināka ucyatē.
14. Mainākasya sutaḥ śrīmān krauñcō nāma mahāgiriḥ
parvatapravaraḥ putrō nānāratnasamanvitaḥ.
15. Tisraḥ kanyāḥ tu Mēnāyām janayām āsa śailarāṭ
aparṇām ēkaparṇām ca tṛtīyām ēkapāṭalām.
16. Tapaścarantyaḥ sumahad duścaram dēvadānavaiḥ
lōkān santāpayām āsuḥ tāḥ tisraḥ sthāṇujaṅgamān.
17. Āhāram ēkaparṇēna ēkaparṇā samācarat
pāṭalapuṣpam ēkam ca vidadhāvēkapāṭalā.
18. Ēkā tatra nirāhārā tām mātā pratyaśēdhayat
U mā iti niṣēdhantī mātṛsnēhēna duḥkhitā
19. Sā tathōktā tayā mātrā dēvī duścaracāriṇī
Umētyēvābhavat khyātā triṣu lōkēṣu sundarī.
20. Tathaiva nāmnā tēnēha viśrutā yōgadharmiṇī
ētat tu trikumārikam jagat sthāsyati Bhārgava.

Compare *Kumārasambhava*, I, 26:
Tām Pārvatītyābhijanēna nāmnā bandhupriyām bandhujanō juhāva
U mēti mātrā tapasō niṣiddhā paścād Umākhyām sumukhī jagāma.

In the *Matsyapurāṇa*, CLIII, 294, 295 (Telugu Edition), it is the father Himavat who thus addresses his daughter:
294. Uvāca vācā śailēndrō gadgadasnēhavarṇayā
Umēti capalē putri na kṣamam tāvakam vapuḥ
295. Sōḍhum klēśātmarūpasya tapasaḥ saumyadarśanē
bhāvīnyavyabhicāryāṇi padārthāni tavaiva tu.

About Satī and Parvatī compare also *Dēvībhāgavata*, VI, 30, ff.

the word *Umā* from the Sanskrit root *u, av,* to protect.[184] The right etymology of the word is of considerable importance, not only from the position occupied by the bearer of the name, but also from the light which a correct linguistic derivation must necessarily throw on the origin of the worship of Umā.

The two principal characteristics of Śiva, expressed respectively in their mild or fierce temperament and white or black colour, reappear in his wife, when Umā or Gaurī is described as mild and white, and Kālī or Durgā as black and fierce. This distinction is probably based on ethnical peculiarities, and though at a later period both natures eventually amalgamated, still the milder form probably indicates the Aryan adaptation of the originally fierce non-Aryan deity. On the other hand it is not necessary that the Gauda-Dravidian deity, though generally fierce, should always appear thus, and not occasionally assume a milder and more amiable character. The etymology, indeed, which I propose for the word *Umā,* does not discourage such an idea, for it is, to my mind, only a slight variation of the ancient Gauda-Dravidian word *Amma,* mother, which has been admitted into the Sanskrit language as *ambā* (*ambikā*). Strangely enough the form *umma* or *uma* for *amma* is still in actual use. It is in existence, *e.g.,* in such popular names as *Ummanna,* which stands for Ammanna, and occurs in the regimental lists of the Madras Army.

By this explanation many hitherto inexplicable difficulties can be removed, and the character of Umā will appear in

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[184] I have not at my disposal the *Indische Studien,* Vol. II, pp. 168 *seq.,* and so quote from Dr. John Muir's *Sanskrit Texts,* Vol. IV, p. 425: "As Ambikā, *mother,* appears to be merely an euphemistic and flattering epithet, employed to propitiate the cruel goddess, in the same way it appears that we must derive Umā from the root *u, av,* to protect. It is true that a final vowel before *ma* commonly takes *guṇa,* or is lengthened, but the words *sima* and *hima* show that this is not necessary, and the name of Rumā is perhaps . . . a perfectly analogous formation."

the proper light as the Mother, Amma or Ambā.[185] Her male counterpart in the Gauda-Dravidian pantheon is the Lord of Ghosts, and in Brahmanic religious works she is actually described as the sister of Rudra. She is also regarded as the sister of Viṣṇu.[186] This fraternal relationship between Śiva and Viṣṇu on the one, and Ambā on the other, side indicates the amalgamation of the Aryan with the non-Aryan theogony. With the increase of Ambā's worship rose likewise her position till she had established her authority and in some respects even her supremacy.

The Ṛgvēdapariśiṣta contains in the Rātripariśiṣta, which is placed between the 127th and 128th hymn of the tenth Maṇḍala, a praise of Durgā, or a *Durgāstava.*[187] In it Durgā is praised as affording a refuge and being dear to the Bahvṛcas.

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[185] On the origin of the Gauda-Dravidian terms of relationship see my book *On the Classification of Languages*, pp. 130—132, No. 54.

[186] See p.433; *Vājasanēyisaṁhitā*, 3,57, and Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa, I, 6, 10, 4: "Ēṣa tē Rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrā Ambikayā. Ambikā jaganmātā Pārvatī."

[187] See the *Pariśiṣṭāni*, pp. 25, 26 to the Bombay edition of the Ṛgvēda, verses 5—14:

5. Stōṣyāmi prayatō dēvīm śaraṇyām bahvṛcapriyām, sahasrasammitām Durgām Jātavēdasē sunavāma sōmam.
6. Śāntyartham dvijātīnām ṛṣibhiḥ sēmapāśritāḥ, ṛgvēdē tvam samutpannā'rātīyatō nidadhāti vēdaḥ.
7. Yē tvām dēvi prapadyantē brāhmaṇāḥ havyavāhanīm, avidyāḥ bahuvidyāḥ vā sa naḥ parṣad ati durgāṇi viśvā.
8. Agnivarṇām śubhām saumyām kīrtayiṣyanti yē dvijāḥ, tān tārayati durgāṇi nāvēva sindhum duritā'ty Agniḥ.
9. Durgēṣu viṣamē ghōrē saṅgrāmē ripusaṅkaṭē, agnicōranipātēṣu duṣṭagrahanivāraṇē.
10. Durgēṣu viṣamēṣu tvām saṅgrāmēṣu vanēṣu ca, mōhayitvā prapadyantē tēṣām mē abhayam kuru tēṣām mē abhayam kuru ōm namaḥ.
11. Kēśinīm sarvabhūtānām pañcamīti ca nāma ca, sa mām samāḥ niśāḥ dēvī sarvataḥ parirakṣatu ōm namaḥ.
12. Tām agnivarṇām tapasā jvalantīm vairōcanīm karmaphalēṣu juṣṭām, Durgām dēvīm śaraṇam aham prapadyē sutarasi tarasē namaḥ sutarasi tarasē namaḥ.
13. Durgā durgēṣu sthānēṣu śam nō dēvīr abhiṣṭayē, yaḥ imam Durgāstavam puṇyam rātrau rātrau sadā paṭhēt.

The sages appeal to her, who originates from the Ṛgvēda, to calm the twiceborn. Agni will help over all difficulties all Brāhmans, be they ignorant or well-informed, who resort to this goddess. Agni leads safely through all troubles those twiceborn who will praise the fire-coloured, auspicious and beautiful goddess. In difficulties, in fearful anxiety, in battle, in straits caused by enemies, in accidents of fire and of thieves, in warding off injurious planets, in difficulties, perplexities, battles, and forests bewildered people have recourse to her, to obtain security from them. Praise be to her the long-haired, who is called the Pañcamī among all creatures. May this goddess preserve those who every night in every way take refuge with the goddess Durgā, who is of fiery colour, blazing with heat, the daughter of the sun (or of the fire), she who is invoked for the reward of actions, to the energy of this most impetuous goddess be homage paid. May the goddess Durgā be inclined towards them when in difficulties.

The 12th verse of the Rātripariśiṣṭa is also contained in the passage of the Dēvī-Upaniṣad, where the gods stand round her, pay her obeisance as to the Supreme Deity,[188] and address her in a prayer derived from the Gāyatrī: "We think on Mahālakṣmī and meditate on her who grants universal success; Dēvī advauce us."[189]

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14. Rātriḥ kuśikaḥ sauhharō rātrir, vā hhāradvājī, rātristavam gāyatrīm, rātrisūktam japēt nityam tatkāla upapadyatē.

The meaning of this last verse (14) is uot clear:

Kuśika and Sauhhara read the hymn of night, as also Bhāradvājī; the rātristava is equal to the Gāyatrī. He who mutters always the rātrisūkta at night-time obtains his desire.

Compare Dr. John Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. IV, pp. 427, 498—500.

[188] See *Dēvyupaniṣad*: Tē dēvā abruvan:

Namō dēvyai mahādēvyai śivāyai satatam namaḥ
Namaḥ prakṛtyai bhadrāyai niyatāḥ praṇatāssma tām.
Tām agnivarṇām tapasā jvalantīm vairōcanīm karmaphalēṣu juṣṭām durgām dēvīm śaraṇam aham prapadyē sutarām nāśayatē tamaḥ.

[189] *Ibidem*: Mahālakṣmī ca vidmahē, sarvasiddhī ca dhīmahi, tannō Dēvīḥ pracōdayāt.

I have previously quoted[190] some other adaptations of the Gāyatrī in which Gaurī, Lakṣmī, Dharā, Sarasvatī and Durgā (Durgi) have been similarly worshipped, thus proving the great veneration in which Dēvī or her representatives were held. Peculiar is the text of the last Gāyatrī in the Nārāyaṇīyōpaniṣad, which begins with the masculine dative *Kātyāyanāya* and ends with *Durgi*, both nouns being explained by the commentator Sāyaṇa to refer to feminine nouns, an interpretation which is supported by the texts of the Liṅgapurāṇa (*Kātyāyanyai*) and of the Atharvaṇōpaniṣad (*Kātyāyanāyai*). Professor Albrect Weber has, as far as I know, first drawn attention to this apparent contradiction, which is the more astonishing as ten gods precede Durgi in that text. According to the Bahvṛcōpaniṣad, Dēvī was at first alone; she created the egg of the world, was known as Kāmakalā, and Śṛṅgārakalā, and created Brahman, Viṣṇu, Rudra, all the Maruts, the Gandharvas, Apsaras, Kinnaras and all instrumental players from every direction. It was she who produced all objects of enjoyment, in fact every thing, every thing connected with Śakti, all living beings born from eggs, sweat, germ, and wombs; every thing movable and immovable. She is the Parāśakti, the śāmbhavī vidyā, the kādividyā, the hādividyā, and the sādividyā; she is the knowledge of Brahman, indeed she is (Para) Brahman; she is called Ṣōḍaśī, Śrīvidyā, Pañcadaśākṣarī, Śrīmahātripurasundarī, Bālāmbikā, Bagalā, Mātaṅgī, Svayamvarakalyāṇī, Bhuvanēśvarī, Cāmuṇḍā, Caṇḍā, Vārāhī, Tiraskariṇī, Rājamātaṅgī, Śukaśyāmalā, Laghuśyāmalā, Aśvārūḍhā, Pratyaṅgirā, Dhūmavatī, Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī and Brahmānandakalā.[191]

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[190] See No. 105, pp. 363, 369.

[191] Read *Bahvṛcōpaniṣad* : Ōm, Ōm, Dēvī hyēkāgra āsīt, saiva jagadaṇḍam asṛjata, Kāmakalēti vijñāyatē, Śṛṅgārakalēti vijñāyatē; tasyā ēva

The Dēvyupaniṣad relates that all the gods stood around Dēvī and asked : " Who art thou, O great goddess," to which she replied, "I resemble in form Brahman, from me emanates the world which has the Spirit of Prakṛti and Puruṣa, I am empty and not empty, I am delight and non-delight, I am knowledge and ignorance, I am Brahman and not Brahman, I am the five perishable and imperishable elements, I am the whole world, I am the Vēda and not the Vēda, I am knowledge and ignorance, I am not born and am born, I am below, above, and horizontal, I walk about with the Rudras and Vasus, and the Ādityas and Viśvadēvas. I carry both Mitra and Varuṇa, Indra and Agni, both the Aśvins, I hold Sōma, Tvaṣṭṛ, Pūṣan and Bhaga, I hold the broad-stepping Viṣṇu, Brahman, and Prajāpati, I give the money for a good

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Brahma ajījanat, Viṣṇur ajījanat, Rudrō ajījanat, sarvē marudgaṇā ajījanan, Gandharvāpsarasaḥ, Kinnarā Vāditravādinaḥ samantād ajījanan Bhōgyam ajījanat, sarvam ajījanat, sarvam śāktam ajījanat, aṇḍajam, svēdajam, udbhijjam, jarāyujam yat kim caitat prāṇi sthāvarajaṅgamam manuṣyam ajījanat. Saiṣā parāśaktiḥ, saiṣā śāmbhavī vidyā, kādividyēti vā hādividyēti vā, sādividyēti vā, rahasyam ōm ōm vācipratiṣṭhā saiva puratrayam, śarīratrayam vyāpya bahirantaravabhāsayantī dēśakālavastvantarāsaṅgāt mahātripurasundarī vai pratyakcitiḥ, saivātmā tatō'nyadasatyam anātmā. Ata ēṣā brahmasaṁvittiḥ bhāvābhāvakalāvinirmukta cidvidyā dvitīyā brahmasaṁvittiḥ ; saccidānandalaharī mahātripurasundarī bahirantaram anupraviśya svayam ēkaiva vibhāti. Yad asti sanmātram, yadvibhāti cinmātram, yatpriyam ānandam tad ētatsarvākārā mahātripurasundarī ; tvam cāham sarvam viśvam sarvadēvatētarat sarvam mahātripurasundarī satyam ētam lalitākhyam vastu tadadvitīyam, akhaṇḍhārtham param brahma. Pañcarūpaparityāgād asvarūpaprahāṇataḥ adhiṣṭhānam param tattvam ēkam sacchiṣyatē mahaditi. Prajñānam brahmēti vā aham brahmāsmīti vā bhāṣyatē, tattvam asītyēva sambhāṣyatē, ayam ātmā brahmēti vā brahmaivāham asmīti vā yō'ham asmīti vā sō'ham asmīti vā yō'sau sō'ham asmīti vā yā bhāvyatē saiṣā ṣōḍaśī śrīvidyā pañcadaśākṣarī śrīmahātripurasundarī bālāmbikēti bagalēti, mātaṅgīti svayamvarakalyāṇīti bhuvanēśvarīti cāmuṇḍēti caṇḍēti vārāhī tiraskariṇī rājamātaṅgīti vā śukaśyāmalētivā laghuśyāmalēti vā aśvārūḍhēti vā pratyaṅgirā dhūmāvatī sāvitrī gāyatrī sarasvatī brahmānandakalēti. Ṛcō akṣarē paramē vyōman yasmin dēvā adhiviśvē niṣēduḥ, yaḥ tan na vēda kiṁṛcā kariṣyati, ya it tad viduḥ ta imē samāsatē ityupaniṣad.

purpose to the sacrificer who offers oblations and pours out sōma-juice, I am living in every country, I confer wealth, I produce at first the father of this world, my birthplace is in the water inside the sea, who knows it obtains the abode of Dēvī.[192]

The Dēvībhāgavata contains a long description of Śakti. She is neither man, nor woman, nor eunuch at the time of the destruction of the world; at the time of creation, however, a distinction can be made.[193] She is perception, prosperity, firmness, fame, remembrance, faith, intelligence, pity, shame, hunger, covetousness, patience, beauty, tranquillity, thirst, sleep, idleness, old age and youth, knowledge and ignorance, desire, longing, strength and weakness, serum, marrow, skin, seeing, true and untrue; breathed, middling, and articulate speech; and the various veins. What is she not, and what is without her? She bears various names. Among the gods she appears as Force, she exhibits exertion, and appears as Gaurī, Brāhmī, Raudrī, Vārāhī, Vaisṇavī, Śivā, Vāruṇī, Kaubērī, Nārasiṁhī and Vāsavī. She enters into all workers and does all the

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[192] See *Dēvyupanisad*: "Hariḥ Ōm, sarvē vai dēvā dēvīm upatasthuḥ, kāsi tvam mahādēvi? sābravīt aham brahmasvarūpiṇī, mattaḥ prakṛti-puruṣātmakam jagat, śūnyañcāśūnyañca, aham ānandānānandāḥ, aham vijñānāvijñānē, aham brahmābrahmaṇī vēditavyē, ityāhātharvaśrutiḥ. Aham pañcabhūtānyapañcabhūtāni, aham akhilam jagat, vēdō'ham avēdo'ham; vidyāham avidyāham, ajāham anajāham; adhaścōrdhvañca tiryakcāham, aham rudrēbhir vasubhiścarāmyaham, ādityair uta viśvadēvaiḥ aham mitrāvaruṇāvubhā bibharmyaham indrāgnī aham aśvināvubhau, aham sōmam tvaṣṭāram pūṣaṇam bhagam dadhāmyaham, viṣṇum urukramam brahmāṇam uta prajāpatim dadhāmi aham dadhāmi draviṇam haviṣmatē suprāpyē yē yajamānāya sunvatē, aham rāṣṭrī saṅgamanī vasūnām, aham suvē pitaram asya mūrdhan, mama yōnir apsvantaḥ samudrē ya ēvam vēda sa dēvīpadamāpnōti." . . . . Dēvī is afterwards called: Ēṣātmaśaktir, ēṣā viśvamōhinī, pāśāṅkuśadhanurbāṇadharā ēṣā śrīmahāvidyā, ya ēvam vēda sa śōkam tarati; namas tē astu bhagavati bhavatī mātar asmān (the god) pātu sarvataḥ."

[193] Compare p. 426, note 194, śl. 7.

work, while assigning them as the cause. She is whatever she wishes to be, chillness in the water, heat in the fire, brightness in the sun, coldness in the moon. Without her living creatures cannot for a moment even move in the world; forsaken by her, Śaṅkara cannot kill the demons. Śakti is always the cause, the agent is always combined with her, as is the case with Hari, Śambhu, Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and Pavana. With the help of Śakti the earth becomes firm, otherwise it could not carry even a soul. Śēṣa, the great serpent, on whom the world rests, the tortoise, the elephants of the quarters of the globe can perform their duties only with her assistance, she drinks all the water, suppresses the fire, and steadies the wind as she pleases.[194]

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[194] See *Dēvibhāgavata*, III, 6, 7—25 :

7. Nāham strī na pumāṁścāham na klībam sargasaṅkṣayē
sargē sati vibhēdaḥ syāt kalpitō'ham dhiyā punaḥ.
8. Aham buddhir aham śrīśca dhṛtiḥ kīrtiḥ smṛtiḥ tathā
śraddhā mēdhā dayā lajjā kṣudhā tṛṣṇā tathā kṣamā.
9. Kāntiḥ śāntiḥ pipāsā ca nidrā tandrā jarājarā
vidyāvidyā spṛhā vāñchā śaktiścāśaktir ēva ca.
10. Vasā majjā ca tvak cāham dṛṣṭir vāganṛtā ṛtā
parā madhyā ca paśyantī nāḍyō'ham vividhāśca yāḥ.
11. Kim nāham paśya saṁsārē madviyuktam kim asti hi,
sarvam ēvāham ityēva niścayam viddhi padmaja.
12. Ētair mē niścitai rūpair vihīnam kim vadasva mē
tasmād aham vidhē cāsmin sargē vai vitatābhavam.
13. Nūnam sarvēṣu dēvēṣu nānānāma dharāmyaham
bhavāmi śaktirūpēṇa karōmi ca parākramam.
14. Gaurī Brāhmī tathā Raudrī Vārāhī Vaiṣṇavī Śivā
Vāruṇī cātha Kaubērī Nārasiṁhī ca Vāsavī.
15. Utpannēṣu samastēṣu kāryēṣu praviśāmi tān
karōmi sarvakāryāṇi nimittam tam vidhāya vai.
16. Jalē śītam tathā vahnāvauṣṇyam jyōtir divākarē
niśānāthē himam kāmam prabhavāmi yathā tathā.
17. Mayā tyaktam vidhē nūnam spanditum na kṣamam bhavēt
jīvajātañca saṁsārē niścayō'yam bhruvē tvayi.
18. Aśaktaḥ Śaṅkarō hantum daityam kila mayōjjhitaḥ
śaktihīnam naram brūtē lōkaścaivātidurbalam.
19. Rudrahīnam, Viṣṇuhīnam na vadanti janāḥ kila
śaktihīnam yathā sarvē pravadanti narādhamam.

The high estimation in which Śakti, the Female Energy, is held, shows itself in the many prayers which sages, heroes

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20. Aśaktiḥ prōcyatē lōkē nārudraḥ kōpi kathyatē
patitaḥ skhalitō bhītaḥ śāntaḥ śatruvaśaṅgataḥ.
21. Tadviddhi kāraṇam śaktir yathā tvañca sisṛkṣasi
bhavitā ca yadā yuktaḥ śaktyā kartā tadākhilam.
22. Tathā Hariḥ tataḥ Śambhuḥ tathēndrō'tha Vibhāvasuḥ
Śaśī Sūryō Yamaḥ Tvaṣṭā Varuṇaḥ Pavanaḥ tathā.
23. Dharā sthirā tadā dhartum śaktiyuktā yadā bhavēt
anyathā cēd aśaktā syāt paramāṇōśca dhāraṇē.
24. Tathā Śēṣaḥ tathā kūrmō yē'nyē sarvē ca diggajāḥ
madyuktā vai samarthāśca svāni kāryāṇi sādhitum.
25. Jalam pibāmi sakalam saṁharāmi vibhāvasum
pavanam stambhayāmyadya yad icchāmi tathācaram.

In Ślōka 10 three stages of speech are mentioned, instead of the usual four: *parā*, *vaikharī*, *madhyamā* and *paśyantī*; Ślōkas 18 and 19 contain a pun on the word *śakti*.

Compare with this description of Śakti that of Prakṛti, *ibidem* IX, I, 10—21:

10. Sā ca brahmasvarūpā ca nityā sā ca sanātanī
yathātmā ca tathā śaktir yathāgnau dāhikā sthitā.
11. Ata ēva hi yōgīndraiḥ strīpumbhēdō na manyatē
sarvabrahmamayam brahmañchaśvat sadapi Nārada.
12. Svēcchāmayaḥ svēcchayā ca Śrīkṛṣṇasya sisṛkṣayā
sāvirbabhūva sahasā Mūlaprakṛtir īśvarī.
13. Tadājñayā pañcavidhā sṛṣṭikarmavibhēdikā
atha bhaktānurōdhād vā bhaktānugrahavigrahā.
14. Gaṇēśamātā Durgā yā Śivarūpā śivapriyā
Nārāyaṇī Viṣṇumāyā pūrṇabrahmasvarūpiṇī
15. Brahmādidēvair munibhir manubhiḥ pūjitā stutā
sarvādhiṣṭhātṛdēvī sā sarvarūpā sanātanī.
16. Dharmasatyā puṇyakōṭir yaśōmaṅgaladāyinī
sukhamōkṣaharṣadātrī śōkārtiduḥkhanāśinī.
17. Śaraṇāgatadīnārta paritrāṇaparāyaṇā
tējassvarūpā paramā tadadhiṣṭhātṛdēvatā.
18. Sarvaśaktisvarūpā ca śaktir Īśasya santatam
siddhēśvarī siddharūpā siddhidā siddhir īśvarī.
19. Buddhir nidrā kṣut pipāsā chāyā tandrā dayā smṛtiḥ
jātiḥ kṣāntiśca bhrāntiśca śāntiḥ kāntiśca cētanā.
20. Tuṣṭiḥ puṣṭiḥ tathā lakṣmīr dhṛtir māyā tathaiva ca
sarvaśaktisvarūpā sā Kṛṣṇasya paramātmanaḥ.
21. Uktaḥ śrutau śrutaguṇaścāpi svalpō yathāgamam
guṇō styanantō'nantāyā aparām ca niśāmaya.

and even gods address to her in the Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa and other epic poems. As *Āryā* she is invoked in a long supplication by the ancient Sages, as *Dēvī* by the imprisoned Aniruddha, the son of Pradyumna, as *Durgā* her assistance is requested by Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna, and her favour is sought by Viṣṇu in the form of *Nidrā kālarūpiṇī* when he descends to the infernal regions to thwart with her assistance the machinations of Kaṁsa.

In the hymn of Arjuna she has many names; *e.g.* Army-leaderess of the Siddhas, the dweller on Mandara, Kumārī, Kālī, Kāpālī, Kapilā, Kṛṣṇapiṅgalā, Bhadrakālī, Mahākālī, Caṇḍī, Caṇḍā, Tāriṇī, Varavarṇinī (best coloured), Kātyāyanī, Karālī, Vijayā, Jayā, younger sister of Kṛṣṇa, eldest in the family of the cowherd Nanda, Kauśikī, Umā, Śākambharī, Śvētā, Kṛṣṇā, destroyer of Kaiṭabha, Hiraṇyākṣī, Virūpākṣī, Dhūmrākṣī, Vēdaśruti, Jātavēdasī, continual resident near the Jambu mountains and graves, the Brahmavidyā of sciences, the Mahānidrā of living bodies, mother of Skanda, venerable Durgā, dweller in wildernesses. She is addressed as Svāhā, Svadhā, Kalā, Kāṣṭhā, Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī, as mother of the Vēda, and also as the end of the Vēda. She, the great goddess, is praised with a pure heart; through her favour victory will always be obtained in the battlefield. She ever abides in the wilderness; she protects her devout followers when in fear and troubles and also when in Hell, she conquers in battle the Dānavas; she is Jambhanī, Mōhinī, Māyā, Hrī, Śrī, Sandhyā, the resplendent, Sāvitrī, Mother, Tuṣṭi, Puṣṭi Dhṛti, Dīpti, increaser of sun and moon; strength of the strong in fight, as which she is seen by the Siddhas and Cāraṇas.[195]

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[195] See *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparvan, XXIII, 4—16: Arjuna uvāca:

4. Namas tē Siddhasēnāni Āryē Mandaravāsini
Kumāri Kāli Kāpāli Kapilē Kṛṣṇapiṅgalē.

5. Bhadrakāli namas tubhyam Mahākāli nam'ōstu tē
Caṇḍi Caṇḍē namas tubhyam Tāriṇi Varavarṇini.

In the Durgāstava of the Ṛgvēdapariśiṣṭa, the sages appeal to Durgā for assistance.[196] In a similar manner the ancient sages invoke her as Āryā in the Harivaṁśa. This prayer is preceded by an account of Viṣṇu's descent to the infernal regions which he visits in order to persuade Śakti to frustrate, in the form of Nidrā Kālarūpiṇī, the nefarious designs of Kaṁsa. Viṣṇu presumes in his request a certain superiority over Śakti. He promises her a place among the gods, if she does what he wishes, Indra would acknowledge her as his sister Kauśikī, she would obtain a residence in the Vindhya mountains, destroy the two giants Śumbha and Niśumbha, and be worshipped by the ghosts on the ninth day with animal sacrifices, as she is fond of spirituous liquor, flesh, and offerings. Finally she is described as providing for men, who believe in her, an escape

6. Kātyāyani mahābhāgē Karāli Vijayē Jayē
śikhipiñchadhvajadharē nānābharaṇabhūṣitē.
7. Aṭṭaśūlapraharaṇē khaḍgakhēṭakadhāriṇi
gōpēndrasyānujē jyēṣṭhē Nandagōpakulōdbhavē.
8. Mahiṣāsṛkpriyē nityam Kauśiki pītavāsini
aṭṭahāsē kōkamukhē namas tē'stu raṇapriyē.
9. Umē Śākambhari Śvētē Kṛṣṇē Kaiṭabhanāśini
Hiraṇyākṣi Virūpākṣi Dhūmrākṣi ca nam'ōstu tē.
10 Vēdaśruti mahāpuṇyē brahmaṇyē Jātavēdasi
Jambūkaṭakacaityēṣu nityam sannihitālayē.
11. Tvam brahmavidyā vidyānām mahānidrā ca dēhinām
Skandamātar bhagavati Durgē kāntāravāsini.
12. Svāhākāraḥ Svadhā caiva Kalā Kāṣṭhā Sarasvatī
Sāvitrī Vēdamātā ca tathā Vēdānta ucyatē.
13. Stutā'si tvam Mahādēvi viśuddhēnāntarātmanā
Jayō bhavatu mē nityam tvatprasādād raṇājirē.
14. Kāntārabhayadurgēṣu bhaktānām pālanēṣu ca
nityam vasasi pātālē yuddhē jayasi dānavān.
15. Tvam Jambhanī Mōhinī ca Māyā Hrīḥ Śrīḥ tathaiva ca
Sandhyā prabhāvatī caiva Sāvitrī Jananī tathā.
16. Tuṣṭiḥ Puṣṭir Dhṛtir Dīptiś candrādityavivardhinī
bhūtir bhūtimatām saṅkhyē vīkṣyasē siddhacāraṇaiḥ.

Compare *Bhāgavata*, X, 2, 6—13.

[196] See pp. 422, 423.

when placed in deserts, or plunged in the ocean, or attacked by thieves.[197]

In the praise of Āryā, which the sages sing, the superiority of the goddess is distinctly stated. She is addressed as Nārāyaṇī, as the supreme goddess of the three worlds (Tribhuvanēśvarī), and by the names given to her by Arjuna. She is described as always abiding on fierce mountain-peaks, in rivers, caves, forests and groves. She is greatly revered by the Pulindas, Śabaras and Barbaras, resides in the Vindhya mountains, and is fond, as has been previously stated, of spirituous drink, flesh, and offerings. She is a sister of Baladēva, the mother of the swarm of ghosts, the splendour of lights, the Rōhiṇī of Nakṣatras: she resides at the doors of kings, at holy waterplaces, at the conflux of rivers: she is the full moon, the righteous intellect of the sages, and dwells in the minds of the gods: she is on account of her deeds praised among the goblins as the goddess of liquor; among the different kinds of knowledge she is the Brahmavidyā; the whole world is encompassed by her, the movable as well as the immovable: she is the safe protectress in all conflicts, at fires, in holy

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[197] See *Harivaṁśa*, 57, 48—55:

48. Tatraiva tvām bbaginyarthē gṛhīṣyati sa Vāsavaḥ
Kuśikasya tu gōtrēṇa Kauśikī tvam bhaviṣyasi.

49. Sa tē Vindhyē nagaśrēṣṭhē sthāuam dāsyati śāśvatam
tatas sthānasahasrais tvam pṛthivīm śōbhayiṣyasi.

50. Trailōkyacāriṇī sā tvam bhuvi satyōpayācanā
cariṣyasi mahābhāgē varadā kāmarūpiṇī.

51. Tatra Śumbhaniśumbhau dvau Dānavau nagacāriṇau
tau ca kṛtvā manasi mām sānugau nāśayiṣyasi.

52. Kṛtānuyātrā bhūtais tvam surāmāṁsabalipriyā
tithau navamyām pūjām tvam prāpsyasē sapaśukriyām.

53. Yē ca tvām matprabhāvajñāḥ praṇamiṣyanti mānavāḥ
tēṣām na durlabham kiñcit putratō dhanatō'pi vā.

54. Kāntārēṣvavasannānām magnānām ca mahārṇavē
dasyubhir vā niruddhānām tvam gatiḥ paramā nṛṇām.

55. Tvām tu stōṣyanti yē bhaktyā stavēnānēna vai śubhē
Tasyāham na praṇaśyāmi sa ca mē na praṇaśyati.

crossing places of rivers, among thieves, in deserts, in fear, in exile, in prison, in hostile onslaught and in life-endangering positions. In her confides the heart, in her rests the mind, she protects from all sins, she should be propitiated.[198]

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[198] See *Harivaṁśa*, LVIII, 1—33:

1. Āryāstavam pravakṣyāmi yathōktam ṛṣibhiḥ purā
Nārāyaṇīm namasyāmi dēvīm tribhuvanēśvarīm.
2. Tvam hi siddhir dhṛtiḥ kīrtiś śrīr vidyā sannatir matiḥ
sandhyā rātriḥ prabhā nidrā kālarātris tathaiva ca.
3. Āryā kātyāyanī dēvī kauśikī brahmacāriṇī
jananī siddhasēnasya ugracārī mahābalā.
4. Jayā ca vijayā caiva puṣṭis tuṣṭiḥ kṣamā dayā
jyēṣṭhā yamasya bhaginī nīlā kauśēyavāsinī.
5. Bahurūpā virūpā ca anēkavidhicāriṇī
virūpākṣī viśālākṣī bhaktānām parirakṣiṇī.
6. Parvatāgrēṣu ghōrēṣu nadīṣu ca guhāsu ca
Vāsas tava mahādēvi vanēṣūpavanēṣu ca.
7. Śabarair barbaraiścaiva pulindaiśca supūjitā
mayūrapiñchadhvajinī lōkān kramasi sarvaśaḥ.
8. Kukkuṭaiścchāgalair mēṣais siṁhair vyāghrais samākulā
ghaṇṭāninādabahulā vindhyavāsinyabhiśrutā.
9. Triśūlīpaṭṭiśadharā sūryacandrapatākinī
navamī kṛṣṇapakṣasya śuklasyaikādaśī tathā.
10. Bhaginī baladēvasya rajanī kalahapriyā
āvāsas sarvabhūtānām niṣṭhā tvam paramā gatiḥ.
11. Nandagōpasutā caiva dēvānām vijayāvahā
cīravāsās suvāsāśca raudrī sandhyācarī niśā.
12. Prakīrṇakēśī mṛtyuśca surāmāṁsabalipriyā
lakṣmīr alakṣmīrūpēṇa dānavānām vadhāya ca.
13. Sāvitrī cāpi dēvānam āryā mantragaṇēṣu ca
kanyānām brahmacaryatvam saubhāgyam pramadāsu ca
14. Antarvēdī ca yajñānām ṛtvijām caiva dakṣiṇā
karṣukāṇām ca sītēti bhūtānām dharaṇīti ca.
15. Siddhis tvam yātrikāṇām tu mātā bhūtagaṇasya ca
yakṣāṇām prathamā yakṣī nāgānām surasēti ca.
16. Brahmavādītyathō dīkṣā śōbhā ca paramā tathā
jyōtiṣām tvam prabhā dēvi nakṣatrāṇām ca rōhiṇī.
17. Rājadvārēṣu tīrthēṣu nadīnām saṅgamēṣu ca
pūrṇā ca pūrṇimā candrē tvam buddhir ambikā śuciḥ.
18. Sarasvatī ca vālmīkē smṛtir dvaipāyanē tathā
ṛṣīṇām dharmabuddhis tu dēvānām mānasī tathā,
19. Surā dēvī tu bhūtēṣu stūyasē tvam svakarmabhiḥ.
Indrasya cārudṛṣṭis tvam sahasranayanēti ca.

Aniruddha was kept a prisoner by Bāṇa in his town Bāṇapura, and in his anxiety prayed to the naked Dēvī to deliver him from his precarious position. After a few words addressed to the endless, imperishable, divine, primordial and eternal god Nārāyaṇa, he turns to Dēvī, whom he calls the sister of Indra and Viṣṇu, and whose names and deeds he extols in about twenty-five stanzas. She is the mother of the Vēdas. He says that she resides in Malaya, in the Vindhya, and on Kailāsa, in fact on all mountains ; that she is fond of flowers, is the goddess of liquor and delights in liquor, appears as a wild forest-woman, dresses in bark. He also mentions her as the destroyer of the demons

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20. Tāpasānām ca dēvī tvam araṇī cāgnihōtriṇām
Kṣudhā ca sarvabhūtānām tṛptis tvam daivatēṣu ca.
21. Svāhā tṛptir dhṛtir mēdhā vasūnām tvam vasūmatī
Āśā tvam mānuṣāṇām ca puṣṭiśca kṛtakarmaṇām.
22. Diśaśca vidiśaścaiva tathā hyagniśikhā prabhā
Śakunī pūtanā tvam ca rēvatī ca sudāruṇā.
23. Nidrāpi sarvabhūtānām mōhinī kṣatriyā tathā
Vidyānām brahmavidyā tvam tvam ōmkārō vaṣaṭ tathā.
24. Nārīṇām pārvatīm ca tvām paurāṇīm ṛṣayō viduḥ
Arundhatī ca sādhvīnām prajāpativacō yathā.
25. Yathārthanāmabhir divyair indrāṇī cēti viśrutā
tvayā vyāptam idam sarvam jagat sthāvarajaṅgamam
26. Saṅgrāmēṣu ca sarvēṣu agniprajvalitēṣu ca
nadītīrēṣu caurēṣu kāntārēṣu bhayēṣu ca.
27. Pravāsē rājabandhē ca śatrūṇām ca pramardanē
prāṇātyayēṣu sarvēṣu tvam hi rakṣā na saṁśayaḥ.
28. Tvayi mē hṛdayam dēvi tvayi cittam manas tvayi
raksa mām sarvapāpēbhyaḥ prasādam kartum arhasi.
29. Imam yas sustavam divyam iti vyāsaprakalpitam
yaḥ paṭhēt prātar utthāya śuciḥ prayatamānasaḥ.
30. Tribhir māsaiḥ kāṅkṣitam ca phalam vai samprayacchati
ṣaḍbhir māsair variṣṭham tu varam ēkam prayacchati.
31. Arcitā tu tribhir māsair divyam cakṣuḥ prayacchati
saṁvatsarēṇa siddhim tu yathākāmam prayacchati.
32. Satyam brahma ca divyam ca dvaipāyanavacō yathā
nṛṇām bandham vadham ghōram putranāśam dhanakṣayam.
33. Vyādhimṛtyubhayam caiva pūjitā śamayiṣyasi
bhaviṣyasi mahābhāgē varadā kāmarūpiṇī.

Śumbha and Niśumbha. She cannot be imagined by thoughts, nor in any way fashioned. The mere uttering of her name comprises Brahman, Viṣṇu, Rudra, the moon, sun and the winds, the two Aśvins, the Vasus, the Earth, the ten regions, in fact the whole world.[199]

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[199] See *Harivaṁśa*, CLXXV, 1—48 :

1. Yadā Bāṇapurē vīraś śō'niruddhas sahōṣayā
 sanniruddhō narēndrēṇa bāṇēna balisūnunā.
2. Tadā dēvīm kōṭavatīm rakṣārtham śaraṇam gataḥ
 yad gītam Aniruddhēna dēvyās stōtram idam śṛṇu.
3. Anantam akṣayam divyam ādidēvam sanātanam
 Nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya pravaram jagatām prabhum.
4. Caṇḍīm Kātyāyanīm Dēvīm Āryām lōkanamaskṛtām
 varadām kīrtayiṣyāmi nāmabhir Harisamstutaiḥ.
5. Ṛṣibhir daivataiścaiva vākpuṣpair arcitām śubhām
 tām dēvim sarvadēhasthām sarvadēvanamaskṛtām.
 Aniruddha uvāca ;
6. Mahēndraviṣṇubhaginīm namasyāmi hitāya vai
 manasā bhāvaśuddhēna śucis stōṣyē kṛtāñjaliḥ.
7. Gautamīm Kaṁsabhayadām Yaśōdānandavardhinīm
 Mēdhyām gōkulasambhūtām Nandagōpasya nandinīm.
8. Prajñām dakṣām śivām saumyām danuputravimardinīm
 tām dēvīm sarvadēhasthām sarvabhūtanamaskṛtām.
9. Darśanīm pūraṇim Māyām vahnisūryaśaśiprabhām
 śāntim dhruvām ca jananīm Mōhanīm śōṣanīm tathā.
10. Sēvyām dēvaiḥ sarṣigaṇaiḥ sarvadēvanamaskṛtām
 Kālim, Kātyāyanīm dēvīm bhayadām bhayanāśinīm.
11. Kālarātrim Kāmagamām triṇētrām brahmacāriṇīm
 saudāmanīm mēgharavām vētālim vipulānanām.
12. Yūthasyādyām mahābhāgām Śakunīm Rēvatīm tathā
 tithīnām pañcamīm ṣaṣṭhīm pūrṇamāsīm caturdaśīm.
13. Saptaviṁśatirkṣāṇi nadyas sarvā diśō daśa
 nagarōpavanōdyānadvārāṭṭālakavāsinīm.
14. Hrīm Śrīm gaṅgām ca gandharvām yōginīm yōgadām satām
 kīrtim āśām diśam sparśām namasyāmi Sarasvatīm.
15. Vēdānām mātaram caiva Sāvitrīm bhaktavatsalām
 tapasvinīm śāntikarīm ēkānaṁśām sanātanīm.
16. Kauṭīryām Madirām Caṇḍām Ilām Malayavāsinīm
 Bhūtadhātrīm bhayakarīm Kūṣmāṇḍīm kusumapriyām.
17. Dāruṇīm madirāvāsām Vindhyakailāsavāsinīm
 varāṅgagām siṁharathīm bahurūpām vṛṣadhvajām.
18. Durlabhām durjayām durgām Niśumbhabhayadarśinīm
 surapriyām surām dēvim vajrapāṇyanujām Śivām.

In nearly all these addresses, great stress is laid on the circumstance that Dēvī is living on the peaks of mountains, in the Malaya, Vindhya and on Kailāsa, that is in Northern,

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19. Kirātīm cīravasanām caurasēnānamaskṛtām
ājyapām sōmapām saumyām sarvaparvatavāsinīm.
20. Niśumbhaśumbhamathanīm gajakumbhōpamastanīm
jananīm siddhasēnasya siddhacāraṇasēvitām.
21. Carām kumāraprabhavām pārvatīm parvatātmajām
pañcāśaddēvakanyānām patnyō dēvagaṇasya ca.
22. Kadrūputrasahasrasya putrapautravarastriyāḥ
mātā pitā jaganmānyā divi dēvāpsarōgaṇaiḥ.
23. Ṛṣipatnīgaṇānām ca yakṣagandharvayōṣitām
Vidyādharāṇām nārīṣu sādhvīṣu manujāsu ca.
24. Ēvamētāsu nārīṣu sarvabhūtāśrayā hyasi
namaskṛtāsi trailōkyē kinnarōdgitasēvitē.
25. Acintyā hyapramēyāsi yāsi sāsi namō'stu tē
ēbhir nāmabhir anyaiśca kīrtitā hyasi Gautami.
26. Tvatprasādād avijñēna kṣipram mucyēya bandhanāt
avēkṣasva viśālākṣi pādau tē śaraṇam vrajē
27. Sarvēṣām ēva bandhānām mōkṣaṇam kartum arhasi
Brahmā Viṣṇuśca Rudraśca Candrasūryāgnimārutāḥ.
28. Aśvinau Vasavaścaiva Dhātā Bhūmir diśō daśa
marutā saha Parjanyō Dhātā Bhūmir diśō daśa.
29. Gāvō nakṣatravaṁśaśca grahanadyō hradās tathā
saritas sāgarāścaiva nānāvidhyādharōragāḥ.
30. Tathā nāgās Suparvāṇō Gandharvāpsarasām gaṇāḥ.
kṛtsnam jagad idam prōktam dēvyā nāmānukīrtanāt.
31. Dēvyās stavam idam puṇyam yaḥ paṭhēt susamāhitaḥ
sā tasmai saptamē māsi varam agryam prayacchati.
32. Aṣṭādaśabhujā dēvī divyābharaṇabhūṣitā
hāraśōbhitasarvāṅgī mukuṭōjjvalabhūṣaṇā.
33. Kātyāyanī stūyasē tvam varam agryam prayacchasi
atas stavīmi tvām dēvīm varadē vāmalōcanē.
34. Namō'stu tē mahādēvi suprītā mē sadā bhava
prayaccha tvam varam hyāyuḥ puṣṭim caiva kṣamām dhṛtim.
35. Bandhanasthō vimucyēya satyam ētad bhavēd iti. . . .
42. Namō'stu tē dēvi varapradē śivē namō'stu tē dēvi surārināśini.
43. Namō'stu tē kāmacarē sadāśivē namō'stu tē sarvahitaiṣiṇi priyē
namō'stu tē bhayakari vidviṣām sadā namō'stu tē bandhanamōkṣakāriṇi.
44. Brahmāṇīndrāṇi Rudrāṇi bhūtabhavyabhavē śivē
trāhi mām sarvabhītibhyō Nārāyaṇi namō'stu tē.
45. Namō'stu tē jaganmātrē priyē dāntē mahāvratē,
bhaktipriyē jaganmātaś śailaputri vasundharē.

Central and Southern India, and that she is fond of drinking intoxicating liquor and eating flesh. It is also stated that she is particularly worshipped by the Śabaras, Pulindas and Barbaras, or by the chief aboriginal races of India, thus supplying a strong foundation for the supposition that the cult of Dēvī or of the Female Energy arose among the non-Aryan races, and was not imported into this country by the victorious Aryans. Some of the aboriginal tribes have up to the present held aloof from adopting Hindu customs and beliefs; and among such tribes, who worship the Earth-deity, are still included many Śabara and Gond clans. These extracts must therefore be regarded as supplying important evidence concerning the primitive seat of the worship of the Female Energy.

The Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa devotes a considerable section to the glorification of the great Dēvī.[200] This portion is called the *Caṇḍīpāṭha* or *Saptaśatī*, as the description of Caṇḍī occupies, in thirteen chapters, seven hundred ślōkas. It records the exploits of Dēvī, especially her victories over the demons Mahiṣāsura, Caṇḍa, Muṇḍa, Śumbha, Niśumbha and others. In various places the gods proclaim her grandeur and supreme power. Among other passages of this kind may be mentioned here the prayer which Brahman addresses to her while hiding himself in the lotus navel of Viṣṇu, for fear of being killed by the two terrible demons Madhu and

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46. Trāhi mām tvam viṣālākṣi Nārāyaṇi namō'stu tē
    trāyasva sarvaduḥkhēbhyō dānavānām bhayaṅkari,
47. Rudrapriyē Mahābhāgē bhaktānām ārtināśini
    namāmi śirasā dēvīm bandhanasthō vimōkṣitaḥ
48. Vaiśampāyana uvāca:
    Aryāstavam idam puṇyam yaḥ paṭhēt susamāhitaḥ
    sarvapāpavinirmuktō Viṣṇulōkam sa gacchati
    bandhanasthō vimucyēta satyam Vyāsavacō yathā.

[200] See *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa*, LXXVI—LXXXVIII.

Kaiṭabha;[201] the thanks which the gods offer her for killing the demon Mahiṣāsura,[202] their request to protect them against the fiends Śumbha and Niśumbha,[203] and their thanksgiving to Kātyāyanī celebrating her as Nārāyaṇī.[204]

At the time of the general dissolution, when Brahman was tossed about by anxious meditation and was dwelling in a lotus not knowing what to do, he was frightened by the sudden appearance of the two demons *Madhu* and *Kaiṭabha*,[205]

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[201] See *ibidem*, LXXVI, 60—73:

60 *b*. Viśvēśvarim jagaddhātrīm sthitisaṁhārakāraṇam.
61. Staumi nidrāṃ bhagavatīm viṣṇōr atulatējasaḥ
tvam svāhā tvam svadhā tvam hi vaṣaṭkāras svarātmikā.
62. Sudhā tvam akṣarē nityē tridhā mātrātmikā sthitā
ardhamātrā sthitā nityā yānuccāryā viśēṣataḥ.
63. Tvam ēva sandhyā sāvitrī tvam dēvī jananī parā
tvayaitad dhāryatē viśvam tvayaitat sṛjyatē jagat.
64. Tvayaitat pālyatē dēvi tvam atyantē ca sarvadā
visṛṣṭau sṛṣṭirūpā tvam sthitirūpā ca pālanē
65. Tathā saṁhṛtirūpāntē jagatō'sya jaganmayī
mahāvidyā mahāmāyā mahāmēdhā mahāsmṛtiḥ
66 Mahāmōhā bhagavatī mahādēvī mahēśvari
prakṛtis tvam ca sarvasya guṇatrayavibhāgini.
67. Kālarātrir mahārātrir mōharātriśca dāruṇā
rātriśca pañcadhā prōktā tvam ēkaklēśahāriṇī.
68. Tvam śrīs tvam īśvarī tvam hrīs tvam buddhir bōdhalakṣaṇā
lajjā puṣṭis tathā tuṣṭis tvam śāntiḥ kṣāntir ēva ca.
69. Khaḍginī śūlinī ghōrā gadini cakriṇī tathā
śaṅkhinī cāpinī bāṇabhusuṇḍiparighāyudhā.
70. Saumyā saumyatarā śēṣasaumyēbhyas tvatisundari
parāparāṇām paramā tvam ēva paramēśvarī
71. Yacca kiñcit kvacidvastu sadasad vā khilātmakē
tasya sarvasya yā śaktis sā tvam kim stūyasē mayā.
72. Yayā tvayā jagatsraṣṭā jagatpātyatti yōgavit
sō'pi nidrāvaśam nitaḥ kas tvām stōtum ihēśvaraḥ.
73. Viṣṇōḥ śarīragrahaṇam aham īśāna ēva ca
kāritās tē yatō'tas tvām kas stōtum śaktimān bhavēt.

[202] See *ibidem*, LXXIX, 1—27.

[203] See *ibidem*, LXXX, 14—112

[204] See *ibidem*, LXXXVI, 1—36.

[205] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, III, II, 21—25:

21. Tadā daityāvati prāptau dāruṇau Madhu-Kaiṭabhau
tābhyām vibhīṣitaścāham yuddhāya makarālayē,

who had been formed from the earwax of Viṣṇu and who wanted to destroy him. Viṣṇu was at that very moment plunged in deep sleep, for Śakti had entered him in the form of the Yōganidrā, and Brahman fled into the water praying to Dēvī to grant him her assistance. Responding to his supplication she emerged from the body of Viṣṇu, who fought with the two demons and destroyed them. According to the description of Brahman, the Dēvī, who appeared as Bhuvanēśvarī, was very beautiful, wore red garments, and was painted with red sandal.[206] Her red eyes shone like crores of lightning, and with her charming face and red lips surpassed crores of Lakṣmīs. She was brilliant like the sun, with one hand she granted a boon, with another

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22. Tatō'ham nālam ālambya vārimadhyam avātaram
tadā tatra mayā dṛṣṭaḥ puruṣaḥ paramādbhutaḥ.
23. Mēghaśyāmaśarīras tu pītavāsāś caturbhujaḥ
śēṣaśāyī jagannāthō vanamālāvibhūṣitaḥ.
24. Śaṅkhacakragadāpadmādyāyudhais suvirājitaḥ
tam adrākṣam mahāviṣṇum śēṣaparyaṅkaśāyinam.
25. Yōganidrāsamākrāntam aviṣpandinam acyutam
śayānam tam samālōkya bhōgibhōgōpariṣṭhitam.

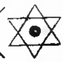
Compare also *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa*, LXXVI, 57:

57. Āstīrya śēṣam abhajat kalpāntē bhagavān prabhuḥ
tadā dvāvasurau ghōrau vikhyātau Madhu-Kaiṭabhau.
58. Viṣṇukarṇamalōdbhūtau hantum Brahmāṇam udyatau
sa nābhikamalē Viṣṇōs sthitō Brahmā Prajāpatiḥ.
59. Dṛṣṭvā tāvasurau cōgrau prasuptam ca Janārdanam
tuṣṭāva yōganidrām tām ēkāgrahṛdayas sthitaḥ.

206 See *Dēvībhāgavata*, III, 4.

A similar description of her is contained *ibidem*, IX, 2, 64—76:

64. Ētasmin antarē vipra sahasā Kṛṣṇadēvatā
āvirbabhūva Durgā sā Viṣṇumāyā sanātanī.
65. Dēvī Nārāyaṇīśānā sarvaśaktisvarūpiṇī
buddhyadhiṣṭhātṛdēvī sā Kṛṣṇasya paramātmanaḥ.
66. Dēvīnām bhījarūpā ca mūlaprakṛtir Īśvarī
paripūrṇatamā tējassvarūpā trigṇṇātmikā.
67. Taptakāñcanavarṇābhā kōṭisūryasamaprabhā
īṣaddhāsyaprasannasyā sahasrabhujasaṁyutā.
68. Nānāśastrāstranikaram bibhrati sā trilōcanā
vahniśuddhāṁśukādhānā ratnabhūṣaṇabhūṣitā.

she promised protection, the other two wore a noose and an elephant hook. She was like no one else, her smile looked like an ornament. The people who attended on her uttered the word hrīm, and all around her swarmed birds. She looked like a girl endowed with perpetual youth, she was beautifully dressed and covered with splendid gems and gold ornaments on her shoulders, arms, and head. The goddess was seated on a yantrarāja in the middle of a hexagon (). At a distance she looked like a woman with a thousand eyes, a thousand hands and faces, and her appearance created a doubt, whether she was not an Apsaras, a Gandharvī, or a Dēvāṅganā. Viṣṇu, however, recognized her as Ambā (the mother), the venerable goddess, the cause of the three gods, the great Wisdom, the great Illusion, the all-pervading being, the Creative Force (prakṛti), the imperishable ; as her who is the desire of the Supreme Soul, and is at once eternal and not eternal. She plays after destroying the whole world, and keeps in her own body the inner bodies of all living creatures.[207]

69. Yasyāścāṁśāṁśakalayā babhūvuḥ sarvayōṣitaḥ
sarvē viśvasthitā lōkā mōhitās synśca Māyayā.
70. Sarvaiśvaryapradātrī ca kāminām gṛhavāsinām
kṛṣṇabhaktipradā yā ca Vaiṣṇavānām ca Vaiṣṇavī.
71. Mumukṣūṇām mōkṣadātri sukhinām sukhadāyinī
svargēṣu svargalakṣmīśca gṛhalakṣmīr gṛhēṣu ca.
72. Tapasviṣu tapasyā ca śrīrūpā tu nṛpēṣu ca
yā vahnau dāhikārūpā prabhārūpā ca bhāskarē.
73. Śōbhārūpā ca candrē ca sā padmēṣu ca śōbhanā
sarvaśaktisvarūpā yā śrīkṛṣṇē paramātmani.
74. Yayā ca śaktimān ātmā yayā ca śaktimat jagat
yayā vinā jagat sarvam jīvau mṛtam iva sthitam.
75. Yā ca saṁsāravṛkṣasya bījarūpā sanātanī
sthitirūpā buddhirūpā phalarūpā ca Nārada.
76. Kṣut pipāsā dayārūpā nidrā tandrā kṣamā dhṛtiḥ
śāntilajjātuṣṭipuṣṭibhrāntikāntyādirūpiṇī.

[207] Compare *Dēvibhāgavata*, III, 3, 38—67 :
38. Raktamālyāmbaradharā raktagandhānulēpanā
suraktanayanā kāntā vidyutkōṭisamaprabhā.

According to the puranic cosmological account, the Supreme Brahman, representing combined mind and force,

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39. Sucāruvadanā raktadantacchadavirājitā
ramākōṭyadhikā kāntyā sūryabimbanibhānanā.
40. Varapāśāṅkuśābhīṣṭadharā Śrībhuvanēśvarī
adṛṣṭapūrvā dṛṣṭā sā sundarī smitabhūṣaṇā
41. Hrīṅkārajapaniṣṭhaistu pakṣibṛndair niṣēvitā
aruṇā karuṇāmūrtiḥ kumārī navayauvanā.
42. Sarvaśṛṅgāravēṣāḍhyā mandasmitamukhāmbujā
udyatpīnakucadvandvanirjitāmbhōjakuṭmalā.
43. Nānāmaṇigaṇākīrṇabhūṣaṇair upaśōbhitā
kanakāṅgadakēyūrakirīṭapariśōbhitā.
44. Kanacchrīcakratāṭaṅkaviṭaṅkavadanāmbujā
hṛllēkhā bhuvanēśīti nāmajāpaparāyaṇaiḥ.
45. Sakhībṛndais stutā nityam bhuvanēśī mahēśvarī
hṛllēkhādyābhir amarakanyābhiḥ parivēṣṭitā.
46. Anaṅgakusumādyābhir dēvībhiḥ parivēṣṭitā
dēvī ṣaṭkōṇamadhyasthā yantrarājōpariṣṭhitā.
47. Dṛṣṭvā tām vismitāḥ sarvē vayam tatra sthitābhavan
kēyam kāntā ca kinnāmā na jānīmō'tra saṁsthitāḥ.
48. Sahasranayanā rāmā sahasrakarasaṁyutā
sahasravadanā ramyā bhāti dūrād asaṁśayam.
49. Nāpsarā nāpi gandharvī nēyam dēvāṅganā kila
iti saṁśayam āpannāḥ tatra nārada saṁsthitāḥ.
50. Tadāsau bhagavān Viṣṇur dṛṣṭvā tām cāruhāsinīm
uvācāmbām svavijñānāt kṛtvā manasi niścayam.
51. Ēṣā bhagavatī dēvī sarvēṣām kāraṇam hi naḥ
mahāvidyā mahāmāyā pūrṇā prakṛtir avyayā
52. Durjñēyālpadhiyām dēvī yōgagamyā durāśayā
icchā parātmanaḥ kāmam nityānityasvarūpiṇī.
53. Durārādhyālpabhāgyaiśca dēvī viśvēśvarī śivā
vēdagarbhā viśālākṣī sarvēsām ādir īśvarī.
54. Ēṣā saṁhṛtya sakalam viśvam krīḍati saṅkṣayē
liṅgāni sarvajīvānām svaśarīrē nivēśya ca.
55. Sarvabījamayā hyēṣā rājatē sāmpratam surau
vibhūtayaḥ sthitāḥ pārśvē paśyatam kōṭiśaḥ kramāt.
56. Divyābharaṇabhūṣāḍhyā divyagandhānulēpanāḥ
paricaryāparāḥ sarvāḥ paśyatam Brahmaśaṅkarau.
57. Dhanyā vayam mahābhāgāḥ kṛtakṛtyās sma sāmpratam
yadatra darśanam prāptam bhagavatyāḥ svayam tvidam.
58 Tapas taptam purā yatnāt tasyēdam phalam uttamam
anyathā darśanam kutra bhavēt asmākam ādarāt.
59. Paśyanti puṇyapuñjā yē yē vadānyāḥ tapasvinaḥ
rāgiṇō naiva paśyanti dēvīm bhagavatīm śivām.

assumed for the sake of creation the shape of a woman on his left half and that of a man on his right half, remaining in this condition for a day of Brahman.[208] The perspiration

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60. Mūlaprakṛtir ēvaiṣā sadā puruṣasaṅgatā
brahmāṇḍam darśayatyēṣā kṛtvā vai paramātmanē.
61. Draṣṭāsau dṛśyam akhilam brahmāṇḍam dēvatāḥ surau
tasyaiṣā kāraṇam sarvā māyā sarvēśvari śivā.
62. Kvāham vā kva surāḥ sarvē ramādyāḥ surayōṣitaḥ
lakṣāṁśēna tulām asyā na bhavāmaḥ kadācana.
63. Saiṣā varāṅganā nāma mayā dṛṣṭā mahārṇavē
bālabhāvē mahādēvī dōlayantīva mām mudā.
64. Śayānam vaṭapatrē ca paryaṅkē susthirē dṛḍhē
pādāṅgnṣṭham karē kṛtvā nivēśya mukhapaṅkajē.
65. Lēlihantam ca krīḍantam anēkair bālacēṣṭitaiḥ
ramamāṇam kōmalāṅgam vaṭapatrapuṭē sthitam.
66. Gāyantī dōlayantī ca bālabhāvān mayi sthitē
sēyam suniścitam jñānam jātam mē darśanād iva.
67. Kāmam nō jananī saiṣā śṛṇutam pravadāmyaham
anubhūtam mayā pūrvam pratyabhijñā samutthitā.

Compare with this the description of Prakṛti, *ibidem* IX, II, 28—34.

[208] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, 1, 9:

Yōgēnātmā sṛṣṭividhau dvidhārūpō babhūva saḥ
pumāṁśca dakṣiṇārdhāṅgō vāmārdhā prakṛtiḥ smṛtā;

and *ibidem*, IX, 2, 26—28, 36—64 and 82:

26. Cicchaktirūpaḥ sraṣṭādau sisṛkṣanuēka ēva ca
sṛṣṭyunmukhaḥ tadaṁśēna kālēna prēritaḥ prabhuḥ.
27. Svēcchāmayaḥ svēcchayā ca dvidhārūpō babhūva ha
strīrūpō vāmabhāgāṁśō dakṣiṇāṁśaḥ pumān smṛtaḥ.
28. Tām dadarśa mahākāmī kāmādhārām sanātanaḥ
atīva kamanīyām ca cārupaṅkajasannibhām.
36. Dṛṣṭvā tām tu tayā sārdham Rāṇēśō rāsamaṇḍalē
rāsōllāsē surasikō rāsakrīḍām cakāra ha.
37. Nānāprakāraśṛṅgāram śṛṅgārō mūrtimān iva
cakāra sukhasambhōgam yāvad vai Brahmaṇō dinam.
39. Gātratō yōṣitaḥ tasyāḥ suratāntē ca suvrata,
nissasāra śramajalam śrāntāyāḥ tējasā Harēḥ.
40. Mahākramaṇakliṣṭāyā niśvāsaśca babhūva ha
tadā vavrē śramajalam tat sarvam viśvagōlakam.
41. Sa ca niśvāsavāyuśca sarvādhārō babhūva ha
niśvāsavāyuḥ sarvēṣām jīvinām ca bhavēṣu ca.
42. Babhūva mūrtimadvāyōr vāmāṅgāt prāṇavallabhā
tatpatnī sā ca tatputrāḥ prāṇāḥ pañca ca jīvinām.
43. Prāṇō'pānaḥ samānaścōdānavyānau ca vāyavaḥ
babhūvur ēva tatputrāḥ adhaḥ prāṇāśca pañca ca.

which flowed from the body of Śakti (Prakṛti) formed the ball of the Universe, her sigh became the all-supporting breath of all beings. From the left side of the incarnated wind came

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44. Gharmatōyādhidēvaśca babhūva Varuṇō mahān
tadvāmāṅgācca tatpatnī Varuṇānī babhūva sā.
45. Atha sā Kṛṣṇacicchaktiḥ kṛṣṇagarbham dadhāra ha
śatamanvantaram yāvajjvalantī Brahmatējasā.
46. Kṛṣṇaprāṇā hi dēvī sā Kṛṣṇaprāṇādhikā priyā
Kṛṣṇasya saṅginī śaśvat Kṛṣṇavakṣasthalasthitā.
47. Śatamanvantarāntē ca kālē'tītē'pi sundarī
suṣāva ḍimbham svarṇābham viśvādhārālayam param.
48. Dṛṣṭvā ḍimbham ca sā dēvī hṛdayēna vyadūyata
utsasarja ca kōpēna brahmāṇḍagōlakē jalē.
49. Dṛṣṭvā Kṛṣṇaśca tattyāgam hāhākāram cakāra ha
śaśāpa dēvīm dēvēśaḥ takṣaṇam ca yathōcitam.
50. Yatō'patyam tvayā tyaktam kōpaśīlē ca niṣṭhurē
bhava tvam tvanapatyāpi cādyaprabhṛti niścayam.
51. Yā yāḥ tvadaṁśarūpāśca bhaviṣyanti surastriyaḥ
anapatyāśca tāḥ sarvāḥ tvatsamā nityayauvanāḥ.
52. Ētasminnantarē Dēvījihvāgrāt sahasā tataḥ
āvirbabhūva kanyaikā śuklavarṇā manōharā.
53. Śvētavastraparīdhānā vīṇāpustakadhāriṇī
ratnabhūṣaṇabhūṣāḍhyā sarvaśāstrādhidēvatā.
54. Atha kālāntarō sā ca dvidhārūpā babhūva ha
vāmārdhāṅgācca Kamalā dakṣiṇārdhācca Rādhikā.
55. Ētasminnantarē Kṛṣṇō dvidhārūpō babhūva saḥ
dakṣiṇārdhaśca dvibhujō vāmārdhaśca caturbhujaḥ.
56 Uvāca Vāṇīm Kṛṣṇaḥ tām tvam asya kāminī bhava
atraiva māninī Rādhā tava bhadram bhaviṣyati.
57. Ēvam Lakṣmīm ca pradadau tuṣṭō Nārāyaṇāya ca
sa jagāma ca Vaikuṇṭhē tābhyām sārdham jagatpatiḥ.
58. Anapatyē ca tē dvē ca jātē Rādhāṁśasambhavē
bhūtā Nārāyaṇāṅgācca pārṣadāś ca caturbhujāḥ.
59. Tējasā vayasā rūpaguṇābhyām ca samā Harēḥ
babhūvuḥ kamalāṅgācca dāsīkōṭyaśca tatsamāḥ.
60. Atha gōlōkanāthasya lōmṇām vivaratō munē
bhūtāścāsaṅkhyagōpāśca vayasā tējasā samāḥ.
61. Rūpēṇa ca guṇēnaiva balēna vikramēṇa ca
prāṇatulyapriyāḥ sarvē babhūvuḥ pārṣadā vibhōḥ.
62. Rādhāṅgalōmakūpēbhyō babhūvur gōpakanyakāḥ
Rādhātulyāśca tatsarvā Rādhādāsyaḥ priyamvadāḥ.
63. Ratnabhūṣaṇabhūṣāḍhyāś śaśvatsusthirayauvanāḥ
anapatyāśca tāḥ sarvāḥ puṁsaḥ śāpēna santatam.

his wife dear as his life, and his sons, the five breaths of the living creatures. His sons became also the five inhaling breaths (*adhaḥprāṇa*). From her sweat proceeded the great Varuṇa, and from the left side of the latter his wife Varuṇānī. The Śakti of the mind of the Supreme Being was pregnant for a hundred manvantaras and then brought forth a child. In disgust she threw it into the water of the world, whereupon Kṛṣṇa became angry and cursed her that she should henceforth be childless; a curse which applied also to all her representatives. Immediately afterwards Sarasvatī appeared on the tip of her tongue, and after a while Śakti appeared in two forms, on the left half as Lakṣmī and on the right half as Rādhā. At the same time the Supreme Spirit manifested himself also in two forms, on the right side as two-armed (Brahman) and on the left side as four-armed (Nārāyaṇa), and he gave Sarasvatī to Brahman, and Rādhikā to Nārāyaṇa, who received also Lakṣmī. These two goddesses, who remained childless, accompanied him to Vaikuṇṭha. From the body of Nārāyaṇa sprang four-armed followers resembling Hari in splendour, age, form and qualities; and from that of Lakṣmī crores of female servants similar to her. Out of the pores of Rādhā's skin came shepherdesses like her, who were also childless. Then appeared the Supreme Śakti as Durgā, who received on her throne homage from all, while Brahman together with Sarasvatī arose from the navel of the Supreme God, who again appeared in two shapes, on the left half as Mahādēva, and on the right half as the lord of the shepherds.

The child of Śakti which, as previously stated, was

64. Ētasminnantarē, vipra, sahasā Kṛṣṇadēvatā
āvirbabhūva Durgā sā Viṣṇumāyā sanātanī.

65—76. See pp. 438, 439, note 206.

82. Etasminnantarē Kṛṣṇō dvidhārūpō babhūva saḥ
vāmārdhāṅgō Mahādēvō dakṣiṇē Gōpikāpatiḥ.

thrown by Śakti in the water of the world, became the Mahāvirāṭ.[209]

According to the command of the Mūlaprakṛti the work of creation was performed in a fivefold manner, and Prakṛti appears in consequence in five aspects as Gaṇēśajananī Durgā, Rādhā, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī.[210] These five chief representatives of Prakṛti are called the goddesses of learning or *vidyādēvīs*.[211]

Durgā was according to tradition first worshipped by Suratha.

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[209] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, III, 1—4:

1. Atha ḍimbhō jalē tiṣṭhan yāvad vai Brahmaṇō vayaḥ
tatassa kālē sahasā dvidhābhūtō babhūva ha.
2. Tanmadhyē śiśur ēkaśca śatakōṭiraviprabhaḥ
kṣaṇam rōrūyamāṇaśca stanāndhaḥ pīḍitaḥ kṣudhā.
3. Pitrā mātrā parityaktō jalamadhyē nirāśrayaḥ
brahmāṇḍāsaṅkhyanāthō yō dadarśōrdhvam anāthavat.
4. Sthūlāt sthūlatamas sō'pi nāmnā dēvō Mahāvirāṭ
paramāṇur yathā sūkṣmāt parasthūlāt tathāpyasau.

[210] It is strange that instead of five in reality six names are given, and that of these six two are respectively the names of the consorts of the three gods forming the Trimūrti, Gaṇēśajananī and Durgā being the wives of Śiva, Rādhā and Lakṣmī of Viṣṇu, and Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī of Brahman.

[211] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, 1, 1, 12, 13, 59:

1. Gaṇēśajananī Durgā Rādhā Lakṣmīḥ Sarasvatī
Sāvitrī ca sṛṣṭividhau prakṛtiḥ pañcadhā smṛtā.
12. Svēcchāmayaḥ svēcchayā ca śrīkṛṣṇasya sisṛkṣayā
sāvirbabhūva sahasā mūlaprakṛtir īśvarī.
13. Tadājñayā pañcavidhā sṛṣṭikarmavibhēdikā
atha bhaktānurōdhād vā bhaktānugrahavigrahā.
59. Paripūrṇatamāḥ pañca vidyādēvyaḥ prakīrtitaḥ
yā yāḥ pradhānāṁśarūpā varṇayāmi niśāmaya.

These Vidyādēvīs must be distinguished from the *Mahāvidyās*, which according to the Tantras are ten in number. These ten female incarnations of Śakti correspond according to the *Muṇḍamālā Tantra* with the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu as follows: *Dhūmavatī* with *Matsya*, *Bagalā* with *Kūrma*, *Bhairavī* with *Varāha*, *Chinnamastakā* with *Nṛsiṁha*, *Bhuvanēśvarī* with *Vāmana*, *Sundarī* with *Paraśurāma*, *Tārā* with *Rāma*, *Kālī* with *Kṛṣṇa*, *Kamalā* with *Buddha* and *Durgā* with *Kalki*. It is evident that this enumeration is of modern date and unreliable; in fact, other Tantras contain other names, and no importance can be attached to such lists.

From the *Saptaśatī* or the Caṇḍīpāṭha of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-purāṇa* we learn that Suratha was a king of the Caitra race, who lived in the time of the second Manu Svārōciṣa. After he had conquered the whole globe, he was attacked by some barbarian (*Kōla*) princes, who first deprived him of his conquests, and afterwards even of his own kingdom, which he left in order to find refuge in a forest. He met there a Vaiśya who had also lost all his property, and both went to a sage. Through his assistance, he became acquainted with the power and exploits of the great goddess Śakti. Suratha worshipped this supreme Goddess, and by her favour he regained on earth his kingdom and was reborn after his death as the eighth Manu Sāvarṇi.[212]

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[212] See *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāna*, LXXVI, 3—11:

3. Sāvarṇiḥ sūryatanayō yō manuḥ kathyatē'ṣṭamaḥ,
   niśāmaya tadutpattim vistarād gadatō mama.
4. Mahāmāyānubhāvēna yathā manvantarādhipaḥ.
   sa babhūva mahābhāgas Sāvarṇis tanayō ravēḥ.
5. Svārōciṣōntarē pūrvaḥ caitravaṁśasamudbhavaḥ
   Surathō nāma rājābhūt samastē kṣitimaṇḍalē.
6. Tasya pālayataḥ samyak prajāḥ putrāu ivaurasān
   babhūvuḥ śatravō bhūpāḥ kōlāvidhvaṁsiuaḥ tathā.
7. Tasya tair abhavad yuddham atiprabalaśatrubhiḥ
   nyūnair api sa tair yuddhē kōlāvidhvaṁsibhir jitaḥ.
8. Tatas svapuram āyātō nijadēśādhipō' bhavat
   ākrāntaḥ sa mahābhāgas tais tadā prabalāribhiḥ.
9. Amātyair balibhir duṣṭair durbalasya durātmabhiḥ
   svapuryām avamṛṣṭē tu svasutair ātmanaḥ padē.
10. Kōśō balam cāpahṛtam tatrāpi svapurē sthitaḥ
    tanayaiśca mahāvīryais tvaripakṣabalānvitaiḥ.
11. Tatō mṛgavyāvyājēna hṛtasvmyas sa bhūpatiḥ
    ēkākī hayam āruhya jagāma gahanam vanam.

See further *ibidem*, LXXXVIII, 11—16 :

11. Parituṣṭā jagaddhātrī pratyakṣam prāha Caṇḍikā ;
    Yat prārthyatē tvayā bhūpa tvayā ca kulanandana
12. Mattas tat prāpyatām sarvam parituṣṭā dadāmi vām,
    tatō vavrē nṛpō rājyam avibhraṁśyanyajanmani.
13. Atraiva ca nijam rājyam hataśatrubalam balāt
    sō'pi Vaiśyas tatō jñānam vavrē nirviṇṇamānasaḥ.

Râmacandra, the destroyer of Rāvaṇa, revered her afterwards. She appeared first as Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa, and after defeating the Daityas and Dānavas, burnt herself at the sacrifice of her father, as was previously mentioned.[213] Reborn as a daughter of Himavat she obtained Paśupati as her husband, and her sons are Gaṇēśa and Skanda, the former being Kṛṣṇa, and the latter a portion of Viṣṇu.[214]

Lakṣmī was first worshipped by Maṅgalabhūpa, and afterwards in the three worlds by gods, sages and men.[215] Aśvapati revered Sāvitrī first, and his example was followed by the gods and sages.[216] Sarasvatī was first worshipped by Brahman, and then by gods and sages.[217]

Rādhā was first adored in the three worlds by Kṛṣṇa in

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14. Mamētyaham iti prājñas saṅgavicyutikāraṇam
svalpair ahōbhir nṛpatē svarājyam prāpsyatē bhavān.
15. Hatvā ripūn askhalitam tava tacca bhaviṣyati
mṛtaśca bhūyas samprāpya janma dēvād vivasvataḥ.
16. Sāvarṇikō manur nāma bhavān bhuvi bhaviṣyati.

[213] See above, p. 419. The 108 places where the parts of the corpse of Satī fell are called *pīṭhas*, among these are the best known in Bengal the Kālīghaṭṭa and Kāmākhyā Pīṭhas.

[214] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, 1, 14—21, 145*b*—149*a*:
145*b*. Pūjitā Surathēnādau Durgā Durgārtināśinī
tataḥ Śrīrāmacandrēṇa Rāvaṇasya vadhārthinā.
146*b*. Tatpaścājjagatām mātā triṣu lōkēṣu pūjitā
jātādau Dakṣakanyā yā nihatya Daityadānavān.
147*b*. Tatō dēham parityjaya yajñē bhartuśca nindayā
jajñē Himavataḥ patnyām lēbhē Paśupatim patim.
148*b*. Gaṇēśaśca svayam Kṛṣṇaḥ Skandō Viṣṇukalōdbhavaḥ
babhūvatuḥ tau tanayau paścāt tasyāśca Nārada.

[215] See *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, 1, śl. 22—38 and 149*b*:
Lakṣmīr Maṅgalabhūpēna prathamam paripūjitā
triṣu lōkēṣu tatpaścāt dēvatā munimānavaiḥ.

[216] See *ibidem*, śl. 38—43 and 150*b*:
Sāvitrī Āśvapatinā prathamam paripūjitā
tatpaścāt triṣu lōkēṣu dēvatāmunipuṅgavaiḥ.

[217] See *ibidem*, śl. 29—37 and 151*b*:
Ādau Sarasvatī dēvi Brahmaṇā paripūjitā
tatpaścāt triṣu lōkēṣu dēvatāmunipuṅgavaiḥ.

Gōlōka during the full moon of Kārttika, and afterwards by shepherds and shepherdesses, by boys and girls, by herds of cows, by Surabhi, and, at the command of Hari, by Brahman and the other gods, &c.[218]

Dēvī was, at the advice of Śaṅkara, first worshipped in the holy land of Bhārata by Suyajña, and afterwards at the command of the Supreme Spirit fervently adored by the sages in the three worlds with flowers, incense, &c. Like Rukmiṇī of old, a Hindu bride generally visits Dēvī's temple before her marriage.[219]

Next to the Vidyādēvīs, as representatives of Śakti, rank the Divine Mothers (*Mātṛs* ; *Mātaraḥ*, or *Mātṛkāḥ*), who vary in number between 7, 8, 9 and 16. They are also called Nurses (*Dhātrīs*) and are considered to personate the Female Energies of the gods Brahman, Viṣṇu, Mahēśvara, Indra, Varāha, Narasiṁha, etc. They therefore bear the names of these gods; but are variously enumerated as Brāhmī, Māhēśvarī, Aindrī, Vārāhī, Nārasiṁhī, Kaumārī and Vaiṣṇavī, or as Gaurī, Brāhmaṇī, Raudrī, Vārāhī, Vaiṣṇavī, Śivā, Vāruṇī, Kaubērī, Nārasiṁhī and Vāsavī, or otherwise. The *Mātṛs* are arranged in three classes: *Antarmātṛs*, *Bāhyamātṛs* and *Saṁhāramātṛs*, or internal, external and contracting mothers.[220]

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[218] See *ibidem*, śl. 44—57, and 152*b*—155*a* :

152*b*. Prathamam pūjitā Rādhā gōlōkē rāsamaṇḍalē
paurṇamāsyām kārttikasya Kṛṣṇēna paramātmanā.

153*b*. Gōpikābhiśca gōpaiśca bālikābhiśca bālakaiḥ
gavām gaṇaiḥ Surabhyā ca tatpaścāt ājñayā Harēḥ.

154*b*. Tadā Brahmādibhir dēvair munibhiḥ parayā mudā
puṣpadhūpādibhir bhaktyā pūjitā vanditā sadā.

[219] See *Śrībhāgavata*, X, 53, 50, and *Dēvībhāgavata*, IX, 1, śl. 156*b*—157*a* :

155*b*. Pṛthivyām prathamam Dēvī Suyajñēnaiva pūjitā
Śaṅkarēṇōpadiṣṭēna puṇyakṣētrē ca Bhāratē.

156*b*. Triṣu lōkēṣu tatpaścād ājñayā paramātmanaḥ
puṣpadhūpādibhir bhaktyā pūjitā munibhiḥ sadā.

[220] Compare *Vaijayantī*, p. 8, lines 128, 129 :

Brāhmī Māhēśvarī Caindrī Vārāhī Nārasiṁhyapi
Kaumārī Vaiṣṇavī cēti tā ētāḥ sapta mātaraḥ.

In the power of Śakti, in fact, participate all women, goddesses as well as mortals. The difference between them depends on the portion of Śakti they possess, whether they have a full share, or a portion, or a sixteenth part of a portion, or a portion of such a portion.[221] A superior share (*pradhānāṁśa*) is possessed by Gaṅgā,[222] Tulasī,[223] Nāgēśvarī,[224] Dēvasēnā,[225] Maṅgalacaṇḍikā,[226] Kālī,[227] and

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The sixteen mothers are: Dēvasēnā, Gaurī, Mēdhā, Padmā, Śacī, Śānti, Sāvitrī, Svadhā, Svāhā, Vijayā, Jayā, Dhṛti, Puṣṭi, Tuṣṭi, Ātmadēvatā and Kuladēvatā.

See also *Dēvībhāgavata*, III, 6, 14.

[221] These variations are also distinguished as *pūrṇaśakti*, *aṁśarūpiṇī*, *kalārūpiṇī* and *kalāṁśarūpiṇī*.

See *ibidem*, IX, 1, 58, and 137*b*:

58. Aṁśarūpāḥ kalārūpāḥ kalāṁśāṁśāṁśasambhavāḥ
prakṛtēḥ prativiśvēśu dēvyaśca sarvayōṣitaḥ.

137*b*. Kalāṁśāṁśasamudbhūtāḥ prativiśvēṣu yōṣitaḥ.

[222] See *ibidem*, IX, 1, 44—62.

[223] See *ibidem*, śl. 63—70.

[224] See *ibidem*, śl. 71—77:

71. Pradhānāṁśasvarūpā yā manasā Kaśyapātmajā
śaṅkarapriyaśiṣyā ca mahājñānaviśāradā.

72. Nāgēśvarasyānantasya bhaginī nāgapūjitā
nāgēśvarī nāgamātā sundarī nāgavāhinī.

73. Nāgēndragaṇasaṁyuktā nāgabhūṣaṇabhūṣitā
nāgēndravanditā siddhā yōginī nāgaśāyinī.

74. Viṣṇurūpā Viṣṇubhaktā Viṣṇupūjāparāyaṇā
tapassvarūpā tapasām phaladātrī tapasvinī.

75. Divyam trilakṣavarṣam ca tapas taptvā ca yā Harēḥ
tapasvinīsu pūjyā ca tapasviṣu ca Bhāratē.

76. Sarvamantrādhidēvī ca jvalantī Brahmatējasā
brahmasvarūpā paramā Brahmabhāvanatatparā.

77. Jaratkārumunēḥ patnī kṛṣṇāṁśasya pativratā
āstikasya munēr mātā pravarasya tapasvinām.

[225] See *ibidem*, śl. 78—83*a*:

78. Pradhānāṁśasvarūpā yā Dēvasēnā ca Nārada
Mātṛkāsu pūjyatamā sā Ṣaṣṭhī ca prakīrtitā.

79. Putrapautrādidātrī ca dhātrī trijagatām satī
ṣaṣṭhāṁśarūpā prakṛtēḥ tēna ṣaṣṭhī prakīrtitā.

80. Sthānē śiśūnām paramā vṛddharūpā ca yōginī
pūjā dvādaśamāsēṣu yasyā viśvēṣu santatam.

Vasundharā.[228] The wives of eminent personages are mostly endowed with a sixteenth portion of Śakti.[229]

The Grāmadēvatās, curiously enough, appear at the bottom of the long list of beings possessing a share of Śakti.[230] Considering that they are in reality the original

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81. Pūjā ca sūtikāgārē purā ṣaṣṭhadinē śiśōḥ
ēkaviṁśadinē caiva pūjā kalyāṇahētukī
82. Munibhir namitā caiṣā nityā kāmyāpyataḥ parā
mātṛkā ca dayārūpā śaśvadrakṣaṇakāriṇī.
83. Jalē sthalē cāntarikṣē śiśūnām sadmagōcarē.

[226] See *ibidem*, śl. 83*b*–87*a*.

[227] See *ibidem*, śl. 87*b*—93*a*.

[228] See *ibidem*, śl. 93*b*—96*a*.

[229] See *ibidem*, śl. 96*b*—136.

As such kalās of Śakti are named Svāhādēvī, wife of Agni; Dakśiṇā, wife of Yajñapati (Dakṣa); Svadhā, wife of the Pitṛs; Svastidēvī, wife of Vāyu; Puṣṭi, wife of Gaṇēśa; Tuṣṭi, wife of Ananta; Sampatti, wife of Īśāna; Dhṛti, wife of Kapila; Satī, wife of Satya; Dayā, wife of Mōha; Pratiṣṭhā, wife of Puṇya; Kīrti, wife of Sukarma; Kriyā, wife of Udyōga; Mithyā, wife of Adharma; Śānti and Lajjā, the two wives of Suśīla; Buddhi, Mēdhā and Smṛti, the three wives of Jñāna; Mūrti, wife of Dharma; Nidrā wife of Kālāgnirudra; who stupefies into sleep all the worlds by her yōga; Sandhyā, Rātri and Divā, the three wives of Kāla; Kṣudh and Pipāsā, the two wives of Lōbha; Prabhā and Dāhikā, the two wives of Tējas, Mṛtyu and Jarā, the two wives of Prajvāra; Tandrā and Prīti, the daughters of Nidrā and wives of Sukha; Śraddhā and Bhakti, wives of Vairāgya; Aditi, mother of the gods; Surabhi, progenetrix of cows; Diti, mother of the Daityas; Kadrū, Vinatā and Danu; Rōhiṇī, wife of Candra; Sañjñā, wife of Sūrya; Śatarūpā, wife of Manu; Śacī, wife of Indra; Tārā, wife of Bṛhaspati; Arundhatī, wife of Vasiṣṭha; Ahalyā, wife of Gautama; Anasūyā, wife of Atri; Dēvahūti, wife of Kardama; Prasūti, wife of Dakṣa; Mēnakā, mind-born daughter of the Pitṛs and mother of Ambikā; Lōpāmudrā; Kuntī, wife of Kubēra; Varuṇānī, Vindhyāvali, wife of Bali; Damayantī, Yaśōdā, Dēvakī, Gāndhārī, Draupadī, Śaibyā, Satyavatī, Sādhvī, wife of Vṛṣabhānu; Kulōdvahā, mother of Rādhā; Mandōdarī, Kausalyā, Subhadrā, Kauravī, Rēvatī, Satyabhāmā, Kālindī, Lakṣmaṇā, Jāmbavatī, Nāgnajitī, Mitravindā, Rukmiṇī, Sītā, Kālī; Yōjanagandhā, mother of Vyāsa; Uṣā, wife of Bāṇa; Citralēkhā, friend of Uṣā; Prabhāvatī, Bhānumatī; Rēṇukā, mother of Bhṛgu; Rōhiṇī, mother of Balarāma; Ēkanandā or Durgā, sister of Kṛṣṇa, etc.

[230] See *ibidem*, śl. 137*a* and 158*a*:

137*a*. Yā yāśca grāmadēvyaḥ syuḥ tāḥ sarvāḥ prakṛtēḥ kalāḥ, and
158*a*. Pūjitā grāmadēvyaśca grāmē ca nagarē munē.

representatives of the Female Energy or Śakti, the Divine Mother or *Amma* of the non-Aryan population of India, this may appear at first singular. However, the fact of their being mentioned at all in Sanskrit Purāṇas is a strong evidence of the honoured position they occupied among the people, a position so important that it could not be ignored by the Brāhmans, who found it even to their spiritual and worldly advantage to include in their Pantheon not only the principle they represent, but also occasionally these, in their opinion, lower deities.

Having thus tried to show the non-Aryan origin of Śiva as Bhūtēśa and Girīśa, or Lord of Ghosts and of Mountains, and the identity of the worship of Dēvī and Śakti with the aboriginal *Amma*-cult, I shall now discuss the subject of the non-Aryan deities, as represented by the Grāmadēvatās and Aiyanār.

CHAPTER XIX.

On Grāmadēvatās, Aiyanār and Bhūtas.

General Remarks.

The *Grāmadēvatā* represents the principal national deity of the non-Aryan population of India.[231] With this female deity is intimately connected the well-known *Aiyanār* or

[231] The *Āgamasmṛtisāra* contains a ślōka which assigns the Grāmadēvatās to the Śūdras:

Brāhmaṇānām Śivō dēvaḥ, Kṣatriyāṇām tu Mādhavaḥ.
Vaiśyānām tu bhavēd Brahmā, Śūdrāṇām Grāmadēvatāḥ.

Śiva is the god of the Brāhmans, Mādhava of the Kṣatriyas, Brahman of the Vaiśyas, and the Grāmadēvatās of the Śūdras. The commentator explains this as follows: *Śiva* as the fire and the Vēda, *Mādhava* as religion and sacrifice, *Brahman* representing the Brāhmans, and the *Grāmadēvatās* as described by Parāśara are respectively revered by the four castes (Sivō'gnir vēdaśca, Mādhavō dharmō yajñaśca, Brahmā tu Brāhmaṇa ēva, Grāmadēvatāḥ Parāśaröktāś cāturvarṇyēna yathākramam arcyantē).

Śāsta, the chief of the ghosts and evil spirits. As he prevents these demons or Bhūtas from doing harm to men, he acts like a Bhūtēśa, Bhūtarāja or Bhūtanātha, in the same manner as does Śiva, with whom he is as such identical. The Grāmadēvatās are revered throughout the length and breadth of India, not only by the rudest aborigines, but also by the highest castes. There exists no hamlet, village, or town which does not possess a shrine dedicated to a Grāmadēvatā, that she may by her power preserve her devotees from diseases, plagues, and other calamities. I have previously drawn attention to the fact, that the Pariahs, the despised representatives of the oldest Ganda-Dravidian stock in India, are often connected with the proudest Brahmanic temples sacred to Śiva and Viṣṇu. The privileges these outcasts still enjoy seem to prove that they possessed originally proprietary rights over these sites, which perhaps even belonged to Pariah idols before the lands were taken from them and devoted to rival deities.[232] Neither can it be denied that the worship of the aborigines has secured access into Brahmanism, with the result that not only did the Kṣētradēvatās enter into the Brahmanic liturgy, but also that superstitious Brāhmans still sacrifice at the shrines of the popular deities of the lower orders.

The word *Grāmadēvatā* signifies deity of the village or town, and as India contains a large number of such villages and towns, there exists also an immense multitude of these deities, which vary in name and appearance, and whose legendary history depends on the special locality over which they preside. In consequence it is contended that the Grāmadēvatās owe their existence to the influence of time and actions, that they are framed according to judgment and are revered in the various districts under

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[232] *Śāsta* and *Śāstṛ* are the two Sanskrit forms of this name of Aiyanār. About the *Pariahs* see *above*, pp. 50—56.

their special vernacular names.[233] Nevertheless, however much the several tutelar deities may seem to differ outwardly, they are in reality all alike, in so far as they must be considered as the manifestation of the Gauda-Dravidian belief in the power of the Female Energy, represented by the productivity of the Earth. To this worship of the Mother Earth must be ascribed all the shrines that are dedicated to her local representatives. The original object of this veneration was probably a rude shapeless stone growing out of the earth and not fixed there by the hands of men; with preference a stone which in its outward appearance resembled a human head, such as we find still frequently worshipped in the northern Telugu country, and which is generally found on the outskirts of villages. Special images came afterwards into use, in order to distinguish the several divinities which were adored by the people. That all these various local deities represent one and the same principle, becomes apparent from the fact, that one and the same name *Amma*, mother, is given to each singly, personating, as it were, the supreme power of Nature (*prakṛti*) or of Energy (*śakti*). The identity of the word *Amma* with *Umā* in Sanskrit has been proved above.[234]

The Gauda-Dravidians revered the Earth as the powerful being, on which all that is or lives in or on it depends, and which in consequence exercises an unlimited influence for good or evil over all earthly creatures and objects. The Earth was to be propitiated by valuable sacrifices in order to yield the necessities of life, and nothing was deemed too precious that could gain her favour. In consequence not only offerings of grain, honey and flowers were made to her, but also cocks, goats, pigs, buffaloes and even men

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[233] See *Dēvīyāmala*:
Kālakarmavaśājjātāḥ kalpitā buddhiyōgataḥ
svadēśabhāṣānāmādyair arcyantē grāmadēvatāḥ.

[234] See p. 421.

were immolated at her shrine. The Meriahs, whom the Khonds sacrificed until lately to the great goddess of the Earth, are an example of the prevalence of such human sacrifices.[235] In fact the native mind is still so familiar with the idea of immolating human beings that a human head, or as its substitute a cocoanut, is required for the decoration of the shed (maṇṭapa) in which the Grāmadēvatā is placed.[236] The Todas in the Nīlagiris offer to this day milk and blood sacrifices to the Mother Earth. The former are intended to obtain from her good grass and good buffaloe-milk, and at the New-year milk is for this purpose poured on the ground. The bloody sacrifice takes place at the dry *Kēḍu,* when buffaloes are killed and their blood is spilt to satisfy the goddess, who will reward her adherents with a rich harvest. The buffaloes take now the place of human beings, but the tradition still survives among the Todas that in former times they sacrificed men to the Bhūmidēvī, though they have managed to keep it secret. With respect to the Todas, whose real name is, as I have proved, *Kodas,* and who belong to the Gaudian Khonds, this information is very important, as it settles for good all doubts as to their nationality, for the worship of the Earth and of the Grāmadēvatās proves them to be Gauda-Dravidians.[237]

The aborigines of this country seem likewise to have revered, and some mountain-tribes who have not come into contact with Brāhmans or other civilised Hindus do still revere, an invisible Supreme Spirit, of whom they form no special image, but whom they generally adore in the

[235] See pp. 153, 154.

[236] See *Grāmadēvatāpratiṣṭhā:* "mānavīyēna śirasā tatpratinidhin nārikēlaphalēna... alaṅkṛtē maṇṭapē," compare p. 461, note 247.

[237] See above, pp. 190–192. I obtained the information about the original object of the Kēḍu, the funeral ceremony serving as a pretext for the barbarous massacre of cattle, from respectable Todas of five different Mands.

shape of a stone. An instance of this worship is Gurunātha.[238] It is incorrect to connect this stone-worship with the Liṅga-worship, with which it has nothing in common.

This Supreme Spirit who protects men in their trouble and guards them from evil spirits is adored as the kind father Ayya, and is known in South-India as Aiyanār. Mother Earth and the Great Father, as represented by the Grāmadēvatā and Aiyanār, are the central figures of the Gauda-Dravidian pantheon. Both have fallen from their throne, and lead a degraded existence. Just as the Vedic deities became Asuras in the Brahmanic creed, and the gods and goddesses of the Edda were transformed into Devils and Witches, so also do the Grāmadēvatās and Aiyanār occupy the position of fallen angels. They differ, however, from other fallen angels, in that their influence is not malignant. Their real object is to protect human beings from all kinds of calamities, and especially from the mischievous machinations of the evil Spirits, with whom the Universe is peopled according to the opinion of the Aborigines. And here it is worth mentioning that in spite of the Gauda-Dravidian populace occupying an inferior and dependent position, it has exercised a considerable influence on the Brahmanic element. It has forced its way gradually into the very heart of the Aryan worship, which eventually, by amalgamating with Gauda-Dravidian doctrines, underwent a thorough change, so that the purity of its system disappeared, and a new belief, the Brahmanic religion of our day, was substituted in its stead, a belief which partly rests on non-Aryan ideas. We even find Brāhmans openly participating in the unhallowed proceedings at the festivals of the village-goddesses, and defending their behaviour with the statement, that every act of a Brāhman is connected with

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[238] See p. 200.

Brahman, and that in consequence he can not do wrong whatever he may do.[239]

If, however, the pure Vedic doctrine has been altered by the influx of non-Aryan tenets, so also have the latter undergone a change by coming in contact with Aryan ideas, and not only have males intruded into the once exclusively female circle of Grāmadēvatās, but also a motley of queer figures have crept in, forming indeed a very strange gathering. The *Grāmadēvatāpratiṣṭhā* mentions as Grāmadēvatās the skull of Brahman, the head of Viṣṇu, the skull of Rēṇukā, the figure of Draupadī, the body of Sītā, the harassing followers of Śiva (the Pramathas), the attendants of Viṣṇu (Pāriṣadas), demons, Yōginīs, various kinds of Śaktis made of wood, stone and clay; persons who were unsuccessful in their devotional practice, Śunaśśēpha, Triśaṅku, Ghaṭōtkaca and others; Dēvakī's daughter, multiform Durgās and Śaktis; Pūtanā and others who kill children; Bhūtas, Prētas, and Piśācas; Kūśmāṇḍa, Śākinī, Ḍākinī, Vētālas and others, Yakṣas, Kirātadēvī, Śabarī, Rudra, 100 krores of forms of Rudra; Mātaṅgī, Śyāmalā, unclean Gaṇapati, unclean Cāṇḍālī, the goddess of the liquor pot (Surābhāṇḍēśvarī), Mōhinī, Rākṣasī, Tripurā, Laṅkhinī, Saubhadēvī, Sāmudrikā, Vanadurgā, Jaladurgā, Agnidurgā, suicides, culprits, faithful wives, the Goddesses of matter, Goddesses of qualities and Goddesses of deeds, etc.[240]

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239 See *Dēvīyāmala*: "Tāsām arcanam ca brāhmaṇā api śaṁsantītyēkē. Sarvam khalvidam brahma tajjalāniti śānta upāsītētyādi śrutivacanair brāhmaṇasya sarvam brahmamayam bhavatīti nirduṣṭam. Ētad vai kāminām uktam apakāminām na kiñcana." (Some Brāhmans also revere them (the grāmadēvatās). The whole world is Brahman, who creates, destroys and protects. One should, free from passion, meditate on him, this is a Vedic precept. Everything connected with a Brāhman is identified with Brahman, and in consequence there is no fault in it. So say those Brāhmans who desire something, but not those who do not desire.)

240 See *Grāmadēvatāpratiṣṭhā*: Tatra (ayatanē) dēvatā Brahmaṇaḥ kapālam Viṣṇōśśirō Rēṇukāmastakam Draupadīmūrtis Sitātanuḥ Prama-

The Hindu exoterics, especially those who belong to the modern schools, have their peculiar ideas about the con-

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thāḥ śaivā Vaiṣṇavāḥ pāriṣadā grahā yōginyaḥ śaktayō nānāvidhā dāruśilāmṛṇmayā jātā bhraṣṭā yē ca yāgatō na siddhim gatāḥ Śunaśśēphas Triśaṅkur Ghaṭōtkacaćśa ityādyā Dēvakīgarbhōtthā bahurūpiṇī Durgā ca Śaktiḥ Pūtanādyā bālaghātinyō Bhūtaprētapiśācāśca Kūśmāṇḍa Śākinī Ḍākinī Vētālādyā Yakṣāḥ Kirātadēvī Śabarī, Rudraśca Śatakōṭirūpāṇi Raudrāṇi Mātaṅgī Śyāmalōcchiṣṭagaṇapatir Ucchiṣṭacāṇḍālī Surābhāṇḍēśvarī Mōhinī Rākṣasī Tripurā Laṅkhinī Saubhadēvī Sāmudrikā Vanadurgā Jaladurgā Agnidurgā ātmahantāraḥ śikṣitāḥ pativratāśca dravyadēvyō guṇadēvyaḥ kriyādēvya ityādyā grāmadēvatās samavāyēna pūjyantē.

According to Bōpadēva the following are the Grāmadēvatās :

1. Śivaśaktiḥ Suvarṇāmbā Hanumān Pāṭalī tathā
   Durvāsaputrī Muktāmbā Raiṇukaścāṇimā tathā.
2. Vīrāmbā Mārikā Gaṅgā Phalagaurī ca Nagnikā
   Arkikā Vīrabhadraśca Vīraś Śvapatir ēva ca.
3. Bhillaḥ Kirātaḥ Siddhaśca Draupadī cāgrajā tathā
   Sarvāmbā cāryanāthaśca Bhavānī Siddhapūruṣaḥ.
4. Raudrī Rudrā Mahārāṣṭrī Māuikā Rudrasaṅghikā
   Mūkāmbā Vallavās sarvē kṛṣṇabhaktāśca Yādavāḥ.
5. Lakṣmīs Tārā Brahmarakṣas Tṛṇāmbā Phullalōcanā
   Dharma Īśō Guruścaiva Śārabhaḥ Khaḍgarāvaṇaḥ.
6. Saṅgamēśī Mahādēvī Rudrāṇī Caṇḍikēśvaraḥ
   Vināyakaścaikamātā cintyēśi Varaṇā tathā.
7. Valmīkinī ca Bhēruṇḍā Durgāmbā cārgalāmbikī
   Jyōtir Mahēśō Yōgī ca Yōginī Bagalā tathā,
8. Śukahastā Śṛūkhalikā Mayūrī Siṁhavāhanī
   Vāruṇī Śaṣkūlī Kṛtyā Rākṣasī Candraśēkharā.
9. Nirguṇḍikārkavṛkṣasthā Prasthā Paryaṅkavāsinī
   Añjanā Bhūśca Nīryāsas Taṭākēśyōṣadhīśvarī.
10. Vyāghrēśī ca Dhanuṣkōṭis Tulākōṭis tathēndirā
    Upalā Nāgarūpā ca Jaṭī Śāstā ca Bhairavaḥ.
11. Ṛśyaśṛṅgō Jāmadagnyaḥ Pārṣadaś Śakunaś Śamī
    Dṛṣadvān Kīṭanāthā ca Mahāmaṇḍā ca Kuṇḍikā.
12. Śrēṇikā cāṇikhēlā ca Kūśmāṇḍaśca Vināyakaḥ
    Masūrikāhiphēnā ca Tulasī Paśuvatsapā.
13. Rētassirā Mahāviṣṇuḥ Kāñcyām siddhēna pūjitaḥ
    Prātītikas Tamālaśca Gaṅgābhṛcca Dukūlikā.
14. Nīlaśca Mihirasvāmī Sphōṭāmbā ca Munīśvaraḥ
    Cālinī Śūrpikā caiva Grahayūthapayūthapā.
15. Ḍākinī Yakṣarūpā ca Markaṭōlūkhalātmikā
    Hayyaṅgavīnā Musalī Kumārī Bāṇarūpiṇī.
16. Jalamūrtiścāgnimūrtiś Cakravātādrināyikā
    Laṅkinī Pūtanētyādyāḥ pūjyantē grāmadēvatāḥ.

nexion of the Grāmadēvatā and the Earth. They uphold that the Lord Īśvara, beyond whom they admit the existence of the highest unmanifested Spirit, the Parabrahman, has seven forms or aspects, which manifest themselves in seven planes. The highest aspect of Īśvara is exhibited in the Ṛgvēda, another in Buddha, the seventh appears in the Grāmadēvatā on the surface of the Earth. In each sphere the leading spirit is attended by hosts of subservient gods and ghosts, differing from each other according to the condition of these planes, which, though differing in elevation, stand to each other in a co-ordinate position. On a level with the Grāmadēvatās are elsewhere the so-called fairies and gnomes. These spirits can be easily evoked, and are therefore objects of popular worship. In their lower types they often display a cruel disposition and delight in bloody sacrifices, but their ruder constitution does not necessarily iudicate a bad disposition.

On the Grāmadēvatās.

The Grāmadēvatā is the personation of the Female Energy as represeuted by Mother Earth, and as such the principal deity of the Turanian race. As the Grāmadēvatā is the tutelary deity of every place in India, it is impossible to give a complete list of them, nor is it even necessary to do so, considering that, though differing in name, qualifications and other points, they are by their nature identical with each other, as representatives of one and the same power, *i.e.*, of Śakti.[241] Some Grāmadēvatās are connected only with their special locality, while others, as Kālī and Māriyamma, though retaining their local supremacy, in consequence of the peculiar powers they possess, are encountered all over the country. As their name *Amma* or

[241] This idea is also expressed in the *Dēvīyāmala* in the ślōka:
Indrāṇīpramukhā dēvyas sarvadēvāṁśasambhavāḥ.
Śaktayas tatra pūjyantē nānārūpāḥ kalau yugē.

Ambā, mother, implies, they are, wherever they reside, revered as the protecting mothers. They are not identical with the *Mātaras* of later Sanskrit mythology, though there exists without doubt a connexion between them, and it is probable that the conception of the Mātaras is due to Gauda-Dravidian influence. For a closer inquiry into this subject discloses the fact, that Aryan legends have been thus inseparably blended with non-Aryan, so that it is often difficult to keep the two currents asunder, and to discover the original source.

That the worship of the Grāmadēvatās is very popular, is not only proved by the great number of their shrines, but also by the fact, that though their most faithful devotees form on the whole the poorest class of the population, their temples are often endowed with sufficient land to cover the expenses incurred for their maintenance. Every villager, man or woman, takes a personal interest in his Grāmadēvatā, her temple is daily visited, and the shady tree on its premises forms the favorite meeting place of the community.[242]

The temple of the Grāmadēvatā stands either within or outside the village. Vaiṣṇava people worship the goddess in the centre of the hamlet, Śāktas do so outside it, Kāpālikas on the burning ground, Gāṇapatas at the house-door or at the house-pillar, and others with the exception of the merchants revere her in the bazaar-street. All, however, can adore her near a waterside, in a forest, or in stone-, wooden-, or clay-temples.[243] According to the *Smṛtipurāṇasamuccaya*, Grāmadēvatās are found in the

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[242] See *Dēvīyāmala*: Grāmīṇō grāmarakṣārthī pūjayēd grāmadēvatāḥ.

[243] See *Grāmadēvatāpratiṣṭhā*: "Atha grāmīṇāḥ svēṣām samaṣṭikṣēmāya svasthānīyē grāmād bahir vā grāmaśaktim pratiṣṭhāpya pūjayēyuḥ, Vaiṣṇavā grāmamadhyē Śāktā bahiḥ Kāpālikāś śmaśānē Gāṇapatā dvāradēśē stambhadēśē vā anyē tvantarā vaṇijaḥ paṇyavīthyām sarvē jalanikaṭē vanē vā pāṣāṇadārumṛṇmayāyatanēṣvarcayēyuḥ.

hamlets of low-caste people, in the abodes of savages and in the villages of peasants, in the tents of the Ābhīras, in the station of hunters, in the flocks of outcasts and in bazaars, among the Śūdras and cultivators, in capitals, towns, villages and sub-villages, in carpenters' shops, on the roads, in the houses of village servants, in the abodes of vilōmas, as well as in the huts of Pulkasas and in the houses of weavers.[244]

The idol is almost daily decorated with saffron powder and red kuṅkuma, and what remains of it, after the idol has been ornamented, is distributed among those present. The sacrificer (who is generally called *Pūjāri*, or *Bhōpi* in the North, or *Vīrāvēśin* when possessed of the demon), and even the members of his family are supposed to be in possession of powerful charms, capable of bewitching, as well as of driving away evil spirits. The chucklers also often claim to have an exclusive knowledge of such spells. The Grāmadēvatā is as much a living part and parcel of the village, as are the Karṇam, Talaiyāri, Tōṭi and other village officials. These deities are, as I have already pointed out, the tutelary gods, and each villager expects his own divinity to preserve his village from evil spirits. They, it is believed, try to injure the crops as well as men and beasts, and to harm the village community in various other ways. The goddess is therefore venerated like a benevolent mother. If a villager is affected with any illness, her assistance is invoked, her favour is entreated by all kinds

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[244] See *Smṛtipurāṇasamuccaya* :

1. Pallīpakkaṇakhēṭānām ābhīraśibirasya ca
   Kirātapallikāyāśca pūgaśrēṇīvaṇikpathām.
2. Śūdrāṇām karṣakāṇām ca nagaryāḥ pattanasya ca
   grāmasya cōpagrāmasya tvaṣṭrāvāsasya paddhatēḥ.
3. Grāmacaṇḍālavāṭyāśca vilōmāvāsakasya ca
   Tathā pulkasavāṭyāśca kuvindāvāsakasya ca.
4. Dēvyō yāś cābhimāninyaḥ kathyantē grāmadēvatāḥ.

Vilōmas are the same as pratilōmas.

of sacrifices, and additional votive promises are made, should such offerings prove successful. If the patient recovers, his recovery is ascribed to the power and benevolence of the Grāmadēvatā, and to the influence and efficiency of the Pūjāri. The promised vow is religiously kept, whether it takes the shape of a present, as a bell or a silver figure of the goddess, or of an act to be performed by the recovered patient, *e.g.*, to walk round the idol in a dress of margosa leaves.

At the worship of the Grāmadēvatā are used the leaves, flowers, resin and milky juice of the holy and of the red Oleander, of the white Calatropis gigantea, of the black Datura, the China rose, the Nimb tree, Euphorbia antiquorum and of other plants. When an animal, a black goat, or any other goat or a buffaloe, is to be sacrificed, the Pūjāri walks from the right side round the firepit, binds the beast on the flagstaff to the east of the temple, and the sacrificer possessed of the demon (*vīrāvēśin*), after pouring saffron water on the victim, waits until it indicates the consent of the deity by shaking its body and then kills it with a sword, with one stroke, otherwise it is regarded as unpropitious. This done, he cuts off its foot, and places it into its mouth. On its head is arranged an oil lamp, which is lighted with a new cloth wick. The Pariahs dance and play on musical instruments in honor of the Grāmadēvatā, while the more respectable and high-caste villagers who attend the festival, place the *prasāda*, *i.e.*, flowers, leaves, flour, etc., on their heads.[245]

Oblations consisting of liquor, meat, grain and lights are

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[245] See *Grāmadēvatāpratiṣṭhā:* Dēvakaravīraraktakaravīraśvētārkanīlōnmattajapāpicumandasnuhyādipatrapuṣpaniryāsakṣīrādyair arcayitvāgnikuṇḍasya prādakṣiṇyēna prācyām agārasya dhvajastambhē paśum sannahya kṛṣṇachāgam bastam mahiṣam vā vīrāvēśī khaḍgēnōtkṛtya tasya pādam tanmukhē saṅkīlya tacchirasi dēvatābhimukham tailaśarāvam nikṣipya nūtanavāsasā dīpam prajvālya vādyaghōṣēṇa mahānṛttēna caṇḍālā dēvīm stuvanti grāmīṇā anyē ca darśanaprasādamātram śirasā vahanti.

presented to the deities, and special festivals celebrated in their honor.[246] The sacrificer begins with placing the figure of the dēvatā in the Maṇṭapa. This is decorated with flesh, palm-toddy, honey, liquor, ghee and milk, with a human scull or with a cocoanut as its substitute, and with cocks and other beasts as substitutes for living animals. The idol is then adorned and propitiated with rice mixed with blood, and other gifts. Some devotees cut off their limbs and present them to the idol.[247]

In the Telugu country this *Vīrāvēśin* is called *Pōturāja*, who occupies in the household of Ellamma the post of a herald. His services are, however, not monopolised by this goddess. This name is derived from *pōtu*, a male animal, especially a male buffaloe (*mahiṣa*), and Pōturāju or Pōtarāju is in Kanarese called Potappa or *Kōṇarāya.*[248] He is considered to be the son of a Pariah, and in consequence called *Caṇḍālaputra*, and, as *Pōtula rāju*, is the king of buffaloes. He is personated by a Mādiga who kills the sacrificial goat, by strangling it with his teeth and tearing open its throat. It may be here remembered with respect to the buffaloe that this animal serves as the vehicle of Yama.

Bloody sacrifices are required at most feasts, and every marriage or other important event is commenced with the immolation of fowls or sheep.

A general subscription is raised in a village every year or two in order to arrange for a festival or *yātrā* for propitiating the goddess. A suitably decorated pot is for this purpose carried round the village, as a rule by the Pūjāri,

[246] See *ibidem:* Śīdhumāṁsabalibhiḥ dīpair utsavaiśca . . arcyatē.

[247] See *ibidem :* Pratiṣṭhāyām ādau dīkṣitaḥ piśitēna parisrutā ca madhunā madyēna ghṛtēna kṣirēṇa ca mānavīyēna śirasā tatpratinidhinā nārikēlaphalēna prāṇipratinidhibhiḥ kukkuṭādibhir alaṅkṛtē maṇṭapē pratimām alaṅkṛtya lōhitānnādibalibhir ārādhya kēcid upāsakāḥ svasvāṅgāni chittvā prayacchanti. Nātrōdbandhanam, nainam apakurvanti sābasō vā ētad vīrāṇām kalau pratyakṣībhavati phalam pratyakṣībhavati phalam, ētad ēva kalau Śūdrāṇām ucitam ityāha bhagavān Parāśaraḥ.

[248] See above, pp. 97, 469.

and every cottager contributes his share in kind or in coin. A great heap of cooked rice, afterwards distributed especially among the village servants, is placed before the goddess; and the beasts are slaughtered before her image. A Veṭṭiyān or Talaiyāri carrying a pot full of rice deeply saturated with blood goes every day, generally about midnight, so long as the feast lasts, along the backyards of the houses of the village, and throws a handful of this rice in the four corners of every street, in such a manner that he may not be seen by any person; for whoever sees him is sure to be afflicted by the devils, whose favours are to be gained by the offerings contained in this pot. This is done to secure the village against attacks of evil spirits. At the end of the festival the pot is taken to a particular spot on the boundary line of the village, where the offerings are thrown up in the air to be received by the devils, and after this ceremony, the pot is broken on the same spot. This pot is known in Tamil as the *Ellai-caṭṭi*, boundary pot. Moreover, on the last day of the festival the metal image of the goddess is carried round the outskirts of seven neighbouring villages, in order that the Grāmadēvatās of those villages be kept from visiting and molesting the place. If the Grāmadēvatā is propitiated, the village will be free from small-pox, cattle-disease, famine and tree-disease, fire will not burn down the houses, nor will the river overflow its banks, nobody will die a sudden death, nor will poisonous snakes, scorpions and other obnoxious animals do harm, nor will animals with claws or fangs, nor worms, bears, tigers or lions do injury: general security prevails in the country, and the people are prosperous.[249]

[249] See *Grāmadēvatāpratiṣthā*: Prasannā yadā grāmadēvatā tasmin mārikārōgapaśurōgadurbhikṣavṛkṣarōgādayaḥ śāmyanti, nāgnir gēhāni pradahēnna nadījalam āplāvayēt, amṛtyur nāśayati naiva, sarpavṛścikādayō viṣavīryā na bādhantē, nakhinō daṁṣṭriṇaścāraṇyakāḥ kīṭabhallūkavyāghrasiṁhādayō na hiṁsanti, yōgakṣēmaḥ kalpatē rāṣṭrē ca prajākṣēmō bhavatīti vijñāyatē.

If in spite of all precautions, an evil-disposed spirit should nevertheless haunt the village, so that the crops are destroyed by blight, or fires burn down the houses, or epidemics rage and decimate the population, the favour of that spirit must be secured, and his anger appeased by a great expiatory feast during which an immense number of animals are killed. At this celebration the entire population congregates outside the village, and a pot (*karakam*) representing the enraged deity is with great honor carried into the centre of the village, and there deposited. After a lapse of three days it is with like ceremonies carried back to the borders of the village. Fresh sacrifices are then offered, and, when the above mentioned pot has been there broken to pieces, the spell is pronounced to be removed from the afflicted village.[250]

As a proof of the former supremacy of the Grāmadēvatās among the deities of this country, should be quoted the generally accepted tradition that they once enjoyed the highest bliss, but incurred by their pride the curse of the Supreme Spirit, who condemned them to roam over the world and to protect there mankind from the machinations of the demons, who were subjected to their sway. Out of gratitude for this protection, men established yearly festivals to every one of them. At the end of the world they will, however, be freed from the curse, and regain their former pre-eminence.[251]

What the Grāmadēvatā is to the village, the *Kuladēvatā* is to the family. This deity is likewise of Gauda-Dravidian origin, though now largely worshipped by Brāhmans, especially in the Maratha country, but also elsewhere, *e.g.*,

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[250] Inspector-General of Police, *Colonel Porteous*, has kindly placed at my disposal a *Memo on the Village-goddess in India*, and I am indebted to it for some valuable information which it contained.

[251] This opinion is expressed in a letter written by a Native of India to the *Rev. B. Ziegenbalg* on pp. 146, 147.

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in Mysore, where the Brāhmans of Beṭṭadapuram revere Aṅgāramma as their Kuladēvatā. In fact, if anybody sees her or any other Grāmadēvatā with his own eyes, he must devote himself and his whole family to the service of that deity who henceforth becomes the family deity or Kuladēvatā.

Connected with the worship of the Kuladēvatā is that of the *Iṣṭadēvatā*, the chosen or tutelary deity of the house. Among the Brāhmans the Iṣṭadēvatā is that god of the Pañcāyatana,[252] which is placed in the centre. The Pañcāyatana itself is restricted to the higher castes, but even the lowest orders worship household gods represented by very small figures of the Grāmadēvatās, made either of stone or of wood.

I shall now give some particulars about a few of the more important village deities, beginning with those whose worship, in consequence of their wider sphere of influence, is spread over larger areas, and who have been more specially distinguished by the name of the nine Śaktis or Navaśaktis. These are Ellamma, Māriyamma, Aṅkālamma, Piḍāri, Bhadrakālī, Durgā, Cāmuṇḍā, and Pūrṇā (Pūraṇai) and Puṣkalā (Puṭkalai), the two wives of Aiyanār. Some of these names are Sanskrit or partly Sanskrit, replacing perhaps other older names of purely Gauda-Dravidian origin.

1. *Ellamma.*

Ellamma, Ellammai, or *Ellamuttammai*, from *ella* all, and *amma* mother, *the mother of all*, in Sanskrit called *Sarvāmbā* (under which name she is, *e.g.*, worshipped at Basāpaṭṭaṇam), is, especially in the Telugu country, revered as the Ādiśakti. All castes from the Brāhmans downwards adore this Grāmadēvatā. She, so the legend says, has neither father,

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[252] See *above*, p. 389.

mother, nor husband, and was born from out of the earth. The Mālas, who claim to be descended from the sage Ādijambuvu, contend that Ellamma was created by his mantras, and that she attained her maturity nine hours after her birth, looking like a girl of twelve years. She then went to Ādijambuvu desiring him to be her husband, but he refused, giving her, however, a Sañjīva root with the instruction to plant it on the Mātaṅgagiri, and to present there offerings to him. This done, he predicted that a cock would in time arise from the root of the plant, Ellamma become a hen and lay three eggs. One of these eggs would fall into the Nāgalōka and give birth to Ādiśēṣa, another would turn bad and, falling into the city of the king Bali, would become a Brahmarākṣasī, but on the third Ellamma would sit, and Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śiva would be born from it. After the creation of these three gods Ellamma would again become a woman.[253] And as he had prophesied, so it happened.

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[253] I owe this story to the *Rev. W. Howard Campbell*, M.A., of the L.M.S., who has written to me as follows about Ellamma: "Ellamma is the Ādiśakti, without father or mother or husband, born out of the earth, a virgin. Before her was Ādijambuvu, a great muni, who was born six months before the Kaliyugam. (The Madigas claim to be his descendants.) He by his mantras caused Ellamma to be born out of the earth. Nine hours after she was born, she attained to maturity and was like a twelve years' old girl. Putting on grand clothes and gold ornaments she went to Ādijambuvu and greeted him 'Trimitramangalam (త్రిమిత్రమంగలము, author of the Shastras who made Ganga speak and helped Rama in the Kritayugam), O grandfather.' He looked at her and said 'What is it, o Ādiśakti?' She replied 'I have searched all hills and plains and secret places and have found no husband who will satisfy my youthful desires.' He said 'No gods are yet born with the Kaliyugam, so there is none to satisfy your desire.' She replied 'I have come to have intercourse with you.' 'That,' he said, 'cannot be.' 'Who then is there' she asked, 'to satisfy my desires?' He replied 'I give you a Sanjiva root, take it to Matangagiri hill, plant it there, and with offerings worship me. From this root will spring up a cock, and on its appearance you will become a hen. You will lay three eggs. Of these one will fall down into the Nāgalōkam, and from it will come forth Ādisheshan. One will go bad, and will fall into Balimahārāja's city. The

According to another legend, especially current in the Tamil country, Ellamma was the revived Rēṇukā, who had originally been the chaste wife of Jamadagni, and the mother of his five sons. One day she saw Citraratha, king of Mṛttikāvatī, sport with his queen, and became jealous of their happiness. Her husband perceived that Rēṇukā had lost her chastity, and ordered his sons to kill her. The elder four refused to do so, but the youngest, Paraśurāma, consented. Rēṇukā, on hearing of this, fled for protection to a neighbouring village inhabited by Pariahs. Her son pursued and found her there, and after killing all the Pariahs, cut off the head of his mother, which he brought to his father. Jamadagni, as recompense for such obedience, granted his son the favour of asking a boon, who thereupon requested his father to allow him to restore his mother to life. Jamadagni consented, and Paraśurāma went with the head of his mother to the place where he had killed

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Brahmarakshasi will be born from it. On one you will sit, and from it Brahma, Vishnu and Siva will come forth. On their birth, you will again become a woman.' It happened as the sage said, and on becoming a woman, Ellamma turning to the Trimurtulu asked them to satisfy her desire. They replied 'Mother we came from your womb, how can we do this?' She answered 'I am not your mother, but only your grandmother, as you were born from an egg, so you need not hesitate.' They fled from her in fear from place to place, and at length rushed into the presence of Ādijambuvu to tell him, who they were, and why they had fled from the Ādiśakti. He turned to Śiva and said 'It is you she seeks and not the others. When she presses you to comply with her wishes promise to do so on the condition that she gives you her third eye. She will agree to give you her eye, and with it I shall take away her strength, so that her robe will become a burden to her.' Śiva did according to these directions, and the Ādikśakti's strength and vigour disappeared. He asked if she still wished him to comply with her request, and she replied that her robe had become a burden to her. The Trimurtulu left her, and after receiving instruction from Ādijambuvu, she returned to Matangagiri hill. Nine hours later the Kaliyuga began and the people came in multitudes to worship her.

Some other stories about her are besides in the mouths of the people."

his mother. He put her head on the trunk of one of the beheaded women, and thus revived it, but he mistook the corpse of a Pariah woman for that of his mother, and the head of Rēṇukā was in this manner put on a wrong body. This is the popular tale about the origin of Ellamma.

Another legend contends that Paraśurāma put by mistake the head of a Pariah woman on the body of Rēṇukā, and that in consequence Jamadagni did not recognize as his wife the thus revived person, who was allowed to be worshipped by the Pariahs, while Rēṇukā's head was called Ammachār. In the Tulu country, Kālī goes by the name of Ellamma, and it is a peculiar coincidence that Paraśurāma is in most Kālī temples worshipped in a special shrine. There existed therefore an old tradition which associated this fierce enemy of the Kṣatriyas with the aborigines of India; but it is as yet unsafe to propose an explanation of the legend which ought, however, to be remembered and not overlooked.[254]

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[254] See Dr. Wilhelm Germann's edition of the *Genealogie der Malabarischen Götter* von Bartholomæus Ziegenbalg, pp. 157—159.

The following different version of the story of Rēṇukā was given to me by a Native as follows: "Rēṇukā, the mother of Paraśurāma, was by virtue of her chastity in the habit of making a vessel of sands and of bringing water from a river in such a vessel. One day, as usual, she went to the river, and when bathing she saw in the water the shadow of a Gandharva passing in the sky. Perceiving the shadow to be beautiful, she thought in her heart that the real Gandharva must be extremely beautiful. From that instant her virtue left her, and she was unable to weave a vessel out of sands. (According to the story related by *Ziegenbalg* she could through her chastity draw the water out of the Kāvērī in the form of balls and roll them to her husband, who performed his sacrifices with this water.) She returned home in sorrow. Her husband knew it all, and asked his sons to slay Rēṇukā. The youngest, Paraśurāma, consented and pursued her into the quarter where Chandālas lived and slew her there. Then leaving the corpse on the ground, Paraśurāma went to Jamadagni, related that he had carried out the sage's orders, and asked a boon that Rēṇukā may be brought back to life. Jamadagni gave some sanctified water which had the power to revive dead bodies. Before Paraśurāma went to the Chandālas' quarter, some Chandālas removed Rēṇukā's head and left a Chandāla woman's head near the trunk of Rēṇukā. Paraśurāma taking this head and

Ellamma is represented in a sitting posture with reddish skin and very fiery face. She wears on her head a crown with serpents lying over it; for the natives declare, that many serpents dwell in her pagodas, and that people who see serpents, invoke her aid, drive them away so that they do no harm. She wears on her forehead three white lines of cowdung-ashes, but is otherwise adorned like the other goddesses. She has four hands. In her raised right hand she carries a drum (*ḍamaru*) round which a serpent is entwined, and in the other a trident; in her uplifted left hand she carries a noose, and in her bent left hand the skull of the torn-off head of Brahman. This skull is said to attract all the blood of men and beasts that is shed in the world, and yet cannot get full. As much blood is spilt at the sacrifices of the Grāmadēvatās, they generally carry in their hands the skull of Brahman. A metal image of Ellamma stands in her pagodas and is carried about at the festivals. The principal image before which sacrifices are made in the shrines, is hewn out of stone, and fashioned in such a manner, that only the head above is visible, while the body stands concealed in the earth, in commemoration of the fact that only her head was revived and placed on the trunk of another woman.[255] I have referred already to the stone images of the Grāmadēvatās which are shaped like a head, and given an explanation more generally applicable.[256]

Shrines of Ellamma are found everywhere, though they

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trunk as belonging to his mother, sprinkled water on them. The head and trunk united, and the renovated creature flew at Paraśurāma and pursued him to Jamadagni's residence. Jamadagni not recognising the creature as his wife, the latter demanded of the former, what she should do. She was allowed to live among Chandālas and be worshipped by them all over the Earth."

The dēvatā with the trunk is Ellamma, and the head alone (being purely Brahmanic) is called Ammachār.

[255] See *Ziegenbalg*, p. 159.

[256] See p. 452.

are only small in some places.[257] Such temples contain, besides the image of Ellamma, generally those of *Jamadagni*, Rēṇukā's husband; *Paraśurāma*, Rēṇukā's son; *Pōturāja*,[258] her herald; *Mallujeṭṭi*,[259] her (wrestler) champion; *Vighnēśvara*, Śiva's son; *Bhadra-Kālī*, *Mātaṅgī*, the Pariah woman on whose trunk the head of Rēṇukā was placed; and the Angels of Life (in Tamil *Uyirttūṇḍilkārar*), who catch in a net the souls of those who have suddenly died a violent death. These after they have been conveyed to Ellamma, who had suffered a similar fate, will in their turn undertake the office of soul-catchers.[260] There are also found in her temples, images of serpents. The priest or *Pūjāri* of such shrines is a Paṇḍāram. Once a week at least, on every Friday, sacrifices are with certain mantras offered to her. She is invoked for help by those who are threatened by poisonous snakes. Fishermen pray to her when they cannot catch any fish, or are in danger on the sea: others do the same, when they are in a perilous position. In her honour is every year celebrated a festival which lasts about eight days, during which her image is carried about.[261] Pigs, bucks and cocks are decapitated before the door of her temple; the priests retain the heads of these animals, while their owners eat the remainder. Some cook the meat of these animals and deposit some slices on leaves to Pōturāju, and to the Uyirttūṇḍilkārar. They also bring a great

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[257] *E.g.* at Tēnāmpēṭṭai.

[258] *Pōturāju* (Pōtarāju), from *pōtu* (పోతు) a male animal, especially a male buffaloe); *C. P. Brown* makes him out to be the husband of the Grāmadēvatā. (See p. 461.)

[259] From *mallu* (మల్లు) and *jeṭṭi* (జెట్టి) wrestler.

[260] See *Ziegenbalg*, p. 159.

[261] The *Rev. W. H. Campbell* of Kadapa has written to me about the worship of Ellamma as follows: "This goddess is worshipped by people of all castes. Ceremonies in her honour are performed by dobeys (చాకల), toddy-sellers (ఈడిగె) and chucklers (మాదిగె). Her temples, which are numerous

quantity of cooked rice, which belongs partly to the priests, and partly to the workmen who carry the figures. Many vows are fulfilled on such days, one of which is the notorious hook-swinging when iron hooks are stuck in the back behind the shoulders of the persons who have promised to swing in the air on a pole. This hook-swinging is,

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in this district, are built at a little distance from the villages in the vicinity of the Sudra houses. They should be overshadowed by a margosa tree. There is, as a rule, in each a stone-image representing a woman with three eyes, in the shrine (మూలస్థానము), and near this a small image made of the five metals. In the verandah there is a small palanquin in which this smaller image is carried at festivals. People of all castes, Brahmans included, make offerings to the goddess of cocoanuts, incense, and not unfrequently offer sheep. It is an Idige man who acts as pujari in presenting the usual offering, and who when an offering of food (భోజనము) is presented, places a portion before the idol, and returns the remainder to the offerers. When a sheep is presented it is a dobey who sacrifices it. After he has cut off the head, he places it on the pandal in front of the temple, and those who have presented it, take away the carcase. The Madiga people who are present or rather those of the Mādigas who are set apart for the purpose, the Bainēnivāṇḍlu (బైనేనివాండ్లు), play upon the instruments and recite tales of the goddess, while offerings are being presented. A festival is held once a year at each temple. It lasts for three days. On the first day 24 seers of cholam are boiled, poured in a heap in front of the temple, and decorated with flowers and turmeric. A buffalo is brought forward, the Bainēnis (Madigas) tie margosa branches to its neck and drive it three times round the temple. Then they ask the village magistrate, if the sacrifice be performed. On his assenting a dobey comes forward and cuts off the buffalo's head. The Bainēnis rip up the belly, tie the intestines round their arms, mix rice with the dung and march round the temple throwing this into the air and crying out: *Kōbali rathabali* (కోబలి రథబలి). They then prostrate themselves in front of the temple. The reddi (village magistrate) and Karnam come forward, cover them as they lie with a new cloth, and present betel to them. On this all rise to go off to their midday meal. In the evening all assemble again at the temple. A mixture of five seers of milk, five seers of jaghari and twenty-five seers of rice is cooked and placed in the temple. Then the Bainēnis come forward and, after playing some music, tell a story of the goddess. On the second day, at dawn, a square (ముగ్గు) is drawn with coloured powder in front of the temple, and on it are placed camphor, betel, limes, toddy and arrack. The goddess is said to be specially fond of liquor. A male goat and a female

however, not confined to Ellamma, but also performed at the festivals of other Grāmadēvatās.[262]

2. *Māriyamma.*

Māriyamma is the name of another Grāmadēvatā.[263] She is regarded also as one of the nine Śaktis, in fact by some worshippers she is considered to be the chief Śakti and goes thus by the name of Parāśakti. She is of high repute, and among her names occur those of Ammai, Āyi, Tāy, Pōlēramma, Peddamma or Periyammai.[264] To her applies

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sheep are brought and placed near the square. The dobey priest sacrifices the sheep in the usual way, and after he has done so, the Bainēnis come forward after they have bowed before the shrine. One of them performs the gāvu (గావు) by seizing the goat by the neck and strangling it with his teeth. When he has done this, he sits down in real or feigned excitement, and eats $1\frac{1}{4}$ seers of rice, $\frac{1}{4}$ of a seer of curd, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a seer of ghee. This concludes the morning ceremonies. At night the iḍegas (toddy-sellers) or bēstas (fishermen) place the small image in the palanquin and take it to the river. It remains there till dawn, and the Bainēnis spend the time in repeating their stories. At dawn of the third day they take the image back to the temple. There are no further ceremonies, but from midday till evening the Bainēnis tell their stories."

[262] *E.g.*, at those of Māriyamma (*see* pp. 480-484) and Aṅgālamma. Compare also *Ziegenbalg*, p. 160.

[263] The name *Māriyamma* is generally derived from the Sanskrit word *Māri*, pestilence, plague, and *amma*, mother; its meaning is therefore *mother of pestilence;* Māri corresponds to the Sanskrit Mārikā.

[264] Among her many names the most common are: Ādi, Ādiśivadēvī, Alamēlumaṅgai, Ammaṇi, Ārādhārapporul, Āyi, Āyiraṅkaṇṇuḍaiyāḷ (who has thousand eyes), Ārimuttuvāḷiyammai, Bhūdēvī, Draupadī, Dhurandharī, Īśvarī, Kaccipadiyāḷ, Kāḍukāḷ or Kāḍukāḷammai (mother of the burning place, or of forests), Kāmākṣi, Kapālī, Karaṇasaundarī, Karaṇi, Kiḷiyēndunāyaki, Koddi, Mādā, Mādaraśi, Mahāmāyī, Mahārāśi, Maṅgai, Maṅgalavinōdī, Maṅgamāriyammai, Manōmaṇi, Maṇimantraśēkharī (chief of poison stones and spells), Māri, Mārikā, Mārimuttu, Māritāy, Māriyāttā, Mātaṅgī, Māyi, Muttumāriyammai, Mutyālamma, Nāgakanyā, Nallamuttu (good pearls), Nelliyakalliyāṇi, Nīli, Parañjōdi (supreme light), Padināyiraṅkaṇṇuḍaiyāḷ (having 10,000 eyes), Pūjakkuratti (revered by Korava women), Śamayapurattāl), Śaṅkarī, Śakkaccivandavaḷ, Śītaḷā, (Śītalādēvī), Ūrkākkuṅkāli, Vācaki (pleased by sounds), Vaḍugi (Vaḍugantāy), mother of Vaḍugan or Bhairava, Vallidēvānai, Vallānmaikkāri, Vallavi, Yakkalādēvi or Yakkamma patroness of the Arkaplant, *see* p. 496), etc. See about

the legend which I give below, and which has much resemblance to the story told about Ellamma.[265] In fact the

Māriyamma and her names the small Tamil poem *Māriyamman tālāṭṭu*, lullaby of Māriyammai.

[265] I am indebted to the *Rev. Mr. W. H. Campbell* also for this legend about Peddamma, see pp. 469—477.

"Before aught came into existence, hills or fields or trees or plants, all was a waste of water. In the midst of this one ocean was suspended the great world-light. This light meditating all things within itself, thought to itself that the Kaliyugam must be brought forth, and men and cattle and all things created. Thus meditating, it took the form of a woman, and formed in the midst of the waters an island on which to rest. In this island she formed a garden, and in the garden a well. By the well she planted a mangrove tree and caused an ant-hill to arise near the tree. Day by day she went into the garden, bathed in the well, ate of the fruit of the garden and adorned herself with its flowers. One day, while she was thus adorned, passion entered her heart, and the thought arose "Had I a man, it would be well." As she passed into the garden giving utterance to this wish, a jessamine bough bent over towards her. Plucking a flower from it she said "This will be my husband," and taking it to the well placed it in the cup of a lotus flower which floated on the surface of water. Having done this she assumed the form of a bird, a roller (*Coracias Indica*), and settled upon the lotus, brooding over the jessamine flower which she had placed in it. In time she became pregnant by the flower and laid three eggs in the lotus. She gathered these under her with her bill and brooded over them. In 72 days one egg, which was three-faced, opened. The lower shell became the earth with the all-circling sea surrounding it. The upper became the heavens, the white of the egg became the stars, the yolk the sun and moon. From the black speck in the egg, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva were born. Of the other two eggs, from one which was covered with 72 hairs, the Rakshasas were born. As soon as they were born they rushed off to the western sea. The last egg became addled. The goddess seeing this, and knowing that from it would come all manners of disease to man and beast, placed it aside in concealment. After Brahma, Vishnu and Siva had been born, she reared them carefully up to their 12th year and then gave them each an aerial chariot and a trident, taught them the Ōm mantram, and bade them build for themselves three cities. As she looked on them, she lusted after them, and dressing herself in beautiful garments and adorning herself with all kinds of jewels, she went up to Brahma and asked him to satisfy her desire. He replied "You are my mother, how can I?" and shut his ears. She said 'It is not so.' I'll tell you how it is; the egg is my child; you are born from it, so I am your grandmother and you my grandson. Do as I wish." He replied "I cannot, go to Siva." She went to Siva, and he gave her a similar answer. At last she flew

variously named Grāmadēvatās are in principle identical, and this is also the reason why they have so many names in common.

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to Vishnu in a rage and addressed herself to him. He saw her wrath and was afraid and said "I consent to your proposal, but this is not a suitable time, come at midday tomorrow." She went back to her garden rejoicing, and next day at noon returned decked with jewels and garlands. She found the three in one place and asked Vishnu to fulfil his promise. He said "I will, but you must first swear to give me three things I ask for." She made an oath, and he asked her for the fairest of her 1,000 eggs, the ornament of her forehead, and a certain weapon. She gave the eye and Vishnu gave it to Siva who placed it in his forehead, and thus became three-eyed. She gave the forehead ornament and weapon, and when she had given all, suddenly her strength and vigour disappeared and she became as an old woman of 100 years. She lost all memory of her desire, and saw the world and all things clearly. Then she said 'The demons are increasing, I go to slay them. Remain you here as guardians of this well and garden and send me daily jessamine flowers.' Thus saying she went to the western sea and began to slay the demons. She slew multitudes, but as she slew them their blood fell upon the earth, and as it fell, millions of demons sprung up from it out of the earth. Then she bethought herself how she might slay them, and at last assumed her divine form, and put out her tongue. Her tongue extended for 120 miles upon the earth, and she began again to slay the demons causing their blood to fall upon her tongue instead of upon the earth. In this way she slew them all. But a little blood had fallen to the earth without her noticing it, and from this Dundubhi, the buffaloe demon, was born. He, in fear of the goddess, plunged into the sea and swam over to Sugriva's mountain, and lived there for some time, daily increasing in strength. At length unable to resist the attacks of Vali and Sugriva he left the mountain and made his way to the garden of the goddess, and began to defile her well and destroy the garden. Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, who were guardians of the place, saw the harm that had been done, and on looking for the cause of it, found the demon lying upon a bank. They asked him who had destroyed the garden, and he said "It was I." "Who are you?" they questioned. "I am Vishvamitra's son; my name is Dundubhi Rakshasa," he said. Thereupon he challenged them to fight, and they attacked him with their tridents; but strike as they would they could inflict no wounds on him. He taunted them with their inability, and they owning that they could do no more, challenged him to attack them. He breathed on them and they, with their cloud chariots, were carried away in the storm. Then he stamped with his foot, and the earth trembled so that their chariots were shaken to pieces. In terror they rushed off to the goddess and told her of the

Māriyamma ranks as a sister of Viṣṇu and of Kṛṣṇa, and is thus known as Māyāsahōdarī, Nāraṇanāṟtaṅgai, Śeṅkaṇṇantaṅgai and Gōpālantaṅgai. In the Śamayapurattāḷ temple near Śrīraṅgam, the Grāmadēvatā Māriyamma is supposed to be a sister of Raṅganātha, and all the collections which are made in that temple, are credited to the account of Raṅganātha.

Māriyamma is revered all over India, but in the South especially at Kaṇṇanūr (Kṛṣṇa's town) and Śamayapuram

encounter. She at once armed herself and set off to encounter the demon, with weapons in each of her seven hands. She found him lying by the wayside and struck at him with all her weapons, but her blow had no effect. Then she invited him to attack her, but he, saying 'How can I attack a woman,' simply breathed and she was carried away by his breath when he stamped his foot, and the earth trembled so that she was thrown into the air. She fled in terror and he, lowering his horns, rushed after her. As she fled she cast some drops of sweat on the ground, and from these sprung up an ant-hill with 3 horns which rose half way to the heavens. She at once assumed the form of an ichneumon and rushed into the ant-hill. The demon not seeing her rushed upon the ant-hill and trampled it into pieces. As he dashed past, however, it sprung up again as before. For 14 days he continued his contest with the ant-hill and in this time Peddamma reached the Nagaloka, made friends with the Siddhas and turned back leading 90 millions of them to do battle with the demon. As the Siddhas marched up to the upper world, they chanted incantations, and, such was the force of these incantations, that, before they emerged from the ground, the demon fell down and died. When they came out of the ant-hill they saw the demon lying dead, and cut off its head in triumph. They placed the head before the goddess with one of the forelegs in the mouth, put the fat from the belly on the head, and above all set a lamp fed with the melted fat of the demon. After doing this, they procured a large quantity of rice and strong drink, cut up and cooked the body and had a great feast.

At Peddamma's festival, an earthen image of the goddess is made. This is dressed and adorned with jewels and placed in a small booth made by people of the washer-caste. Food and arrack are placed in front of this and the history of the goddess is related by the Āsādhi people (Malas). The Malas bring forward the buffalœ to be sacrificed, a dobey slays it, the Madigas cut up the carcase, the Malas take the head and place it in front of the image and light a lamp and place it upon it. After the ceremonies are over, the image is taken to the boundary of the village and thrown away."

in Trichinopoly; in Koraṅginiyamman-kōvil in Tinnevelli; in Tādikōmbu, Vaṭalaguṇḍu, Cōḻavandān, Vīrapāṇḍi and Periyakulam in Madura; in the town of Tanjore and in the famous Māriyamman-kōvil in its neighbourhood; in Kōliyanūr and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in South Arcot; and in Periyapālayam and Kāñci in Chingleput; and in other places.[266] She was expelled from heaven, so goes the legend, on account of her haughtiness, and she is also more feared for causing in her anger plagues and other calamities, than beloved for removing them, and for protecting men from the attack of demons; though she will kill the devils when a person remembers her while the demons oppress him.

The special disease with which she is connected, is small-pox, and she is therefore called Mārimuttu, Muttumāriyamma, Mutyālamma, Nallamuttu, Śītalādēvi, etc. Those who die of small-pox are admitted to her company. In consequence of the prevalence of this and other diseases, Māriyamma is much in request, and yearly festivals in her honour take place everywhere.[267] To her is sacred the 7th day of the light fortnight (*śuklapakṣa*) of Śrāvaṇa, which is called Śītalāsaptamī.

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[266] The Māriyamman-tālāṭṭu quotes the following places as celebrated for their worship of Māriyammai: Kaṇṇanūr, Kaṇṇapuram, Vijayanagaram, Ayōdhyā, Piccāṇḍisannidhi, Kañjagiri, Indranagaram, Tulukkāṇam, Malayālam, Samayapuram, Virāṭapuram, Kaḍumpāḍi, Uttaṅkāḍu, Paḍavīḍu, Periyapālayam, Āraṇi, Virāmapaṭṭaṇam, Kōliyanūr, Tillavanam, Kāśi, Ūśivalanāḍu, Kollimalai, Madurai, Kacci (Kāñcīpurī), Aruṇācalam, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, Ānaigundi, Malayanūr, etc.

[267] See *On some Festivals to Village Goddesses*, by Mr. *Fr. Fawcett*, Superintendent of Police in Bellary, Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II, pp. 164-264, who describes the festival of Māriyamma in the village Hoshalli as follows: "Her image, cut out of Margosa-wood, is carried from temple to a stone called a Baddukal, in the centre of the village, on the afternoon of the first day. A rounded stone, about 6 inches above the ground and about 8 inches across, is to be seen just inside the gate of every village. It is what is called the *Baddukal* or navel stone, it is worshipped in times of calamity, especially during periods of cattle disease; often, women passing it with water pour a little on it, and every

It appears that the ceremonial varies at the different temples of Māriyamma, some only allowing bloodless

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one on first going out of the village in the morning is supposed to give it some little tribute of attention. It is considered to be as a sentinel to prevent mischief entering the village .... There she is worshipped on her litter, over which is made a little booth of Margosa leaves .... The following day all men and women of Sudra castes substitute garments of leaves of the Margosa (little branches tied together) for their ordinary clothes, and thus attired go with music to the goddess, who has been left out all night by the Baddukal), carrying offerings of milk and curds called *Mīsalu*. The pujari drinks the offered *Mīsalu*. A buffalo bull, devoted to the goddess since the last feast, and not worked in the *interim*, is then dragged through the village streets, by ropes tied to its legs and body (for it is generally savage), and brought to the goddess with shouts. There is no music. It is beheaded before the goddess by a Madiga man, and the head is placed on the ground near the goddess with the right foreleg, which is also cut off, in the mouth. People then accomplish vows by sacrifices of sheep, which are afterwards eaten by the Madigas. About 60 seers of rice are boiled, and the blood of the buffalo mixed with the rice is thrown round outside the village. This occupies the people until midnight. . On the third day a gaily decorated cow is brought to the goddess and she is placed on it and wheeled in procession to a certain place outside the village and left there. In the evening the villagers congregate to listen to some special music played by musicians of a neighbouring village. On the fourth day a little booth of Margosa leaves is erected on the ground near the Baddukal, and in it is placed a brass plate containing ashes, red powder used for feminine adornment, bangles of earthen ware, and a gold necklace, as symbols to represent the goddess for the time being. The people congregate there, and a man whose patronymic is Pōturāz, brings a small black ram to the goddess. The ram is provided by general subscription raised for the festival, and Pōturāz bathes before he brings it to the goddess. Standing in front of the goddess he holds the ram in his arms, and seizing its throat with his teeth bites the animal until he kills it. He tears the ram's bleeding flesh *with his teeth* and holds it in his mouth to the goddess. The body of the ram is then buried beside the booth, and Pōturāz is bathed by the headmen of the village, who put a new turban on his head and give him a new cloth. The people retire after this, and on the following day return to the goddess in the car outside the village, and bring her to the little booth and place her inside it, with the brass plate, which is not removed. She is left there a while, and the people take their evening food, after which she is carried on a litter in procession, with music, to her temple. On the following day gram and other grains are offered to the goddess; and on the seventh and last day arrangement is made for a buffalo for the next festival. If no one offers to give one, there is a general subscription to provide one."

oblations to be offered within their precincts; others, and this is by far the greater number, requiring animal sacrifices. In some shrines of the latter class the custom of hook-swinging prevails, *i.e.*, of men being suspended in the air fastened to a pole by hooks stuck in their backs. To the first category belong among others the Kaṇṇanūr temple in Trichinopoly, the Māriyamma-temple in the Town of Tanjore and the Periyakulam temple in Madura. It must not, however, be understood, that because no animals are killed within the limits of the temple, therefore no blood is shed at these Māriyamma festivals; far from it, for the worshippers of Māriyamma delight in the taste of meat, and the animals are killed at home before the domestic idol, instead of being slaughtered by the Pūjāri at the temple. At Korangini in Tinnevelli, in Tādikōmbu in Madura, in Śamayapuram in Trichinopoly, in the big Māriyammankōvil near Tanjore and in Kōliyanūr in South Arcot, animal sacrifices prevail, while at Vaṭalaguṇḍu, Cōḷavandān and Vīrapāṇḍi in Madura, and elsewhere hook-swinging is still practised. In Periyapālayam near Madras sheep-swinging has of late years been substituted for man-swinging, and at Valpanūr goat-swinging is introduced at the festival of Aṅkālamma.

Of late also fire-treading, an ancient custom peculiar to the Draupadī-worship of the Pallis, has been introduced into the Māriyamma worship. (See note 91 on pp. 98, 99.)

A stout three-forked Margosa-branch is at the beginning of the festival fixed in the middle of the altar, and during the following fortnight watered every morning by young and old, especially by girls and women. The whole population, in order to appear clean before the goddess, submit in the mornings to thorough ablutions in the neighbouring rivers, tanks and wells. The temple courtyards present at the time a curious spectacle, as the boys of the place, fulfilling the vows which their mothers, or they themselves have made, roll themselves over the ground, while girls and

women, who have just returned from their bath, run in their wet clothes after them, describing with their forefingers circles on the ground. Other people measure the ground with their bodies, standing alternately on their legs or on their heads; others walk on one leg; others proceed alternately standing and sitting down; some have laid aside their usual dress and walk about covered from head to feet only with thick layers of Margosa leaves.

On the evening of the fourteenth day before the commencement of the real festival, the females begin to prepare in their houses the festive meals with a generous admixture of meat, especially of fowls and sheep. About seven at night the sacred portion of the house is consecrated and daubed all over with cowdung water. Red stripes are also drawn along its borders with a preparation of water-colour, and in the centre are made with liquid rice flour drawings of various flowers and creepers. The matrons of the household put in the same place two or three pots filled with *Pālikai*, (from the Sanskrit *Pālikā*), *i.e.*, twelve days old shoots of the nine sorts of grain, *navadhānya*,[268] which have been anxiously kept from light, so that they may retain their brownish colour, and the leaves of this Pālikai are also covered with Kuṅkuma and Sandal-powder. Dishes filled with rich food are placed in front of these pots, and the youngsters of the house greet them with the verse:

Kaḍalai ciṟupayaṟu kārāmaṇi payaṟu
Śeṅgamalanācciyārukku cīṟupayaṟu pōḍuṅgaḍi.

Put to the Red-lotus-Lady (Māriyamma) Bengal gram, small pulse, lentils, pulse, and another kind of small pulse.

A ripe cocoanut is then broken, myrrh and frankincense are offered to the *Pālikai* which represents the Goddess, and the *prasāda* is indiscriminately distributed among the members of the household.

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[268] These nine grains are called in Tamil: Nellu, Uḷundu, Perumpayaṟ, Kaḍalai, Moccai, Avarai, Tuvarai, Kārāmaṇi and Ciṟnpayaṟ.

At three in the afternoon pious worshippers cover their bodies with lime (*śuṇṇam*) and the juice of pulse (*avarai*), perforate their body near the waist on both sides with a needle, pass a thin thread through each hole and bind the two threads together in front. A person then takes hold of the knot, and dragging the other man by the threads after him, both move on dancing through the streets. Others carry either small bulls or a thousand lights made of clay on their heads. Plantains and live-chickens are thrown from the temple walls and upstair-houses among the crowd, who tear these poor birds to pieces, each person trying to obtain a head, a wing, a leg, or a feather, or some other portion of the bird. Cocoanuts are thrown and broken on the threshold of the temple; and great excitement prevails throughout.

The temple is illuminated at night by wicks of cotton-fibre burning in brass lamps, and girls and women carry to the temple offerings of flowers, cocoanuts, plantains, camphor, rice-flour mixed with water and shaped into a conical jelly. On the top of this jelly they dig a small hollow about an inch deep, fill it with ghee, put a cotton wick into it, and light it. When the Pūjāri has broken the cocoanut, camphor is burnt, and everyone touches the flame with the palms of his hands and apply them, thus hot, to the eyes. The people prostrate themselves before the idol, receive from the Pūjāri sacred ashes of cowdung and offer to the temples gifts of eyes (in Tamil called *kaṇmalar*, eye-flower), hands, legs and breast plates, made usually of silver, but sometimes also of gold. After their return home, they gather round the Pālikai beating time with their hands while they sing:

> Tānanai, tānanai, tānanai, tānanai.
> Mundi mundi Vināyakanē Muruga Sarasvatiyē.

They then remove the Pālikai to a flowing stream, let the shoots be washed away by the current, taking all the while

care that the pot, which they want to bring back, is not broken. Some women retain some of the plants and place them in their Tāli.

Before the animals, which are adorned with garlands and painted with colours, are sacrificed, saffron-water is poured on their heads, and, after they have shivered, they are killed with one blow, a sickle-like axe cutting off their heads. It is an inauspicious sign, if more than one blow is required. The head of the slaughtered animal goes invariably to the washerman, who is so eager to collect these heads and to get the milk-rice well boiled, that this anxiety of his has passed into the Tamil proverb : Why do you hasten so, as a washerman does for a sheep's head (Enna m vaṇṇān āṭṭuttalaikku parandār pōl parakkiṟāy) ?

At last the Pūjāri boils for himself on three stones two or three measures (*kalams*) of rice and spreads on plantain-leaves, the sharp edges of which lie in front to the left of the goddess, mangoes, plantains and jackfruits. This collection is called Palayam.

After this comes the performance of treading on embers and walking through fire. A circular moat, 25 feet in diameter and 5 feet deep, is dug in the courtyard of the temple. Faggots and big logs of wood are burnt, and when the flames have subsided a little, while the heat is still unbearable in the neighbourhood of the ditch, those persons who have made the vow, and have fasted and abstained from all pleasures for a certain time, walk covered with mango-leaves and flower garlands on the embers in the pit, without doing themselves as a rule much harm. Other worshippers chant hymns during this time. Red hot embers are by the Pūjāri poured upon the hair of women, who also generally escape unhurt.

If hook-swinging is proposed to be performed, the Goddess is consulted whether it is to take place or not, and the

decision goes in its favour if the voice of a lizard is heard on the right side of the Goddess.

As soon as her consent becomes known, all the houses of the place are whitewashed, the payals on the outside of the houses are painted with white and red stripes, and festoons of mango and margosa leaves, are hung across the road. On the third day before the beginning of the feast a wooden car richly decorated with banners and plantains, provided with a pith cover and with a brass vessel (*Kumbha* or *Kalaśa*) on its peak, is constructed and the image of the Goddess is on the third day of the feast taken from the temple and deposited in the centre of the car. It devolves now on the Goddess to appoint the person who has to fulfil this task, which in the South is only done by a Maravan. White and red flowers are distributed among the competing Maravar, who have to fast previously for a fortnight. The candidate is then chosen from those who have received red flowers by the chief man among the Maravar, to whom the Goddess appears in the night of the 14th day, and announces the name of the person chosen by her. This man drinks a good deal of arrack on the 15th day, and a two-hooked iron previously fastened to a long and stout pole is inserted behind the big muscle of his back. This instrument is called *Śeḍil* in Tamil. He is then raised into the air, swinging from the pole which is fixed on the car, on which musicians, dancing girls and the Pūjāri are placed around the idol. The car is dragged by the crowd through the streets, while the man is oscillating in the air. During the progress of the car many people prostrate themselves before it, and sheep are sacrificed as the car moves on. On its return to the starting-place, the hook-swinger is released from the hooks and much honoured. Though serious accidents seldom happen, they do at times occur. On one occasion in Vaṭalaguṇḍu, when a young Marava girl was swinging, she

fell from the pole and was killed. She was buried in the temple-compound, and afterwards revered as a deity. At Vīrapāṇḍi the pole broke once at such a performance, but the man escaped with only a slight injury.

It is a pity that this detestable custom has been of late revived, as is proved by the hook-swinging festival at Cōḻavandān which took place the other day. It is high time that legislative measures are taken, to prevent its reoccurrence and this relapse into barbarism.

The slaughter of animals at these feasts is enormous, and they betray a very cruel character. Even milch-cows are offered to this Grāmadēvatā. This particular fact is very significant, when one remembers the sacredness of the cow, and the late anti-cow-killing movement.[269]

Her shrines are generally situated apart, and at a certain distance from the dwellings of the people. Some stand in fact quite secluded in the jungle. Her temple contains ten separate apartments, and in these she resides for preserving the whole world. She sits there on her throne surrounded by Gaṇapati, Dundubhi, Subrahmaṇya, Pārvatī, Kālī, Durgā, Valliyammai, Dēvayānai, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Bhūdēvī, her son Pāvāḍairāyan, Aṅgālammai, Ellaippiḍāri and the other six Piḍāris, and attended by Vāḻumuni, Japamuni, Kaṟuppan, Kāttān, Cinnān, Pūjaikkuratti, Nallataṅgāḷ, Vīrataṅgāḷ, Śeṅkōdiyammāḷ, Ānaigundiyalli, Malaiyanūrmāri who has a skull in her hand, and by her servants Mutyālu and Rāvuttan. Her shrine is sometimes surrounded by a wall, with a stone altar in front of it. Opposite to her special sanctuary is often erected another which contains the figures of Vīrabhadra, Madhuravīra, Mātaṅgi, besides the devil Kāt-

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[269] See *Māriyamman tālāṭṭu*, p. 11. "Paramaśivanvāśalilē pāṟpaśu kāvukoṇḍāy" in the courtyard of Paramaśivan thou hast taken a milch-cow as a sacrifice

tān, a shepherdess, a Brāhman-girl, a merchant's wife and the two doorkeepers.[270] Māriyamma is represented in a sitting posture and adorned in the same manner as Ellamma. Two figures of her stand in her temples; the one made of stone is immovable, while the other, made of metal, is carried about at the festivals. Besides these, small images of stone or wood are used for domestic worship. If the temple has a rich iucome, sacrifices are made every day, otherwise they take place only once a week, namely, on Fridays. The women offer to her now and then eatables in order to obtain her favour, these victuals becoming the perquisite of the Pūjāri and his servants.

A great festival in honor of Māriyamma is yearly celebrated during eight days, when fowls, goats, pigs, buffaloes—males of their kind—are immolated, and rice and milk are boiled in enormous quantities; the last day being the most splendid. This feast is not held at a fixed date, but may be observed in any month of the year. As a rule, one of these festivals is much like another, no matter in honour of what particular Grāmadēvatā it is made.

Māriyamma dwelt formerly in fire, and resides still in a lamp, or in a triangle (*trikōṇacakra*), square (*catuṣkōṇacakra*) or in a hexagon (*ṣaṭkōṇacakra*). She is found on

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[270] See *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 160—163. The two doorkeepers are called in Tamil *Śukkumāttaḍikkārar*, weavers of the staff *Śukkumāttaḍi*. *Kāttān* is a chief of devils, born of an adulterous Brahman woman, exposed by her and brought up by a Pariah. He knew the hour and the manner of his death, namely, that he should be impaled. He violated all the women, and as the men who tried to catch him and to put him on a spit could not do so, he impaled himself before them. In consequence Māriyamma took him into her service, his duty being to bring to her all those who have hanged or impaled themselves. He is even more dreaded than Māriyamman, and to him are sacrificed a far greater number of goats and cocks than to her. The shepherd woman, *Iḍaippeṇ*, gave buttermilk to the impaled Kāttān. Kāttān had also stolen and outraged the Brāhman-girl *Pāppātti* and afterwards kept her as his mistress. The merchant's wife, *Śettippeṇ*, had met wtih the same fate.

cross roads, and guards burial-grounds. Her chariot is made of Nimb wood, and she lives often under a Nimb tree, and reclines on Nimb tree leaves, while her head rests on a serpent cushion. Five hundred serpents (nāgas) are braided in her hair, in fact nāgas form her chief ornament; she carries, however, a parrot in her hand. Her eyes are filled with serpent-poison, and she stings and darts like a snake at a person who looks at her. In war she represents *Vīralakṣmī*. She destroys those who laugh at her. She is fond of milk-rice (*poṅgal*), the resin of the Nimb tree, and especially burnt bones. This is the reason why loaves of bread baked in the form of bones are offered to her. She likes the sound of the pariah drum *Tappaṭṭai*, of the hand drum *Uḍukkai*, and in short of all similar musical instruments.

When mantras are addressed to her, she heals the most dangerous diseases, but also removes illness by applying ashes and leaves of the Nimb-tree, and of the Wormwood plant (Tamil *Mūśipattiri*). On the other hand she enters into the bodies of girls, and makes them whirl round, as if possessed by a demon, yet she removes the sin of those who address her with the holy five letters (*pañcākṣara*).[271]

She is regarded as the mother of the Śaiva virgins, or *Kannimār*, and is therefore called *Saptakanyānām mātā*.

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[271] Her by-name *Maṇimantraśēkharī* refers to her power over poison-stones and spells. In the following I quote a charm against cholera, small-pox and other diseases contained in the *Grāmadēvatāpratiṣṭhā* and ascribed to the supplement of the *Atharvaṇavēda*.

Vāntibhēdikutaḍaimantram, Atharvaṇavēdam pariśiṣṭam, Viṭōbākāṇḍalō.

"Duṣṭō rēṇur bhauma āmōnabhasvatyaddhā āṅktō ghātukō'ṭatyanantē, haṁsam prāpya prāṇihiṁsām vidhattē tannaḥ pāyād amṛtēśvaryamōghā." Anēna mantrēṇa amṛtēśvarīm catuṣpathamaṇṭapē pratiṣṭhāpya gōpuranikaṭē vā tāntrikamantrair arcayitvā balim upahṛtya mahārātrē bahis samantād grāmasya vādyaghōṣēṇa kalamamañjarīkalaśāmbhasā pariṣicya dēvīm udvāsayēd vamivirēcanādimārikārōgaśāntir bhavati.

The *pañcākṣara* is the well-known *Śivāya namaḥ*.

Pāvāḍairāyan, who wears the lower garment of a woman, is considered to be her son.[272]

This short description of Māriyamma may give an idea of the position this Grāmadēvatā occupies among the Indian people.

3. *Aṅgāramma* (*Aṅgālamma, Aṅkālamma, Aṅkamma*).

Aṅgāramma (Aṅgālamma, Aṅkālamma, or Aṅkamma) is as her name *aṅgāra* (in Sanskrit coal or charcoal) indicates, specially associated with fire, and this assertion is substantiated by the following stories.

At the beginning Brahman was residing alone on the Mēru. He dug there a deep pit, *Ōm-guṇḍa*, filled it with sandalwood, placed on it an antilope's skin, and having taken his seat on this pile, set fire to it. A great flame rose, and when he was about to be seized by the flame, he uttered a *mantra*. Instantaneously the Ādiśakti *Aṅgālamma*, who had never been seen or heard of previously, appeared in the fire, and demanded that he should worship her as the divine Śakti. Brahman, however, had no offerings to igve her, but promised that Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa would adore her at a future period.

According to another legend Aṅgāramma was the daughter of a learned Brāhman in the Cōḻa-country and had acquired such a superior knowledge that she put to shame the greatest Paṇḍits of her period. These men did not like to be worsted in arguments and discussion by a young girl, and in consequence conspired to disgrace her in public. For this purpose they presented her with a beautiful smooth cloth, which would, when put on her body, unawares slip from her waist, so that she would appear without any

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[272] This *Pāvāḍairāyan* has other nick-names as *Kañjāveṟiyan* (mad through hemp, cannabis), *Kanaveṟiyan* (very mad), *Abhiniveṟiyan* (opium-mad), *Ativeṟiyan* (excessively mad), *Śārāveṟiyan* (wine-mad), *Taniveṟiyan* (chief of mad men), etc.

clothing before the assembly. Aṅgāramma accepted their present, and divining their intention, put on the dress in such a manner, that it could not slip. Thus attired, she entered the assembly, where she thoroughly discomfited her opponents, and outcasted those Brāhmans, who had attempted to dishonour her. Their meanness provoked her besides to such a fiery rage, that she was burnt to ashes,—hence her name.[273]

In commemoration of this event the Brāhman-women of Beṭṭadapuram near Mysore wear on their neck a golden image of Aṅgāramma, besides the *tāli* or māṅgalyam. They also tie their cloths in the same manner as Aṅgāramma tied on the one given to her by the treacherous Brāhmans.

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[273] The *Rev. W. H. Campbell* writes in continuation of the first story of Aṅkāramma (whom he calls Aṅkālamma) and Brahman, that she appeared afterwards at midday in the city of Dēvagiri, when no cloud was in the sky, blazing like a thousand thunderbolts. The gods erected on her arrival a large golden temple in the city, but after a while the citizens became disgusted with her and expelled her from the town, for which she infested them with all sorts of loathsome diseases. At last she relented, and sent her younger sister, Kollapāṭi-Aṅkamma disguised as a Yerukula woman into Dēvagiri, to persuade the citizens to recall her. When these, however, heard who the Yerukula woman was, and why she had come, they threw her in their rage into a prison full of vermin. Aṅgāramma revenged her sister after delivering her, by catching the nine kingly brothers of Dēvagiri, and impaling them in her garden compound outside the city.

A student of mine has favoured me with another version of the second story of Aṅgāramma, whom he calls Aṅgālamma.

" A certain Brahmin was teaching the Veda to his disciples. One fair-looking Pariah living near was constantly listening to the recitation and learnt the Veda well. One day, assuming the appearance of a Brahmin bachelor, he presented himself before the teacher of the Veda and recited the Veda to the teacher's satisfaction. The teacher took him for a Brahmin youth and gave him his daughter in marriage. Time passed; she became of age and was taken to her husband's home. Then she discovered that her husband was a Chandala, returned to her father and stated to him the matter. He decided that fire alone could purify her. She went back to her husband's home, set fire to it when all the inmates were asleep, and threw herself into it, but was extracted half-burnt. She has ever since been roaming over the earth, doing acts of malice against mankind."

The Kuladēvatā of the Saṅkēta-Brāhmans of Beṭṭadapuram is to this day Aṅgāramma.

In fact the women are very fond of Aṅgāramma, and her worship preponderates among them, while among the men it is more or less confined to the performance of animal sacrifices. On festival days the women rise early in the morning at 4 o'clock, and after fulfilling their domestic duties and cleaning their houses with cowdung and sprinkling cow-urine on the floor, they repair with their brass-vessels to the nearest river or tank, to bathe and to paint themselves with saffron (*Paḻaṅgaḷi mañjal*). Then they return home, take their midday-meals, put sesamum oil into their hair, which is either arranged in snaky braids or in the form of a ball, entwined with flowers. Attired in their best dresses and wearing their many precious ornaments, they go, attended by their male-folk, to the temple of the Goddess. If a bloody sacrifice is to take place the men bring along with them the sheep and cocks which are to be killed, the heads of which animals are afterwards taken home. The women boil their rice in their brass-vessels, and are careful to see that the grains sink after boiling in a southern direction, which is regarded an auspicious omen. Round the rims of the vessel saffron twigs are wound, and in front of them three lines are drawn with water mixed with ashes, and the woman who forgets to draw them, must make on the following day another boiling. After the worship has commenced, and the Pariahs have struck up their music and everybody is provided with their pallayam, the Goddess enters into a woman, who dances before her shrine, consuming pails full of saffron-water and eating heaps of margosa leaves. After having danced for a while before Aṅgāramma, she leaves the temple-compound, and returns dancing to her home, eating and drinking in abundance all the way, till the fit leaves her. Meanwhile the other people will

go on enjoying themselves, partake of their meals near the temple, and return home early in the morning.

Occasionally the women bring at moonlight, after the meals are over, a new image of the Goddess made by the potter, and after arranging themselves in a circle round Aṅgāramma, whirl ten times round her, singing the following verse, indicating while so doing the number of their roundelay. The fifth time, *e.g.*, one half will begin: *Añjām kiḷi āḍa* (fifth parrot play), the other half will add: *Pañcavarṇakiḷi pāḍa* (five-coloured parrot sing), and all clapping their hands, will finish with the refrain *Arputamāy perundēvi āḍiya pantāḍa* (wonderfully plays the great Goddess the ball). After they have sung and danced thus ten times, they return home at daybreak.

If a woman is possessed with adevil, she will bathe and repair in her wet clothes at night to the image of Aṅgāramma, attended by her relatives and an exorcist. Plantain leaves are placed before the shrine, the possessed woman will move her head in all directions, and the exorcist while beating a drum will sing:

"For the kneeling legs, O mother, for the legs, O mother, certainly (use) pomegranate-flower-coloured trousers; after having risen, put on the legs, O mother, on the legs, O mother, tutti-flower-coloured (yellow-coloured) trousers."[274]

He will then ask the devil what his name is, and when he tells it, naming generally one of the common Karuppaṇṇasvāmis, the woman will under the influence of the goddess touch a knot tied without her knowledge. The devil will now be beaten with twigs of the Arka plant (Calatropis gigantea), confess where and why he took possession of the woman, and promise to leave her, if he gets 3 or 4

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[274] Maṇḍipōttakālkaḷḷukku tāyē kālkaḷḷukku tāyē mādulampūśalladam ām.
Tukki vaita kālkaḷḷukku tāyē kālkaḷḷukku tāyē tuttipūśalladam ām.

panams of arrack to drink. The woman after this gets up, takes a big stone and hurls it at the tree, where the devil is supposed to dwell. Her relatives and the exorcist run after her, cut the above-mentioned knot from her hair, wind it on an iron nail and fix it on the tree. The woman will then bathe and be free from the devil.

When only unbloody offerings are presented to Aṅgāramma, she is called Kanakammāḷ.

The statue of Aṅgāramma resembles those of Ellamma and Māriyamma. She also appears in a sitting posture, with four hands, two of which are raised while the two others are bent. The raised hand on the right carries a weapon of wood and leather, round which is wound a serpent, while that on the left contains a noose (*pāśa*), with which she attracts the souls of the dead ; one of the other two hands is empty, in the fourth she wears the head of Brahman. On her head is placed a crown, behind her ears are two flowers and in them are two big earrings, while the locks of her hair are raised. Beside her stand two lamps, which are, however, not always burning. In her temples, which resemble those of the previously mentioned Grāmadēvatās, and which are generally situated near rivers or fords, Aṅgāramma stands in the inner apartment, and in the outer, generally carved out of wood are found *Periyatambirān*,[275] *Iruḷan* (a savage forester), *Raṇavīran*, a valiant demon ; *Vīrabhadra*, *Pāvāḍaivīran*, who resembles Raṇavīran ; the *Angels of Life* (the *Uyirttūṇḍilkārar*) who have been mentioned previously as attending on Ellamma, and are in the same capacity utilised by Aṅgāramma; a woman who committed suicide by springing into the fire, was burnt, and did many wonders after her death, whose name is in Tamil

[275] *Periyatambirān*, the great god, is according to some the god whom Dakṣa had chosen to displace Īśvara. Others make him the husband of Aṅgāramma and the chief of the devils. If sacrifices are offered to him, he does do no harm. See *Ziegenbalg*, p. 167.

Tīkkudittammāḷ; and lastly a powerful demoness *Kāṭṭēri,* of whom the people are very much afraid.

At least, once a week, on Fridays, Aṅgāramma is worshipped in her pagoda. Like the other Grāmadēvatās she also has a yearly festival celebrated in her honour.[276] Such a feast lasts about eight days, but has no certain fixed

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[276] The Rev. *G. N. Thomssen,* of the American Baptist Mission, gave me the following description of a festival of Aṅgāramma at Vinukonda :

" In the year 1884 many of the thatched houses of the town burned down, having been set fire to, so it is alleged, by an insane man. The many fires frightened the natives who began to enquire what goddess they had offended, and the Brahmin Karnam and others said that Ankamma was destroying their houses and would soon kill the cattle and children, if she were not propitiated by sacrifices of buffaloes, sheep and cocks. At once all the Hindus of Vinukonda, a large town of about 5,000 inhabitants, situated about 250 miles north of Madras in the Kistna District, secured sheep, tied wreaths of margosa leaves round their necks, and placed them outside of their houses on the street. Carts were decorated by painting the wheels, and gaudy standards were fastened on them, some 20 feet high, and on Sunday afternoon the people went to the Ankamma temple, a tumble-down building about 6 feet wide, 10 feet long and 7 feet high. In a corner of this place was a common stone, about 1½ feet high and 8 inches wide, which represented Ankamma. The stone was painted, eyes, mouth and nose put on it, a red cloth with some tinsel was wrapped around it, and lights were placed before it. Each cart was driven three times around the temple, and then the sacrifices were killed with a sickle-shaped knife before the idol, some of the sheep being impaled by placing their sternum upon a sharp post and pulling them down, so that the wood passed through their bodies. The excitement about Ankamma increased, and soon the surrounding villages sent carts and sacrifices to the Vinuconda Ankamma. Messengers who professed to be possessed by Ankamma went from village to village, telling people to come and worship this Gramadevata. Every day of the week carts came bringing worshippers and sacrificers, but Thursday and Sunday were considered the most propitious days, and on these days sometimes as many as 70 buffaloes, 2,000 sheep, and numberless cocks were killed. Ankamma was said to burn houses, kill cattle, cause cholera and give children to barren women, who, after sleeping three nights near the temple were to become pregnant. Some boys and dancing girls professed to be incarnations of Ankamma, and these would sometimes fall into convulsions and prophesy. The oldest inhabitant of the place did not remember the time when this idol had before been worshipped, but neglecting Ankamma so long was held to be the cause of all the calamities that befel the people."

date. The brazen image of the Grāmadēvatā is carried round in the morning and evening, and on the evening of the last day all the villagers, especially the women with their daughters, assemble before her pagoda, and light everywhere fires for cooking rice, a portion of which they present to the goddess and her attendants, whilst they distribute the remainder among themselves. Hundreds of such rice-fires are thus lit by the women round the temple, and illuminate the neighbourhood, while the men sacrifice cocks, pigs, goats and buffaloes, part of which they present cooked to the goddess.

If a person is possessed with a devil, he is brought to the temple of Aṅgāramma, whose principal office it is to protect men from jungle, field, and domestic demons. A sacrifice is then offered, the demoniac is placed before the image, a drum (*pambai*) is beaten, praises are sung in honour of the goddess, and the other necessary ceremonies are performed, by which the demon is compelled to leave his victim.[277]

4.—*Piḍāri.*

Piḍāri[278] is one of the most widely worshipped and most mischievous Grāmadēvatās. Her temples, large and small, are found everywhere, especially in South India. She is reputed to have a very passionate and irascible disposition, and she is for this reason represented on her images with a red-hot face and body, and on her head is burning fire. She sits on her throne or rather on the altar, with a crown on her head, and the emblems of Śiva on her forehead. The locks of her hair stand up erect, and ornaments are entwined in them. From the slit flaps of her ears hang pendants above and below, and two flowers are fastened behind her ears. She carries in her four hands a drum fastened to a snake,

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[277] See *Ziegenbalg* about Aṅkālamma, pp. 164—169.

[278] There are seven kinds of Piḍāri, the *Ellaippiḍāri* stands on the boundaries, another is *Kaṇṭippiḍāri.*

a trident, the skull of Brahman and an elephant's goad. As a rule there is no other image in her temple than her own, and she is not surrounded by deities, as are the other Grāmadēvatās. Near her own image stands occasionally Vighnēśvara, and at the entrance of her temple are placed two gigantic and horribly shaped demons or *Munnaḍiyār*. Where her temple is large, she is surrounded by her eighteen generals with their soldiers. In front of her shrine stand a married couple of trees, a Pipal (Ficus religiosa) and a Margosa. These trees must be above twenty years old before they can be used for worship. The tree-couple is duly married with all the necessary ceremonial displayed at human weddings. In case of any thing untoward happening to this pair, another is planted in its neighbourhood, in order to take its place eventually.

When in consequence of drought, murrain, or some other reason, it appears desirable that Piḍāri should be worshipped, the Brāhmans of the village are consulted, and if they give in their assembly, or *Mahānāḍu*, a favourable reply, preparations are at once made for its celebration and subscriptions collected.

In case of a murrain the ryots choose generally a young fat bull as a worthy gift to Piḍāri, which, when marked with a trident (*triśūla*), is allowed to roam about at its own free will, till the time of its end comes, and it is chosen from among the other bulls to be sacrificed.

These special sacrifices are also celebrated on a Friday, when the temple is carefully decorated and pandals erected in front of it. The sacrificial bull is then removed from the field, bathed in the neighbouring tank or river, and taken to the temple. As soon as this is done the Pūjāri rings the bell in the morning, as a sign that the feast has begun.

Fire-treading, though in an altered form, figures also at these ceremonials. Those who have made this vow

prepare themselves by previous fasting, and tie round their right arm a fortnight before the feast a string dyed with saffron colour. To this string is attached a small iron ring, to keep off the devils, as the evil spirits cannot stand the proximity of iron. When the time has approached, they walk through the fire-ditch, which is 45 feet long, 5 feet broad and 3 feet deep, and after having performed this religious feat, they take off the saffron-tie and dedicate it to Piḍāri.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the sacrificial bull, richly decorated, is conducted in procession through the main streets. He is tied with two strong ropes or even with iron chains. Music goes along with this troupe and dried palmyra leaves are dragged behind in its track. The women present, when it passes their houses, a mixture of water with saffron, lime and margosa leaves (*nalaṅgu*) contained in shallow brass-trays, and pour it afterwards out in front of their houses. After the first has finished its circuit, a second procession starts from the temple on the same road as the previous one, but the formerly dry palmyra leaves are now dragged behind all ablaze in flames, which are kept up by pouring ghee on them. This ceremony is undertaken to prevent hostile spirits interfering with the sacrifice. A third circuit is made after this second has reached the temple, and numerous three months' old lambs are sacrificed on its way in all the street corners and in places which are said to be haunted. The flowing blood is mixed with rice and thrown into the air as an oblation to the devil. Women and children are allowed to witness this procession. After this is over, the women return to their homes, to take their evening meal. They then assemble in a lonely place, generally on a sandbank formed by a stream, or in a tank, where they erect two inches above the ground a square platform, in the centre of which they place a new

and clean pot, whose mouth is covered with a fibreless cocoanut which is surrounded by flowers. This pot (*karakam*) is then amidst the sounds of music (*Koṭṭumēḷam*) taken up by a properly trained man, who places it on his head and performs the wildest dance without letting it drop to the ground.

At last at about 11 P.M. the bull, surrounded by torchlights and attended with music, appears on the spot, where the people are already assembled, and a moat as high as the bull has been dug. A pole and a cross-bar over the moat are provided. The bull is placed under the cross-bar and tied to the pole. Towards midnight only a few men have the courage to remain, most slink away out of fear of the dreadful goddess; till at last, when only a few are present, Piḍāri will possess a man who with a sword lying ready will at one stroke cut off the head of the bull. While the outpouring blood is collected in a basin and mixed with rice, a man addresses the goddess, crying out: Ōm eṉṟu śol, ām eṉṟu śol, akārādi ukārādi aḍakkam sadakṣaram! Vāli, Kapāli, Nīli, Nēru, Mūli, Bhairavi, Cāmuṇḍi, Vallavi, Uddaṇḍakāli, Ōṅkārakāli, ōḍi vā, ōḍi vā, ōḍi vā (come running)! Another man throws rice balls soaked in blood into the air as an offering to the devils, and he is bound with iron chains and dragged away by his friends, lest the evil spirits should catch hold of him.

With this the ceremony ceases, the goddess is appeased and the people return home. An annual festival, lasting between seven and eight days, is held in her honour out of gratitude for the protection she vouchsafes to men against the machinations and attacks of the devils, as whose queen she was for this purpose appointed, when she was expelled from heaven and banished to earth owing to her malicious and mischievous character. But at her pagoda, especially before her image of stone, once a week libations are poured

and offerings of fruit and animals are made. Those who hang, or poison, or drown themselves, or die a sudden death, or who die in consequence of having maliciously torn their tongues out of their own mouths, or are killed by snakes, become devils and join the company of Piḍāri.[279]

5.—*Bhadrakālī*. 6.—*Cāmuṇḍā*. 7.—*Durgā*.

Bhadrakālī, *Cāmuṇḍā* and *Durgā* represent three aspects of Ambā or Śakti in her passionate character or in her dark colour. *Kālī* or Bhadrakālī, the auspicious Kālī, commonly known as Kāliyamma or Kālamma (as in the Tulu country), the tutelary deity of Calcutta, became after her expulsion from heaven in consequence of her savage disposition—hence also called the *Aghōraśakti*—the queen of the female demons. Yet, in spite of her fierce and cruel temperament she protects men against demons. Śiva is said to have competed with her in dancing at Cidambaram and surpassed her in this performance. Śiva is therefore in the Tamil country known as the *Pēyōḍāḍi*, he who danced with a devil, and for this reason Kālī is represented in a dancing position. She wears on her head a fiery crown entwined with snakes, Śiva's signs are marked on her forehead, two lion-fangs protrude from her mouth, she possesses ten hands of which two are clapped together and two empty, while of the remaining six the three on the right side carry respectively a rope, a parrot and a spear, and the three on the left side a drum (*ḍamaru*) with a snake, fire and a trident. Besides her own images there are found in her pagodas those of Vighnēśvara, Vīrabhadra and Aghōra. Aghōra, an euphemistic expression, is in reality an avatāra of Śiva who rushed out of the liṅga in order to destroy the giant Marutta, to whom Brahman had promised invincibi-

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[279] See *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 175, 176.

lity and who had made himself unbearable by his presumption and violence against gods and men.[280]

To Kālı bloody sacrifices are offered, and the victims are not only animals, but up to late—(and who knows if not even at present)—human beings. The investigation against the Kulin-Brāhmans in the Mahratta country showed of what common occurrence were these religious murders, committed under the pretence of gratifying the goddess, but really done for the sake of covetousness. Kālī, under the name of Bhavānī, was the goddess of the Thugs, who regarded themselves her faithful followers while pursuing their nefarious profession.

Cāmuṇḍā is a counterpart of Kālī, and resembles her also in her outward appearance, in her erected hairlocks, her fiery complexion, and her two lion-fangs. She has, however, only four hands, two of which stretched out upwards carry respectively the weapons of Viṣṇu, a conch and a disc, while the other two are joined and open. Under her feet lies the head of the Mahiṣāsura, whom she killed, for which deed she is celebrated in Mysore.

Her temples also generally contain the figures of Vighnēśvara, Vīrabhadra (mostly made of wood), the Uyirttūṇḍilkārar, and the devil who acts as her aide-de-camp (*ēval-kārappēy*). Cāmuṇḍā confers valour on her adherents, and assists the wizards in their magic arts, and she is invoked by those sorcerers with special spells.[281]

Durgā (Durgāmbā, Durgamma, Durgiyamma, Durgyamma) is represented with the face of a sheep while killing *Siṁhamukhāsura* on whose lion-head her feet are resting. She is likewise of a fiery temper, wears golden ornaments, pearls and gems on her head, has the emblems of Śiva on her forehead, and carries in her six hands a ring, a sword,

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280 Compare *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 170—174.

281 See *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 176—187.

a trident, an elephant's goad and a human head. The giant Simhamukhāsura had been appointed by Aiyanār superintendent of his garden, and fought with Durgā, when she was trespassing and doing mischief in it. As Durgā killed him, she was ordered to look after men and protect them on earth, with the further obligation to obey the orders which Aiyanār would give her.[282]

It is not necessary to describe specially the worship of these three goddesses, as it resembles that of the other Grāmadēvatās.[283] The legends concerning Bhadrakālī,

[282] See *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 178—180.

[283] About the sacrifices to *Durgā* compare the paper of Mr. F. Fawcett, p. 267: "In Banivikal the village goddess is called Durgamma, and every year there is a festival in her honour. In her temple outside the village she is usually represented by five conical earthen symbols called *Kēlu*. The temple is built over a snake's hole, and besides it is a large margosa tree. The tree and the snake (if there is one) are sacred, and considered to be symbols of Durgamma . . The pujari, whose office is hereditary, is a Boya by caste. In his house he keeps the more important symbols of the goddess, viz., two tiny images of Basavana; a cane staff 3 feet in length almost covered with silver bands (the offering of devotees) and surmounted by a cobra's head in silver; a female face also in silver, and nearly life-size . . . On the first day of the feast the symbols, which collectively represent Durgamma, are carried on a litter to some water, any tank or well, and washed by the pujari; and afterwards, together with a new pot filled with water, carried to the temple and put in the place of the Kēlu, which are removed to one side and ornamented with bangles. The silver face is erected on a stick behind the pot of water and a woman's cloth is tied to it just under the face and over the pot of water. The other symbols are placed beside it, the snake upright. The symbols are decorated with flowers, leaves of the Bilva (Aegle marmelos) and some leaves of the betel-nut tree, while wave offerings of camphor are made by the pujari. A buffalo bull is then driven through the village streets with tom-toming to the temple; a black ram is brought too. These are not devoted animals, but have been purchased for the feast. They are washed at the temple, decorated with red powder, and beheaded with a weapon, shaped like a battle-axe, in front of the goddess; the sheep first, the buffalo afterwards, by one of the Boyas present. The sheep's head is buried in front of the goddess (the place is marked by a small stone), and the buffalo's head is placed in a miniature temple about 30 feet in front of the goddess, its

Cāmuṇḍā and Durgā are, moreover, so well known, as they are described in the Sanskrit Purāṇas, that I need not dilate on them. These three have also much in common with each other and are distinguished in appearance from the previously described four Grāmadēvatās. These four have throughout human features, while Kālī and Cāmuṇḍā have lion-fangs, and Durgā has the head of a sheep; they are represented in a sitting posture, while the other three do not sit, but are either dancing, standing, or even riding. These seven, with the two wives of Aiyanār (of whom

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right foreleg in the mouth; and on the head are placed some fat from the stomach, some flour, a little manure, and a lamp in an earthen vessel. Then, men and women of the Boya caste who are under vows to the goddess, divest themselves of clothing and dressed from chin to feet in margosa leaves, walk thrice round the temple. After this they go home, put on new cloths and bring each a black sheep as a sacrifice to the goddess. These sacrificed animals are afterwards eaten, the heads being given to musicians and servants. The sheep that was first sacrificed is then cooked at the temple, and with some flour eaten there by all the flesh-eating people, after offering some to the margosa tree and to the other symbols of the goddess. By this time it is 9 P.M. and the symbols are carried back to the pujari's house, a Madiga, with the buffalo's head on his own leading the procession. The pujari pours the water away and retains the pot for his own use."

A similar description is given further on, in which it is said: "Near is a temple of Durgamma. Five stones represent her in her temple. The people start in procession with music to a tank, the pujari (a carpenter) carrying the kēlu going first and following him one of his household carrying a new earthen pot with a man's cloth tied round it and a small cloth, in which is a piece of turmeric, round its neck, and inside it some betel-nuts and cocoanut fruits. Gangamma (the tank) is worshipped by breaking cocoanuts and carrying burning camphor, the pot is filled with water, and the kēlu is marked with red powder and turmeric. The pot of water and the kēlu represent the goddess. They then go in procession to the temple, the kēlu is placed in front of the five stones, and the pot next it. All go with music to bring Durgamma's image from the pujari's house, where it is kept, to her temple. The wooden image is dressed and adorned; and the pujari carries it on his head to the temple . . ."

I shall speak afterwards), form the nine Śaktis, and are the principal Grāmadēvatās.

According to the various qualities ascribed to Ambā or Śakti as a Grāmadēvatā, she is called the Mother, *Tāy ;* the one and principal Mother, *Ēkamātā*, *Ēgāttāḻ* (Ēgāttā, Ēgamman, Ēgāttē (in Madras), Ēkavalli ; the protecting Mother, *Kāttāyi ;* the good Mother, *Nallāttāḻ ;* the goddess of righteousness, *Cellāyi* (Celvāyi, Celliyamman) ; the sheltering Goddess, *Tañciyamman ;* the auspicious Goddess, *Kalliyāṇiyammāḻ ;* the self-existing Goddess, *Tāntōniyamman ;* the Mother of welfare, *Cēmāttē* (in Perambūr) ; the small Mother, *Cinnammai ;* the young Mother, *Tāyilāḷamman* (Bālāmbā). When granting coolness she is the *Kuḻuntiyamman ;* when carrying a conch she is *Ceṅkōdiyamman ;* when wearing anklets *Cilambāttāḻ,* when flowers *Cevantiyamman,* when a garland of pearls *Kōlamaṇiyammāḻ ;* when lotus-eyed *Muṇḍakkaṇṇiyamman ;* when of green colour *Pacciyamman* or *Paccaiyammāḻ.* She grants conception to women as *Paiṇḍiyamman* (though as such she should perhaps be regarded as one of the Bālagrahas, or as a Kṣudradēvatā). She is invoked especially in Mysore by barren women as *Unmattāmbā* to bestow children, and heals boils as *Bobbalamma.* She is the goddess of war as *Cēnaiyāttāḻ,* of the spear as *Vēlāttāḻ ;* the mother of snakes as *Nāgāttāy.*

She protects the village and is as such the *Ūttukkāṭṭammam* or *Ūramman,*[284] or *Cēṇiyammāḻ* (from *Śrēṇi,* row) ;

[284] About the worship of Ūramman compare *The Village Festivals in S. India* by F. Fawcett, p. 274, "In Kudligi the village goddess is Uramma and her festival is performed in this way. As a preliminary the headmen of the village meet on a Tuesday and take five new earthen vessels to the temple and put in each five 'duddus,' half a seer of rice, five cocoanut fruits, and five betel-nuts; and put one vessel in each corner and one near the place of the goddess, who is now out being painted. Her image is of margosa wood. The pots are covered, and on the centre one is placed a lamp which must not be extinguished for 8 days, while the vessels remain as they were placed. *Brahmins* worship the pots with offerings of cooked rice and other food, etc."

she protects the soil as *Mannamma* (Maṇṭamma);[285] she guards the various streets and is in the Maratha country adored during the Navarātri-festival as *Mahalāi Mātā*, when on the northern gate of a village she is called *Vaḍakkuvācalāyi* ; where three roads meet, as in the Black-town of Madras, she is known as the *Muccandiyamman*, in Sanskrit as *Trisandhīśvarī*, the Latin *Trivia*.

Sailors when at sea, or those who travel by sea, solicit the favour of *Alaimōtiyammāḷ*, the Sanskrit *Kallōlinī*, while some ascribe to the seven *Kannimār* or virgins (from the Sanskrit *Kanyā*, virgin) the charge of the rivers in the forests and hills.

Many Grāmadēvatās are named after the villages they

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[285] See *ibidem*, p. 270 : (The goddess)of Hūrlipal is called Mannamma and her festival is expensive, as 1,280 seers of rice are required. Preliminary to the festival, which occupies 5 days, three seers of paddy are poured on the floor of a Madiga's house ; water mixed with jaggery is also poured on it, and a new pot of date palm toddy is placed thereon. The toddy is purchased and not devoted in any way. It is left so for 5 days, or until the paddy sprouts, as it generally does on the third day; and the sooner it does the better the omen for the coming season. The Madiga's office is hereditary and he receives a share of the income or profits of the temple. The night after the paddy sprouts the festival begins by the Madiga carrying the pot of toddy to the goddess's temple and placing it on a platform in front of it. It is worshipped there during the following day. In the afternoon of the next day, Mariamma, another goddess, is wheeled on her little car, to the left side of the door of Mannamma's temple, and left there. At 3 P.M. a buffalo is sacrificed to the right of the temple door, by a Madiga. On the next days, 1,280 seers of rice are boiled, a sheep is sacrificed where the buffalo was, and every bit of its blood, bones and its all, is mixed with the rice and scattered round about outside the village. This occupies all night On the next day a small black ram is bitten to death by a Poturaz, as described before, and this sheep is buried with the pot of toddy to the right of the door of the temple. Mariamma is then wheeled back to her temple. The fifth and last day is occupied in general worship of the goddess. There is no drinking or general feasting. (I have retained the name *Mannamma*, as it appeared in the first print of Mr. Fawcett's article in the *Madras Mail*, instead of Wannamma, as it was afterwards printed).

protect or perhaps the villages after them, *e.g.*, *Ōcūramman* (Hosur in the Salem district), *Kaccippatiyāḷ* (Kañjivaram), *Kaḍumbāḍiyammāḷ*, *Karikāttammāḷ*, *Kōlāramma*, *Śamayapurattāḷ* (Śamayapuram near Trichinopoly), *Paḍaivīṭṭamman*, etc.

The Grāmadēvatā is also associated with animals, *e.g.*, with serpents, scorpions, birds and trees. The Grāmadēvatā of Kōlār or Kōlāramma is called *Vṛścikēśvarī* (from *vṛścika*, scorpion), for she heals those who have been stung by scorpions; the tutelary deity of Pittapur is *Kukkuṭāmbā* or *Kukkuṭēśvarī* (from *kukkuṭa*, cock). *Puttūlamma* (or *Valmīkinī*, the mother of white ants) is worshipped in Puttūru; from *puttikā*, in Sanskrit white-ant.

Trees are often regarded as personating the deity, and the villagers in Guzerat throw pieces of rags on trees which they intend to worship, especially on the Śamī tree, converting it into a deity by this ceremony. An instance of this custom supplies the worship of the Tamil *Yakkalādēvī*, who is the patroness of the Arka plant or Calatropis gigantea. Certain Brahman families worship this *Yakkamma* (Arkamma, Arkavṛkṣasthā or Arkēśvarī) as their Kuladēvatā. The *Ellaikāramma* is revered by gardeners who cultivate betel. The *Panaivēriyamman* (from *panai*, palm tree or tālavṛkṣa) is fond of palmyra and other palm trees, and is thus known as *Tālavāsinī*; as *Balabhadrikā* she is said to have come into existence after Balabhadra. The *Puḷiyi-daivāliyamman* is associated with the Tamarind tree *puḷi*, under which Māriyamman also resides.[286] *Eṭṭiyamman* from *eṭṭi*, nux vomica, protects against the poison of that fruit; she has a temple in *Punnai*. The *Aśalāttāḷ* derived from *Aśalā*, a maid-servant of Śabarī, an incarnation of Pārvati, at the time when Śiva had assumed the form of a hunter or śabara,

[286] Under a tamarind tree was born Nammālvār or Śaṭhakōpa.

protects from wild beasts, serpents and thorns, and the *aśalamantra* is uttered in order to avoid them. The well-known Telugu Grāmadēvatā Pōlēramma, Pōlēriyammāḷ, who is connected with small-pox and thus associated with Māriyamma, as mentioned above on p. 471 is by others explained as identical with Holeyaramma, the goddess of the Holeyas or Pariahs, and therefore called Caṇḍālamātṛ, Mātaṅgi, or Palagauri. Pōlalamma is mentioned as a sister of Aṅkālamma.

Śūrpaṇakhā, the well-known sister of Rāvaṇa, is as *Mukkaraśu*, a person who has her nose cut off, revered in the villages of the Nīlagiri mountains.[287]

In the various sacrifices mentioned above, repeated allu-

[287] Besides these village goddesses I may mention: Accammāl (Yaccamma, a corrupted form of Lakṣmī), Akkadēvatalu (in Pedda Cerukūru), Alamantāl, Allamma, Añcammāl (in Chittūr), Aṇṇiyamman near Bangalore, one of the personated *siddhis*, aṇiman, mahiman, laghiman, gariman, prāpti, prakāmya, īśatva and vaśitva), Aracāttāl, Aracāttamman, Ārātamma, Arētamma (in Kōdavalūru), Āśāpura, Auvaiyār, Āyiyamman (in Ukkal), Bagalī, Bahucarā, Bālamma, Baṅgāramma, Baṇṭadevade (Tulu), Bēcarājī, Berāi, Bhramarāmbā, Canalamma, Caṅgalamma, Caṅgalammāḷ (in Harinahalli, brick-goddess), Cavuramma, Ceñcamma, Ceṅkaḷaṇiyammāḷ, Dēvallamma, Dēvyammai, Ēkavīrikā (in Māpuri), Eḷaṅkāḷiyamma, Elamatticchi, Elugōlamma, Ennamma, Galagalamma, Gaṅgamma (in Gaṅgapaṭṭanam), Gaṅgayya, Gaṅganamma, Gānteramma, Iriciyamman, Irulāttamman, Jālamma, Jōgulāmba (in Alampuri), Kaḍambariyamman, Kāmamma, Kēdāramma (in Bellari), Kirātamma, Kommamma, Kōnamma, Koṇḍamma, Koṇḍalamma, Kōnelāmba, Kōtamma, Kūnalamma, Kuṇḍiyamman, Kuppamma, Kūṭālamma, Maddalamma, Malamma (of the mountain), Māmillamma, Maṅgaliyamman, Māntiyamman, Mārakī, Māramma, Mārellamma, Māremma, Mēlkāttai, Moracamman, Muḍuccāttāḷ, Mukundiyamman, Mūkāmbā, Mullittumāṅgiliyamman, Murukāttāl, Nācciyār, Nāgamamba, Nāgalamma, Nūkalamma, Ōlamma, Ōmāttāl (sister of Eṭṭiyamman), Pāliyamman, Pallālamma (in Vānapalli), Panaiyāttāḷ, Panaiyāttamman, Paṇḍellamma, Patālapoṇṇiyamman, Pēramma, Periyammai, Peddāci Pōlakamma, Pōlākamma (in Indukūru) Ponniyammi, Pullamma, Pūṅkōṭiyammāḷ, Punnālamma, Puṭṭalamma. Puṭṭamma, Śūramma, Tallamma, Taṭṭamma, Timmamma, Tulakāṇamman, Udiṣalamma, Uggamma, Uṅkulamma. Valliyammāḷ, Vantipānniyamman, Vaḍavuḍyamman, Vellaiyammāḷ, Velagalamma, Vellamma, Venyamma, Veṅkammāḷ, Vīramma, etc., etc. Compare *above* pp. 184, 185 about Rāvaṇa's connection with the Todas.

sion has been made to the custom of representing the goddess by pots, so that the existence of a special Grāmadēvatā, as pot-goddess, need not surprise us. She is called in Tamil *Kumbāttāḷ*, in Sanskrit *Kumbhamātā*, and in Kanarese *Garigadēvara*. In Tamil such a pot is called *Karakam*.

The position of the Grāmadēvatā as chief deity of the non-Aryan population, has been proved, I trust, by the description contained in the preceding pages, however incomplete and even inaccurate it may be in some respects. An important feature of the worship of the Grāmadēvatā is the fact that not only does the well-to-do rural population devote itself religiously to the strict performance of all prescribed ceremonies, but also the lowest layers of the Indian people, the Pariahs, play, as we have seen, a leading part in them. It is they who in fact perform the sacrifice and become possessed with the goddess, before whose presence they appear in person. The prominent position of the Pariahs at the festivals of Brahmanic shrines has been already noticed, and it has been proved on that occasion that the greater number of such shrines were intimately connected with legends, in which the now despised Pariah was the favorite of the divinity.[288] I felt in consequence entitled to infer that these Brahmanical pagodas occupy at the present day the sites of former places of Pariah worship, and that the Pariahs, though deprived of their property, had managed to retain some title to it, which seemed to be admitted by the fact that their presence was required for the solemnization of the religious rites. Still, this participation of the Pariahs in the festivals at Brahmanical temples is not so surprising as the presence and assistance of Brahmans at the feasts of the Grāmadēvatās, a participation which may be scorned by many pious and intelligent Brahmans, but which is

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[288] See pp. 50—56, 451.

nevertheless a well-known fact, proving the influence which superstition exercises on the human mind, however free it may boast to be.

These variously named Grāmadēvatās are all essentially of the same nature, and so are also the rites performed at their festivals. The majority of the names of the Grāmadēvatās I have quoted, are taken from the vernaculars of Southern India, but their exact counterparts will also be found in Guzeratī and in the languages of Hindustān. I have been compelled to confine myself mainly to the tutelary deities of Southern India, for in spite of all my endeavours, I was unable to obtain satisfactory and trustworthy information from the Northern districts of India. From the knowledge I have obtained, I am, however, of opinion that the same religious ideas pervade the whole non-Aryan population throughout India, though differences may exist owing to local idiosyncracies. Finally, it may be necessary to repeat that in the Grāmadēvatā the people revere their local deity, who protects the soil of their village or town—or by whatever name we may call the community—from all sorts of calamities, who grants rich crops and supplies sufficient food for men and beast. She represents the Mother Earth, the Prakṛti, the prototype of the power which afterwards developed into that of Śakti.

On Aiyanār (Ayyappa or Śāsta).

In the preceding pages I have repeatedly alluded to *Aiyanār* by which name the Supreme God of the Gauda-Dravidians is principally known in Southern India, while the Kanarese people call him Ayyappa.[289] He is indeed the highest ruler among the non-Aryan aborigines of this

[289] About Aiyanār compare *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 148—156; see also the short note about him by the Rev. F. Kittel in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 168.

country, and is therefore very appropriately called *Śāsta*, ruler, by which term he is generally named. The expression *Aiyanār* is Tamil, but its first portion, *Aya, Ayya,* or *Aiya* contains the ancient Gauda-Dravidian word for father, lord and master, while the plural termination *ār* added to the Tamil *Aiyan* expresses honor; the Kanarese affix *appa*, father, in Ayyappa indicates the same meaning. I do not believe that this Gauda-Dravidian word *Aya, Ayya* or *Aiya* is derived from the Sanskrit word *Ārya*, respectable, though the latter term has in some cases been really changed in Gauda-Dravidian dialects into *aiya, aya* or *ayya*.

The influence of Aiyanār has much decreased in course of time, but not so much perhaps among the rural people, who both love and dread him. He uses his position, as Chief of the Bhūtas, or of the Ghosts, to restrain them from inflicting harm on men.[290] Mounted on a wild elephant or on a horse, he rides sword in hand over hills and dales to clear the country from all obnoxious spirits. It is generally believed that at midnight, preceded by heralds, and followed by his retinue, Aiyanār leaves his residence to go a hunting. All ride at an awful pace with swords in their hands and surrounded by torch-bearers. Any one who meets this hunting party on the road, meets a certain death, and the sight of Aiyanār, *Aiyankūṭci*, is therefore much feared. The people, however, praise his kindness

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[290] See *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 152, 153: "Wenn die Teufel wider Aiyanārs Willen den Menschen einigen Schaden zufügen, so straft und peinigt er sie. Seine Wohnung ist in der Welt, er ist gegenwärtig an allen den Orten, wo Menschen und Teufel zu finden sind. Wir opfern ihm deshalb in und ausser seinen Pagoden, dass nicht etwa die Teufel sich zu uns nahen möchten und uns besitzen. Damit er nun alle Arten Teufel von uns abhalte und von ihrer Macht uns beschütze, auch alles Böse abwende, bringen wir ihm allerlei Opfer und Verehrung als Böcke, Schweine, Hähne, Wein, gekochten Reis und dergleichen Ess-und Trink-waaren mehr. Nur aus diesem Grunde pflegen wir ihm Opfer zu bringen."

and say to him: "O Lord of ghosts, who is always pleased, who is filled with kindness towards all creatures, protect, protect, O long armed; to Thee, O Śāsta, be salutation and salutation."[291]

He is generally requested to grant wealth, to bestow sons, to destroy enemies, to avert drought, to secure the favour of women, to destroy the evil effects or omens caused by lizards, and similar boons.[292]

Under his special charge are the boundaries, forests, tanks and rivers. In his duties and outward appearance he has much resemblance to, nay is really identical

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[291] Bhūtanātha sadānanda sarvabhūtadayāpara
raksa raksa mahābāhō śāstrē tubhyam namō namaḥ.

Aiyanār is thus specially revered as the god of hunting, and bears in Kurg the name of *Beṭe Ayyappa*, Lord-father of hunting; as Hill-god he is called *Male Deva*. See Kittel *loco citato*, p. 168.

[292] These wishes are expressed in the following prayers or mantras: "Ōm namō bhagavatē hariharaputrāya putralābhāya, śatrunāśāya (gaulīdōṣa-vināśāya) madagajavāhanāya mahāśāstāya namaḥ."

Another mantra runs as follows: "Asya śrīmahāśāstamantrasya Rudra ṛṣiḥ, Anuṣṭup chandaḥ, Mahāśāstā dēvatā. . . .

Mama sarvābhīṣṭasiddhayē viniyōgaḥ Ṣaḍaṅgam, Hariharaputrāya hṛdayāya namaḥ, arthalābhāya putralābhāya śirasē svāhā, śatrunāśāya śikhāyai vaṣaṭ, sarvastrīmōhanāya kavacāya hum, madagajaturaṅgavāhanāya nētratrayāya vaunṣat, mahāśāstāya hum phaṭ svāhā astrāya phaṭ."

The meaning of this prayer is: "Of this mantra of the great Śāsta Rudra is the Ṛṣi, Anuṣṭup the metre, Mahāśāsta the dēvatā. . . .

"Application for securing all my wishes. Allocation in the six limbs. With *Hariharaputrāya* "namaḥ" to the heart, with *arthalābhāya putralābhāya* "svāhā" to the head, with *śatrunāśāya* "vaṣaṭ" to the hair-tuft, with *sarvastrīmōhanāya* "hum" by laying the hands across, with *madagajaturaṅgavāhanāya* "vaunṣaṭ" to the three eyes, with *mahāśāstāya* "hum phaṭ svāhā" with clapping the hands."

Each mantra is divided into six portions, each of which is as a rule located in a different limb of the body, rarely in some parts of the hands, these locations are respectively called aṅganyāsa and karanyāsa, they are heart, head, hair-tuft, laying hands on the upper arms, three eyes and hand-clapping. The same mantra runs in its abbreviated form as follows: "Ōm aim hrīm saum klīm srīm hrīm hrīm klīm hariharaputrāya arthalābhāya putralābhāya śatrunāśāya sarvastrīmōhanāya madagajaturaṅgavāhanāya mahāśāstāya namaḥ."

with, Khaṇḍōba and the Brahmabhūta,[293] who like him on horseback pursue the demons sword in hand and do manifold good to men. As protector of fields, or Kṣētrapāla, Bhairava is mistaken for him, because, in spite of being occasionally styled Kṣētrapāla, Bhairava's protection is in reality only confined to the temples and their property. On the other hand, if we admit that *Śiva* and *Aiyanār* are identical, there is no difficulty in extending this identity to the avatāras of Śiva, *i.e.*, to *Vīrabhadra* and *Bhairava*,[294] who are often identified with Aiyanār. Vīrabhadra[295] is styled Śāsta as

[293] See *above*, pp. 157, 298, No. 16, 304. Dr. Wilhelm Germann has in the edition of *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 155, 156, already alluded to a connexion between Khaṇḍōba and Aiyanār.

[294] This mantra is addressed to Aiyanār as Bhairava, who is called kṣētrapāla and instead of Hariharaputra *śivakēśavanandana*: "Kṣētrapālamantraḥ. Ōm namaḥ kṣētrapālasya āpaduddhārakasya śivakēśavanandanasya paramēśvararūpasya nīlamēghasya mahābhairavasya triśūlaḍamarukadharāya śaṅkhacakradharāya kapālamālāsikapāladharāya śākinīḍākinībhūtaprētapiśācaparayantraparamantrākṣasagandharvaśvapacārakrūragrahatāṭakēya karkōṭakakēśavandrikābhaya kumāramuṣṭakhaṭvāṅgadharasya mama sarvaśatrusaṁharaṇasya hrām hrīm hrūm hraim hraum, hram pi hum phaṭ svāhā."

The following stanza is addressed to Kālabhairava:

Kapālamālikākāntam jvalatpāvakalōcanam
kapāladharam atyugram kalayē Kālabhairavam.

Eight forms of Bhairava are mentioned, viz., asitāṅga-, candracūḍa- or rudra-, kāla-, kapāla- or tāmracūḍa, krōdha-, mahā-, ruru-, saṁhāra-bhairava.

In his eighth form as Krōdhabhairava he became the kṣētrapāla Aiyanār:

Krōdhēnānēna vai bālaḥ kṣētrāṇām rakṣakō'bhavat
mūrtayō'ṣṭau ca tasyāpi kṣētrapālasya dhīmataḥ.

[295] The stanzas referring to Aiyanār or Śāsta in his Sāttvika, rājasa and tāmasa condition are as follows. In the Sāttvika condition he is called Vīrabhadra:

1. Sōmkāram dēvamūlam jitaripubahalam śyāmalam Vīrabhadram
Khaṭkāram vyōmakēśam ghaṇighaṇininadam khaḍgakhēṭāgrahastam
Kuṅkāram bhīrunādam hutavahanayanam dahyamānākhilāṁśam
Phaṭkāram vajradaṁṣṭram praṇataripujanaprāṇahantāram īḍē.

possessing the quality of goodness or of *sattva*, while Bhairava is distinctly designated as the son of Śiva and Viṣṇu. When identified with Vīrabhadra and Bhairava, Aiyanār appears in his dark or angry nature, corresponding to the dark element in Śiva's character. Aiyanār occupies his proper position as Kṣētrapāla, in so far as the Grāmadēvatā is also a Kṣētradēvatā. It was natural for the Brahmanic priesthood, in its own interests, to destroy the influence the ancient non-Aryan gods still exercised over the masses, and the best means to effect this purpose was to heap disgrace on those deities, and to vilify them in the eyes of the faithful. With this object in view, they invented a disgusting account of the incestuous origin of Aiyanār.

There lived once in ancient times a demon Bhasmāsura, who by his fervent penance had gained the favor of Īśvara and obtained from him the boon that whatever he might touch with his hand should be turned to ashes. On receiving this power, the demon tried to test it on Śiva himself, who running away hid himself in a flower which was growing in a tank, and thence prayed to Viṣṇu to rescue him. On this Viṣṇu appeared before Bhasmāsura in the form of Mōhinī, a beautiful, enticing woman, and inflamed his mind to such a degree, that in his passion he lost all control over his senses. At last the virgin consented to submit to him, if the giant would previously bathe himself in the water of the neighbouring pond and then clean and rub oil with his hand on his head. Bhasmāsura in his infatuation did so, and was reduced to ashes as soon as his hand touched

2. Śāntam śāradacandrakhaṇḍadhavalam candrābhirāmānanam
candrārkōpalakāntakuṇḍaladharam candrāvadātāṁśukam
vīṇāpustakam akṣasūtravalayam vyākhyānamudrām karair
bibhrāṇam kalayē sadā hṛdi mahāśāstam suvākṣiddhayē.

3. Tējōmaṇḍalamadhyagam trinayanam divyāmbarālaṅkṛtam
dēvam puṣpaśarēkṣukārmukalasanmāṇikyapātrābhayān
bibhrāṇam karapaṅkajair madagajaskandhādhirūḍham mahāśāstāram śaraṇam bhajāmi varadam trailōkyasammōhanam.

his head. Immediately afterwards Śiva became acquainted with the destruction of his pursuer, left his hiding place in the flower, and requested Viṣṇu, who told him what had happened, to assume again the body of Mōhinī. Viṣṇu did so, and found himself a prey to the uncontrollable passion of Śiva. The result of this incestuous connexion between Hari and Hara, was, so say the Brāhmans, Aiyanār, who is therefore also called the son of Hari and Hara, or Harihara-putra. The pedantic Paṇḍits of the Tamil country go so far as to contend that the real name of Aiyanār was *Kaiyanār*, he having been boru in the *kai*, or hand of Viṣṇu.

The image of Aiyanār is generally found at the junction of two roads, as according to popular belief he wants to learn from way-farers about the peculiar position in which he stands in regard to his mother; for Viṣṇu being a male deity cannot be called his mother, nor can Pārvatī be his mother, as she did not give him birth.

The name *Harihara* occurs frequently in the modern dynasty of the Vijayanagara kings, who attempted to unite to a certain extent Vaiṣṇavism with Śaivism, but this circumstance is in no way connected with the subject of this enquiry. The existence of Aiyanār is an intrinsic portion of the ancient Gauda-Dravidian belief, and long antecedent to the Brahmanic story of his alleged origin. Though the names of Aiyanār and Śāsta do not occur in all parts of India he is, as Lord of the Ghosts, revered by the non-Aryan aborigines under one designation or another all over the country. In the northern portion of the Madras Presidency, especially among the Telugu people, his worship appears to be merged into that of Vēṅkaṭēśa, whose name indicates a connexion with the Veṅka or Veṅkaṭa tribe, and which must not be explained, as proposed by some Paṇḍits, to signify *vēṅ kaṭayati*, he purifies sin.

There is hardly a village in the south of Southern India which does not possess one temple dedicated to Aiyanār.

Most of these shrines are of small dimensions and stand in a lonely place to the west of the village surrounded by lofty trees. The prettiest spots are generally chosen for the sites of such shrines among shady trees near a flowing brook. In woods and forests a stone alone indicates at times the abode of Aiyanār, and from such stones sounds are said to arise and to scare the neighbourhood. Clay figures—of large and small size—representing horses, elephants, buffaloes, dogs and other animals or objects are arranged in rows under the shade of trees, representing the gifts of pious devotees, who when they or their families were ill or in distressed circumstances, vowed to dedicate such offerings to Aiyanār. The promises made to him are various and occasionally rather peculiar.

In times of drought the villagers assemble and raise a subscription for a service in honour of Aiyanār. Rice is collected from every house, and on a Wednesday orders are issued to the potters to make life-size horses, occasionally also horses with riders on their back, or life-size armed soldiers. When the potter has prepared all these figures, the villagers go in procession with drums beating to the house of the potter, and carry those figures to the temple of Aiyanār, which is generally two miles distant from the village, near the boundary stone. A richly decorated and well-attired matron carries in front of the procession a vessel full of sweet toddy on her head. This procession is called in Tamil *Pari aḍuppu*, and the vessel *Madukkuḍam*. The Pūjāris are generally potters. Offerings of food, fruits, &c., are then made, and the worshippers take their midday meals, irrespective of caste. The people have great confidence that Aiyanār will be gracious, and grant them their wish, which also often happens.

In some parts of the country, when a child is stricken with a dangerous disease, the parents make a vow, to carry

it in procession round the village suspended from a hook which is fixed in his back. This hook is called in Kanarese *Siḍi,* and Aiyanār goes in consequence by the name of *Siḍivīran.*

At the gates of these temples stand two gigantic guardians, *Munnaḍiyār,* of formidable and hideous shape: they wear crowns on their heads and carry stout sticks in their hands. They resemble devils in their appearance, and have lion-fangs projecting from their mouths. The front portion of the temple is occupied by the seven mothers, who are also worshipped.[296] Two images of Vighnēśvara generally stand inside, one on each side of the door. In the inner hall sits Aiyanār between his two wives, *Pūrṇā* and *Puṣkalā,* in Tamil called Pūraṇai and Puṭkalai,[297] and round them stand in the corridor the seven virgins or *Kannimār,* who are occasionally worshipped, especially on Wednesdays and Saturdays, when the crops on dry lands are suffering from blight.[298] In another building at the side of the temple in a sort of vault are kept the wooden images of horses, elephants, birds, demons and other creatures on which Aiyanār and his wives are carried about in procession on festival days.

When not riding, Aiyanār is generally represented in a sitting posture as a red-skinned man. On his head he wears a crown; on his forehead are painted the three white lines of the Vibhūti; in his tuft-like locks hang strings of

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[296] *Ziegenbalg* gives on p. 150 their names as Trikarāśūri, Māyākaraśūrī, Raktacāmuṇḍā, Vanacāriṇī (Kāṭṭēri), Bhagavatī, Bālaśakti, and Bhuvanaśakti.

[297] In this mantra occur the names of the two wives of Aiyanār: Ēkōnacatvāriṁśadakṣarō mantraḥ. Pūrṇāpuṣkalāmbāsamētaśrīhariharaputrāya namaḥ.

[298] See p. 106, Note 100. The villagers join on such occasions in a Picnic *Samārādhanai,* anoint the Kannimār, a woman possessed with them begins to dance, and animals are sacrificed.

pearls, which adorn also his ears and his neck; and on his chest he wears a sort of decoration. Ornaments also cover his arms, hands, feet and even his waist. As an emblem of his royal dignity he carries a sceptre in his hand. A girdle, *Vākuppaṭṭai*, encircles his waist and his left leg; flowers hang from his shoulders; the upper part of his body is naked; while a gay-coloured garment surrounds his lower extremities.

Two or three times a day are sacrifices presented to Aiyanār. These take the form either of libations, or of offerings of food, or of burnt sacrifices, and are accompanied by special prayers and ceremonies. Gifts consisting of spirituous liquor, or of animals, such as pigs, goats, cocks and other creatures, are also presented to Aiyanār, such animals being beheaded on the altar outside his temple. These bloody and spirituous offerings are made by Śūdra priests or Paṇḏārams without the participation of Brāhmans who, however, perform the bloodless and purer ritual. In fact, as previously mentioned, two sides, a bright and a dark one, are distinguishable in the worship of Aiyanār.

Besides these daily services a special festival in honor of Aiyanār is held once a year in every village. This feast, which has no fixed date, falls mostly either after the first or second harvest, and lasts from seven to nine days. The villagers carry the figures of Aiyauār and his two wives through the streets, both in the morning and in the evening. Every inhabitant is bound to contribute towards the expenses according to his means, and to offer to Aiyanār special sacrifices in the shape of cooked rice, eatables, drink, or animals. Aiyanār and his wives are then praised for the protection and assistance they have granted during the past year, and the continuation of his favour is requested for the ensuing year.

Aiyanār is known by various names such as the warrior of

a sacred crown, *Tirumuḍisēvakar;* the good warrior, *Nallasēvakar;* the god who lives outside the village, *Puṟattavan;* the beautiful sea-coloured, *Pūṅkaḍalvaṇṇan;* the Lord, *Śāttān;* the husband of Pūraṇai, *Pūraṇaikēḻvan;* the husband of Puṭkalai, *Puṭkalaimaṇāḷan;* the ascetic, *Yōgi;* the stainless, *Orumāśattān;* one who has a fierce weapon, *Caṇḍāyudhan;* the venerable, *Āriyan;* the protector of virtue, *Arattaikkāppōn;* the rider on a white elephant, *Veḷḷaiyānaiyūrti;* the youth, *Kumāran;* the father (master), *Aiyan;* the son of Harihara, *Hariharaputtiran;* he who has a fowl in his flag, *Kōḻikkoḍiyōn;* etc.[299]

The two wives of Aiyanār, *Pūraṇai* and *Puṭkalai*, have yellow complexions. They wear crowns on their heads, in one hand they hold a flower, while the other hangs down empty. Besides this they have the usual ornaments. Pūraṇai wears on her forehead the black *Kastūri*-mark, while Puṭkalai is distinguished by the *Vibhūti*, the three holy white streaks (*Tirunīṟu* in Tamil). They sit on one leg, Pūraṇai on the left, and Puṭkalai on the right side of her husband, in whose duties and honors they participate.

With these remarks I finish this brief discussion on the position of the Grāmadēvatās and Aiyanār, a subject which is important enough to attract more attention than it has done hitherto, for these divinities represent the national deities of the non-Aryan population. Their worship has indeed been preserved, but it has been altered considerably owing to foreign influence, though not for the better.

On Bhūtas, or Fiends, Ghosts, and Devils.

Demoniac beings or *Bhūtas*,—be they Fiends, Ghosts or Devils, whether created as such from the beginning or at a subsequent period, and whether or not the restless spirits

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[299] Compare *Ziegenbalg*, p. 152.

of the deceased,—frighten the minds and threaten the lives of mortals in this world. They exercise their baneful influence not only over rude barbarians, or credulous masses, but also over individuals otherwise sensible. Their existence is generally asserted, and their power supported by the wiles of subtle priestcraft. The various religious beliefs and philosophical systems, though agreeing on some vague points, have all their special dogmas or characteristic opinions on matters spiritual and demoniac. There are men who believe that they are in possession of the key which opens the door to the mysteries beyond human ken, but it is useless to systematize topics which appertain to speculation, and in which imagination occupies the place of reality.

The inventive genius of the Hindus has peopled the world with variously formed and differently endowed creatures, who derive their origin from divine sources. In the Amarakōśa, the well-known Sanskrit vocabulary, are enumerated as such the Vidyādharas, Apsarases, Yakṣas, Rakṣases, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Piśācas, Guhyakas, Siddhas and Bhūtas.[300] Excepting the Rakṣases, Piśācas and Bhūtas, an inclination towards good is found prevailing in all of these, but in some Bhūtas there is an equal disposition towards good as towards evil, while the majority of Rakṣases are decidedly bad.

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[300] See *Amarakōśa*, I, 1, 1, 6:
Vidyādharō' psarō-Yakṣa-Rakṣō-Gandharva-Kinnarāḥ
Piśācō Guhyakaḥ Siddhō Bhūtō'mī dēvayōnayaḥ.
Compare also *Vaijayantī*, Yakṣādyadhyāya, 1—5.

1. Sparśānandāstvapsarasas sumadāśca ratēmadāḥ
svarvēśyāścātha khāṣēyō yakṣō'tha suragāyanaḥ;
2. Gandharvō gātugāndharvau siddhās syus sanakādayaḥ,
bhūtāputrās tu bhūtāni bhūtāśca śivapārśvagāḥ;
3. Kinnarās syuḥ kimpuruṣā mayavō'śvamukhāśca tē
guhyakā māṇicarayas tathā dēvajanās sutāḥ;
4. Vidyādharās tu dyucarāḥ khēcarās satyayauvanāḥ
piśācas syāt kāpiśēyō'nṛjur darvaśca piṇḍakaḥ;
5. Dēvayōnaya ētē syus svarvēśyādyās sarakṣasaḥ.

I have adopted the Sanskrit term *Bhūta* (being), as an expression that applies to all the different beings discussed in this chapter, as this term is indeed applicable to all, though it is in certain districts of Southern India only used in relation to a particular species of demons. For the sake of classification, I propose to divide these Bhūtas into three groups. Those who compose the first group, I call *Fiends*. They are endowed with superhuman powers, and possess material bodies of various kinds, which they can change as they list, and which are subject to destruction. As free agents, they can choose between good and evil, but a disposition towards evil preponderates in their character, as the examples of Rāvaṇa and Hiraṇyakaśipu, and the exceptions of Vibhīṣaṇa and Prahlāda sufficiently prove. The so-called Asuras, Dānavas, Daityas and Rākṣasas belong to this group. All these are personations either of the hostile powers of nature, or of mighty human foes, both which have been eventually converted into superhuman beings.

The second group consists of the *Ghosts* of those who once moved as living creatures in this world, but who, after having departed their mundane life, roam restlessly about, until they are united with the Supreme Spirit, and obtain Final Beatitude by complete absorption into it.

The third group consists of the *Devils* or Demons, who persecute, seduce and destroy mankind. These Demons are often divided into two classes, consisting of ruling and ministering spirits, who are specially known as Piśācas and Bhūtas.

The main object of this inquiry is to ascertain, if possible, the ethnological origin of these groups, and of the several members which constitute them. When this object has been achieved, and the difference between Aryan and non-Aryan demonology has been successfully defined, the later

development of both can be more easily understood, and the modifications, which the beliefs of both races underwent, can be traced with greater exactness. It is not possible, however, at this stage of our knowledge to arrive at a final decision on this subject, and all that can meanwhile be achieved is, to collect as much evidence as possible and to arrange the material in a lucid and at the same time accurate manner.

A. About Fiends.

Man-eating ogres and ogresses, formidable giants, treacherous gnomes, mischievous sprites, wicked elves *et hoc omne genus,* who delight in teasing and destroying men, are called fiends. In Sanskrit literature they appear especially as Dānavas, Daityas, Rākṣasas and Asuras. To this class may be added the evil sorcerers and wizards, known in the Vēda as *Yātus, Yātudhānas* and *Yātudhānīs,* with whom may be coupled the vile Kimīdins.[301] As I have already observed, some substantial basis, supplied by natural phenomena or events, underlies the assumption of the existence of these beings. In the Ṛgvēda we encounter them as Dānavas, or sons of Danu and Kaśyapa; as Daityas or sons of Diti and Kaśyapa, in contrast to the divine Ādityas, the sons of Diti's sister Aditi and of Kaśyapa; as Asuras and as Dāsas or Dasyus, the human foes of the Aryan invaders.

The principal of the Dānavas, of whom there are seven, is *Vṛtra,* who is called the ancestor of the dragons, *prathamajā ahīnām.* He opposes suffering mankind, and is feared by all the gods, whom he openly defies. He keeps back and steals the heavenly waters, *i.e.,* he prevents them from coming down as rain, and for this offence Indra destroys him with his thunderbolt.[302] *Vala,* cave (in which the

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301 Compare *Ṛgvēda*, 1, 35, 10; VII, 1, 5, etc., and VII, 104, 2; X, 87, 24.

302 See *Ṛgvēda*, 1, 32, 3, 4, 9; II, 11, 18; X, 120, 6.

rain-cows are confined), is the name of another demon, who is in later works called the brother of Vṛtra.[303] Besides these are mentioned in the Ṛgvēda the Dānava *Aurṇavābha,* the handless *Kunāra* who was crushed by Indra; *Kuyava* who causes bad harvests and whose two young wives (*yōṣī*) bathe in milk and ought to be drowned; the blaspheming *Kuyavāk;* the demon *Jarūtha* whom Agni killed; *Rauhiṇa* who ascended into heaven and whom Indra tore into pieces; *Rudhikra* who was likewise destroyed by Indra; *Viśiśipra* who was vanquished by Manu and others.[304]

Anarśani, Namuci, Pipru, Śambara, Sṛbinda, Śuṣṇa, and the Dāsa *Vṛṣaśipra,* who practised the magic arts and was slain by Indra, are probably prototypes of non-Aryan foes.[305]

A female fiend *Arāyī* is also frequently mentioned in the Vēda. She is described as ugly, one-eyed and hipped. She kills the fœtus in the womb and hates Indra.[306]

It is needless to remark that the Atharvaṇavēda contains much fuller information about these fiends, and the means of rendering harmless their diabolical machinations by the use of efficacious charms and mantras. Demons insidiously try to inflict injury (*druh*), or hurt (*rakṣas*). *Druh,* when personified, moves in darkness, gets hold of the villain, hates Indra, and finds its slayer in Bṛhaspati, who preserves truth and the sacrifice.[307] *Rakṣas* is connected with all that is bad and objectionable; it is impure, pernicious

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[303] See *above,* p. 15, Note 11.

[304] See *Ṛgvēda,* II, 11, 18; VIII, 32, 26, 66, 2; III, 30, 8; I, 103, 8; I, 104, 3; I, 174, 7; I, 103, 8, 104, 3; VII, 1, 7; II, 12, 12; II, 14, 5; and V, 45, 6.

[305] See *Ṛgvēda,* VIII, 32, 2; II, 14, 5; I, 51, 5; VII, 99, 5; I, 33, 12; I, 103, 8; and VII, 99, 4.

[306] See *Ṛgvēda,* X, 155.

[307] See *Ṛgvēda,* I, 133, 1; II, 30, 9; III, 31, 19; IV, 23, 7, etc. Compare *Der Rigveda* von Alfred Ludwig, III, pp. 338, 339.

and base.[308] Both engender mischief, and gods as well as men must fight against *druh* and *rakṣas* in order to destroy them. Asuras and Rākṣasas are eventually regarded as beings who particularly practise *druh* and *rakṣas*, and whose nature is so undefined, that no difference is made between them and men. Indeed just as the character of human beings varies, so also does theirs vary, and they are, according to their pleasure, hostile or friendly, malevolent or benevolent. Occupying a position midway between gods and men, the fiends possess like both of them bodies adequate to their condition, bodies which partake of the ethereal elements of the deities and of the earthly elements of human beings. Among themselves the fiends differ in size and shape, some of them possessing the power to assume whatever form they desire. Like gods and men they share in the three qualities, and like men they are also subject to the laws of transmigration.

The term *Asura*, from *asu*, life (root *as*, to live), applies in the Ṛgvēda principally to Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, but also to other gods as Pūṣan, Rudra, Savitṛ, Sōma and the Maruts.[309] In the tenth Maṇḍala it is, however, already used in the sense of impious demon, and as such, *e.g.*, applied to Pipru.[310] When the Vedic gods were in course of time thoroughly displaced, a fixed distinction was made between Gods and Asuras, and a separate creation assigned to both, the Gods being created by the mouth, and the Asuras by the lower breath of Prajāpati.[311] The Viṣṇupurāṇa relates that Brahman created the Asuras while he was pervaded with darkness, and that they, his firstborn, proceeded from his thigh. When the darkness which developed into

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[308] See *Ṛgvēda*, I, 12, 5 : VI, 16. 29, etc.

[309] Compare *above*, p. 275.

[310] Compare *Ṛgvēda*, X, 138, 3.

[311] See *above*, p. 281.

night had deserted him, he became pleased, and from his mouth issued the Gods, endowed with goodness. In consequence of these facts, the Asuras prevail at night and the Gods during daytime.[312] In the account of the creation contained in the Mānavadharmaśāstra, the Asuras sink to a lower depth, for they were created by seven Manus, the offspring of the ten Prajāpatis, together with the Yakṣas, Rakṣases, Piśācas, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Nāgas, Serpents, winged Birds and Pitṛs, after the Gods and the Maharṣis or great sages.[313]

The Asuras, Dānavas and Daityas are engaged in continual fight with the Dēvas, and their repeated attempts to thrust the Gods from their thrones, resemble the efforts which the Titans made to defeat the Olympians.[314] The Gods, however, did not always employ fair means to ensure victory, but had recourse to mean tricks. At the churning of the ocean, the Dēvas required the assistance of the Daityas, and in order to obtain it, promised them an equal share of the Nectar or *Amṛta* which would be produced from the agitated sea. The serpent Vāsuki was wound like a cord round the mountain Mandara, the Gods headed by Kṛṣṇa being stationed at the tail, the Daityas and Dānavas at the

[312] See Viṣṇupurāṇa, I, 5, 28—32 :

29. Yuktātmanas tamōmātrā udriktābhūt prajāpatēḥ
sisṛkṣōr jaghanāt pūrvam asurā jajñirē tataḥ.

36. Sisṛkṣur anyadēhasthaḥ prītim āpa tatas surāḥ
sattvōdriktāḥ samudbhūtā mukhatō brahmaṅō dvija.

32. Tyaktā sāpi tanus tēna sattvaprāyam abhūd dinam
tatō hi balinō rātrāvasurā dēvatā divā.

[313] See *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, I, 37 :
Yakṣarakṣaḥpiśācāṁśca gandharvāpsarasō' surān
nāgān sarpān suparṅāṃśca pitṝṇām ca pṛthag gaṅān.

[314] In the *Amarakōśa*, I, 1, 1, 7, the Asuras are styled :
Asurā Daitya-Daitēya-Danujēndrāri-Dānavāḥ
Śukraśiṣyā Ditisutāḥ Pūrvadēvāḥ Suradviṣaḥ ;

and in the *Vaijayantī*, Yakṣādyadhyāya, p. 15, lines 18, 19 :
Asurā Dānavā Daityā Daitēyā Dēvaśatravaḥ,
Pūrvadēvāś Śukraśiṣyā Rasāgēhā Haridviṣaḥ.

head. The latter in consequence were stifled by the fiery fumes emitted from the mouth of the serpent, while the Gods were refreshed by the pleasant showers descending from the clouds. When Dhanvantari appeared with the Amṛta cup in his hands, the Daityas tried to snatch it from him, but Viṣṇu assuming the shape of a beautiful woman, fascinated them and secured the Amṛta for the Gods. They drank it, and through this invigorating draught they were enabled to resist the onslaught of the enraged Daityas and to hurl them to Pātāla.[315] As the Daityas had refused the Surā or Vāruṇī, *i.e.*, the goddess of wine, while the Gods had accepted her, the latter, so goes this version, were styled *Suras*, and the former *Asuras*.

The number of the Asuras is continually increasing, and the stories about them become more complicated and wonderful in course of time. It is indeed not difficult to perceive that a foreign element, a love of marvels and terrors, has joined the Aryan stock, and that these miraculous legends are the product of combined Aryan and non-Aryan conceptions. The simple stories of the Vedic period have given place to elaborate descriptions, manifesting the change which has come over the religious and ethnological constitution of the population. As a plain example of this fact, I quote only the remarkable accounts about Asuras, which are contained in the Āsurakāṇḍa, of the Śivarahasyakhaṇḍa, a portion of the Śaṅkarasaṁhitā of the Skāndapurāṇa. One such story will, I believe, suffice to prove this assertion.

The Maharṣi *Kasyapa* became through his wife Diti, the father of sixty-four crores of Daityas, the natural enemies of the Gods or Ādityas, the sons of Kaśyapa and Aditi. ***Asurēndra*** was the chief of these Daityas, who married

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[315] See *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 1, 9, 80—109.

Maṅgalakēśī. Their daughter *Surasā* was educated by *Śukrācārya*, the instructor of the Daityas. As she proved herself a very apt pupil and became thoroughly versed in all the arts and sciences which he taught, he conferred on her, as an honour, the name *Māyā* and resolved to make use of her to further his designs which aimed at the restoration of the waning power of the Asuras. In order to gain this object, he induced Māyā to approach Kaśyapa and to obtain from him offspring, able to fight and subdue the Gods. Won over to his plans she repaired to the banks of the Ganges, where by her incantations she created a most beautiful pleasure garden near the place where Kaśyapa was undergoing his penance, and as soon as he opened his eyes, he beheld her and fell in love with her. But she did not intend to yield so easily to Kaśyapa. Therefore, after informing him that she did not want to be disturbed, as she had come hither from Mount Mēru for the sake of her penance, she disappeared so suddenly, that Kaśyapa in his excitement fell into a swoon. Māyā at last consented to remain with Kaśyapa, if he would agree to assume whatever form she pleased. This he did, and *Śūrapadmāsura* was the result of her first connection in the first *Yāma*, besides 30,000 Daityas who were produced from her perspiration. The child of the second was *Siṁhavaktra*, or *Tāraka*, who had 1,000 faces and 2,000 arms, and was born when both had assumed the shape of lions. Together with *Siṁhavaktrāsura* appeared 40,000 Daityas. The third time, both becoming elephants, *Gajamukha* was born with another 40,000 Daityas, and at last in sheep form was born the female Demon *Ajāmukhī*. After changing their forms for some time longer into tigers, cows, pigs, etc., and producing various other Asuras and two hundred thousand Daityas, they re-assumed again their original shape. When Śūrapadmāsura consulted Kaśyapa as to what he should do, the father of the Gods advised him to obtain through severe penance

the favor of Śambhu. At the suggestion of his mother he performed Vīrayāga with his brothers at Vaṭadvīpa, in order to acquire wealth and power; while she also imparted to them all that she had learnt from Śukrācārya. They then made a sacrifice which lasted for 10,000 years, on a piece of ground measuring 10,000 yōjauas. Śūrapadma sacrificed at the chief pit which extended over 1,000 yōjanas, while Siṁhavaktra offered oblations at the 108 surrounding pits; but this sacrifice was not graciously accepted by the deity, until Śūrapadma cut his own body into pieces and threw them into the fire. Śūrapadma then conquered the whole world, all the gods included, except Śiva. Not content with his victory, he maltreated the gods in such a shameful manner that they could no longer bear the indignities heaped upon them, and applied to Śiva for redress.[316]

As Mahēśvara thought that the Gods had been sufficiently punished for their previous misbehaviour, because Śūrapadmāsura had with Śiva's consent subjected and tormented them for a hundred and eight yugas, he permitted his son Ṣaṇmukha or Subrahmaṇya to take the field against the Asuras. The cause of Śiva's grudge against the Gods was

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[316] The creation of the nine Kanyās from the nine gems of Pārvatī's anklet is connected with this incident For when the Gods rushed in despair into Śiva's room, he was seated there with Pārvatī, and when, scared she got up in haste, nine gems fell out from her anklet. On looking at them, Śiva saw that they reflected her own image, and this so fascinated him that he caused the gems to approach him, which they did in the form of beautiful ladies. This proceeding, however, aroused the jealousy of Pārvatī, who invoked a curse on them that they should remain *garbhiṇī*, i.e., pregnant, without bringing forth children. In their agitation brought on by this curse, the nine Kanyās produced through their perspiration innumerable Gaṇas. At last Pārvatī took pity on their miserable condition, removed the curse, and they were delivered of nine heroes. The names of these nine Kanyās and their nine sons were respectively: 1. Ratnavallī and Vīrabāhu, 2. Taralavallī and Vīrakēsarin, 3. Pauṣivallī and Vīramahēndra, 4. Gōmēdhavallī and Vīramahēśvara, 5. Vaiḍūryavallī and Vīrapurandara, 6. Vajravallī and Vīrarākṣasa, 7. Marakatavallī and Vīramārtaṇḍa, 8. Pravālavallī and Vīrāntaka, 9. Nīlavallī and Vīradhīra.

that they all had attended the sacrifice of Dakṣa, to which he had not been invited, and he revenged himself on the Gods, by creating for their subjugation these numberless Asuras and Daityas. The boon which Śūrapadmāsura had obtained was, that he should not be conquered by any existing creature or god, nay not even by Śiva himself, or, as he is called, by the five-faced or *Pañcamukha*. As Śiva could not break his promise, he created Subrahmaṇya or *Ṣaṇmukha*, the six-faced, and thus accomplished the destruction of the Asuras without breaking his word to Siṁhamukhāsura. At the request of Śiva, Brahman created as many Bhūtas as could be accommodated within 1,000 yōjanas. With these myriads of troops, who were joined by the 330 millions of Gods and 100,000 heroes, Subrahmaṇya was able to destroy the Asuras. To give an idea of the number of warriors who followed Subrahmaṇya, it is said that the seven seas were dried up by their marching and that the sun and the moon were covered with dust.[317] The campaign of Subrahmaṇya put a final stop to the power of the Daityas.

Together with the Asuras are generally mentioned the Rākṣasas. They are described as cruel, deceitful, men-eating ogres, who roam about at nights and use witchcraft to deceive their opponents and to obtain their object.[318]

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[317] It is said that the God of the seas complained to Subrahmaṇya about this hardship, but the manner in which the latter redressed this well-founded charge does not bear repeating.

[318] See *Amarakōśa*, I, 1, 1, 55, 56.

55. Rākṣasaḥ kauṇapaḥ kravyāt kravyādō'srapa āśaraḥ
rātriñcarō rātricaraḥ karburō nikaṣātmajaḥ

56. Yātudhānaḥ puṇyajanō nairṛtō yāturakṣasī;

and *Vaijayantī*, Lōkapālādhyāya, p. 12, śl. 40, 41.

40. Atha rakṣāṁsi yātūni rākṣasā alalōhitāḥ
rātriñcarā rātricarāḥ kravyātkravyādanairṛtāḥ,

41. Kaikaśēyā yātudhānāḥ puruṣādāḥ pravāhikāḥ
anuṣā vidhurā raktagrahāś śaṅkava āśarāḥ.

Rāvaṇa, son of Viśravas and grandson of Brahman, is regarded as the chief representative of the Rākṣasas. He is the powerful foe of Rāma, son of Daśaratha, and the Rāmāyaṇa contains a full account of his greatness and defeat. He is as much abhorred by the Brāhmans, as he is esteemed by their foes, the Jains, and though some Hindus declare Rāvaṇa to have originally been a Brāhman, who was for his iniquity cursed so as to be reborn a Rākṣasa, he may with greater probability be regarded as the real representative of the original inhabitants of this country.[319]

The Vāyupurāṇa regards them as descendants of Rakṣas, son of Kaśyapa and Khaṣā. The meaning of the word Rakṣas which has above been given as *hurt*, is elsewhere in the Purāṇas derived from the word *rakṣ*, to protect. According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, the Rākṣasas, tormented at their creation by excruciating hunger, appealed to Brahman to preserve them from starvation,[320] while the Bhāgavatapurāṇa contends that the Rākṣasas deranged by hunger, attacked together with the Yakṣas Brahman who had assumed a nightlike body, and that the Creator cried out to them not to eat, but to protect him.[321]

The dwelling places of the Dānavas, Daityas, Yakṣas, Nāgas and similar beings are the seven regions of Pātāla, or lower world, known as Atala, Vitala, Nitala, Gabhastimat,

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[319] See *above* pp. 87—89, 136—138, 184, 185, 375—378, 502.

[320] See p. 517 ; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, I, 5, 40 :

40. Kṣutkṣāmānandhakārē' tha sō' sṛjad bhagavāṁstataḥ
virūpāḥ śmaśrulā jātās tē' bhyadhāvanta tam prabhum.

41. Maivam bhō rakṣyatām ēṣa yair uktam rākṣasās tu tē.

[321] See *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, III, 20, 18—20 :

18. Visasarjātmanaḥ kāyam nābhyanandaṁstamōmayam
jagṛbur Yakṣarakṣāṁsi rātrim kṣuttṛṭsamudbhavām,

19. Kṣuttṛḍbhyām upasṛṣṭās tē tam jagdhum abhidudruvuḥ
mā rakṣatainam jakṣadhvam ityūcuḥ kṣuttṛḍarditāḥ.

20. Dēvas tān āha saṁvignō mā mām jakṣata rakṣata
ahō mē yakṣarakṣāṁsi prajā yūyam babhūvitha.

Mahātala, Sutala aud Pātāla according to the Viṣṇupurāṇa. The Pātāla is by no means a doleful abode. The sage Nārada declared after returning from it, that it was far more pleasant than the heaven of Indra. It is richly adorned with beautiful woods, streams and lakes covered with lotus. The melodious songs of birds resound in the air, mingled with the strains of musical instruments, fragrant perfumes pervade the air, which is lighted but not heated in the day by the rays of the sun, while the moon imparts light without coldness during the night. The beautiful daughters of the Dānavas and Daityas who reside in splendid palaces, enliven these worlds, whose soil is respectively white, black, red, yellow, gravelly, stony and golden.[322] If we now take

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[322] The names of these seven worlds are variously given: see *above*, p. 301, Note 19.

Compare Viṣṇupurāṇa, II, 5, 1:—

1. Vistāra ēṣa kathitaḥ pṛthivyā bhavatō mayā
saptatis tu sahasrāṇi dvijōcchrāyō'pi kathyatē.
2. Daśasāhasram ēkaikam pātālam muniśattama
Atalam Vitalañ caiva Nitalañca Gabhastimat,
3. Mahākhyam Sutalañ cāgryam pātālañcāpi saptamam
śuklāḥ kṛṣṇāruṇāḥ pītaśarkarāḥ śailakāñcanāḥ.
4. Bhūmayō yatra Maitrēya varaprāsādaśōbhitāḥ
tēṣu Dānavadaitēyajātayaḥ śatasaṅghaśaḥ.
5. Nivasanti mahānāgajātayaśca mahāmunē
svarlōkād api ramyāṇi Pātālāniti Nāradaḥ
6. Prāha svargasadām madhyē Pātālēbhyō gatō divam
āhlādakāriṇaḥ śubhrā maṇayō yatra suprabhāḥ
7. Nānābharaṇabhūṣāstu Pātālam kēna tatsamam
Daityadānavakanyābhir itaścētaśca śōbhitē,
8. Pātālē kasya na prītir vimuktasyāpi jāyatē
Divārkaraśmayō yatra prabhām tanvanti nātapam,
9. Śaśinaśca na śītāya niśi dyōtāya kēvalam
bhakṣyabhōjyamahāpānamuditair atibhōgibhiḥ
10. Yatra na jñāyatē kālō gatōpi Danujādibhiḥ
vanāni nadyō ramyāṇi sarāṁsi kamalākarāḥ
11. Puṁskōkilānām lāpāśca manōjñānyambarāṇi ca
bhūṣaṇāni ca ramyāṇi gandhāḍhyañ cānulēpanam
12. Vīṇāvēṇumṛdaṅgānām nādais tūryāṇi ca dvija
ētānyanyāni cōdārabhāgyabhōgyāni dānavaiḥ.

a retrospect of this subject, I believe it will be admitted that the Asuras, Rākṣasas and other fiendish demons owe their existence primarily to the imagination of Aryan minds, but that the non-Aryan element of the Indian population contributed afterwards considerably to the further development and boundless enlargement of the number, activity, and power of these fiends.

B. About Ghosts.

Under Ghosts I understand here the spirits of the departed. There is hardly a human being in existence, who even if he regards this earthly life as ending with death and not followed by an here-after, has not at some time considered what may become of him, after he has shuffled off his mortal coil. The ancient Aryans of India though delighting in the pleasures of sublunar life, could not shut their eyes to the stern necessity of leaving it. Birth and death are inseparably connected, and death's companion (*mṛtyubandhu*) is man. As every one must relinquish this life, one should leave it as late as possible, after having enjoyed it for the longest possible time, *i.e.*, for a period of at least one hundred years. The hymns of the Ṛgvēda prefer in consequence the breaths of air in this world to the still features of death and to the uncertain fate of the next life. Death however, cannot be avoided, and the dead must be disposed of. In the earliest stages of Aryan society these eventualities had been taken into consideration. Both burying and burning the dead were generally resorted to, and a distinction is made between burnt (*agnidagdha*), and unburnt (*anagnidagdha*; see *Ṛgvēda*, X, 15, 11, 14),

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13. Daityōragaiśca bhujyantē Pātālāntaragōcaraiḥ;
pātālānām adhaś cāstē viṣṇōr yā tāmasī tanuḥ.

Besides other Purāṇas see *Garuḍapurāṇa*, I, 57, whose third ślōka differs in the description of Pātāla:

3. Kṛṣṇā śuklāruṇā pītā śarkarā śailakāñcanā
bhūmayas tatra daitēyā vasanti ca bhujaṅgamāḥ.

or buried Manes.[323] Besides these the Atharvaṇavēda (XVIII, 2, 34) mentions two other Manes, calling them *parōpta* and *uddhita*.[324] In various hymns of the Ṛgvēda we find allusions to these ceremonials, as well as lengthy descriptions of the proceedings observed on such occasions. Professor von Roth has in the treatise quoted above given with annotations a classical German translation of the 18th hymn of the 10th Maṇḍala of the Ṛgvēda, which describes most probably the burial of a Kṣatriya. As it is a very important and significant hymn, I give it in the English translation of Mr. R. T. H. Griffith:[325]

1. "Go hence, O Death, pursue thy special pathway
 apart from that which gods are wont to travel.
 To thee I say it who hast eyes and hearest; touch
 not our offspring, injure not our heroes.
2. As ye have come effacing Mṛityu's footstep, to
 farther times prolonging your existence,
 May ye be rich in children and possessions, cleansed,
 purified, and meet for sacrificing.
3. Divided from the dead are these, the living: now
 is our calling on the gods successful,
 We have come forth for dancing and for laughter,
 to farther times prolonging our existence.
4. Here I erect this rampart for the living; let none
 of these, none other, reach this limit.
 May they survive a hundred lengthened autumns,
 and may they bury Death beneath this mountain.
5. As the days follow days in close succession, as with
 the seasons duly come the seasons,

[323] See Jacob Grimm *Ueber das Verbrennen der Leichen*, Berl. Acad., 1849; G. Roth *Die Todtenbestattung im indischen Alterthum*, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. VIII, 467—475; Max Müller *Die Todtenbestattung bei den Brahmanen, ibidem* Vol. IX, I—LXXXII; Albrecht Weber *Eine Legende des Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa über die strafende Vergeltung nach dem Tode, ibidem*, pp. 237—243; Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts* V, 284 ff; and Heinrich Zimmer *Altindisches Leben*, pp. 400—422.

[324] See *Atharvaṇavēda*, XVIII, 2, 34:
 34. Yē nikhātā yē parōptā yē' dagdhā yē cōddhitāḥ
 sarvāṁstān agna ā vaha pitṝn haviṣē attavē.

[325] See *The Hymns of the Rigveda* translated by Ralph T. H. Griffith, Vol. IV, pp. 137—139.

As each successor fails not his foregoer, so form the lives of these, O great Ordainer.

6. Live your full lives and find old age delightful, all of you striving one behind the other.
May Twashtar, maker of fair things, be gracious, and lengthen out the days of your existence.

7. Let those unwidowed dames with noble husbands adorn themselves with fragrant balm and unguent.
Decked with fair jewels, tearless, free from sorrow, first let the matrons pass into their houses.

8. Rise, come unto the world of life, O woman! come, he is lifeless by whose side thou liest.
Wifehood with this thy husband was thy portion, who took thy hand and wooed thee as a lover.

9. From his dead hand I take the bow he carried, that it may be our power and might and glory,
There art thou, there; and here with noble heroes may be o'ercome all hosts that fight against us.

10. Betake thee to the lap of earth the mother, of earth far-spreading, very kind and gracious.
Young dame, wool-soft unto the guerdon-giver, may she preserve thee from destruction's bosom.

11. Heave thyself, earth, nor press thee downward heavily: afford him easy access, gently tending him.
Earth, as a mother wraps her skirt about her child, so cover him.

12. Now let the heaving earth be free from motion: yea, let a thousand clods remain above him.
Be they to him a home distilling fatness, here let them ever be his place of refuge.

13. I stay the earth from thee while over thee I place this piece of earth. May I be free from injury.
Here let the fathers keep this pillar firm for thee, and here let Yama make thee an abiding-place.

14. Even as an arrow's feathers, they have laid me down at day's decline.
My parting speech have I drawn back as 'twere a courser with the rein."

This hymn shows us the relations and friends assembled round the corpse, with the widow sitting in the centre of the group. The head-man stands at the side of the dead near the lighted altar, and requests Death to spare the living survivors. For this purpose he places a stone between the mourners and the dead, as a frontier-mark between

the realm of death and the land of the living, and Death, who is in possession of the dead, is not allowed to overstep that boundary. Moreover, the hope is expressed that none of the mourners be removed from life before their time. The married friends of the widow whose husbands are still alive, and who, dressed in festive garments, do not show any sign of grief, present their libation to the departed. When the widow has performed the last sad duty she owes to her husband, she is asked to sever herself from the dead, and, the bond between them being dissolved, she leaves her dead husband and returns to the living.[326] After this the bow is taken from the hand of the corpse, to be preserved for the use of the community. The body is then committed to the earth, and when the grave is closed, the earth is asked to lie softly over the dead and not to press on him. With a prayer that this participation in the burial may not hurt him, the head-man commits the departed to the care of the Pitṛs and to the protection of Yama to secure for him a seat in heaven.

The famous funeral hymn addressed to Agni commences in Mr. Griffith's translation as follows:[327]

1. Burn him not up, nor quite consume him, Agni: let
   not his body or his skin be scattered.
   O Jātavēdas, when thou hast matured him, then
   send him on his way unto the Fathers.
2. When thou hast made him ready, Jātavēdas then do
   thou give him over to the Fathers.
   When he attains unto the life that waits him, he will
   obey the Deities' commandment.

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[326] Prof. von Roth observes *loco citato*, p. 475, that this request made to the widow to leave her dead husband, contains a clear refutation of the assertion of the Brāhmans, that the Vēda orders the self-cremation of the widow.

Compare about the burial *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 89, 1; *Atharvaṇavēda*, V, 30, 14; XVIII, 2, 25, 52; XVIII, 3, 70, etc.

[327] See *Hymns of the Ṛigvēda*, X, 16, Vol. IV, pp. 132, 133.

Compare Dr. J. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, V, pp. 297. 298, and *Atharvaṇavēda*, XVIII, 2, etc.

3. The sun receive thine eye, the wind thy spirit; go, as thy merit is, to earth or heaven.
Go, if it be thy lot, unto the waters; go make thine home in plants with all thy members.
4. Thy portion is the goat; with heat consume him; let thy fierce flame, thy glowing splendour, burn him,
With thine auspicious forms, O Jātavēdas, bear this man to the region of the pious.
5. Again, O Agni, to the Fathers send him, who offered in thee, goes with our oblations.
Wearing now life let him increase his offspring: let him rejoin a body, Jātavēdas.

While the inanimate body is thus committed to the covering earth or the burning fire, the incorporeal portion goes to that other world to which the virtuous or sinful acts of the person consign him. Various hymns acknowledge the existence of a future life, where rewards are obtained for the good deeds performed on earth, and punishments are meted out for crimes committed in this world; in fact the immortality of the soul forms part of the creed of the Vedic religion.[328] Preceded by the sacrificial he-goat and protected by Pūṣan, the soul wanders through dense darkness a long and tedious way, until it reaches the final goal and arrives at the region of the blessed, after crossing in a boat the river which lies between both spheres.

The solemn and simple funeral rites of the Vedic times gradually changed and became more and more complicated and intricate, as the priestly powers of the Brāhmans increased. Transmigration, a new article of faith apparently unknown to the Vedic people, became the chief dogma of Brahmanic religion, which also enforced widow-burning. It cannot be contended, however, that the later Brāhman priests invented and introduced this cruel custom, which must have been known, though perhaps not observed, in Vedic times, as it was also practised by other kindred Aryan races.

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[328] See *Ṛgvēda*, X, 14, 8, X, 27, 21.

The custom of burying the dead was abandoned and only followed in the case of very young children and holy hermits. Cremation of the body was introduced into general use, and the ceremonial fashioned accordingly. For the support of the ghosts of the Prēta or deceased, and of the Fathers, or Pitṛs, food must be supplied, and this is offered in the shape of balls (*piṇḍa*) consisting of rice and flour. Also libations of water (*udaka*) must be poured out for the refreshment of the *Pitṛs*, and as this duty devolves on the nearest relations, they are respectively called Sapiṇḍas and Samānōdakas. The custom now is, as soon as a man has died, for his son or next heir to place six rice-balls at six different places. The first is deposited at the place where death has occurred, this ball is called *Śava*, the second at the house door is known as *Pāntha*, the third is laid where four roads meet and named *Khēcara*, the fourth is placed where the corpse is set down and styled *Bhūta*, the fifth or *Sādhaka* is put where the firewood is heaped together, and the sixth or *Prēta* where the bones are collected. The first four piṇḍas are respectively devoted to the Bhūmidēvatā, Vāstudēvatā, Bhūta and to the Daśadiśas (ten regions).[329]

After all the prescribed ceremonies of the funeral necessary for cleaning the corpse, leaving the death-house, carrying the body to the burning-place, together with the muttering of the indispensable Mantras, have been performed, the corpse is duly cremated. On the first morning after the funeral a human figure, representing the

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[329] See *Garuḍapurāṇa*, II, 5, 40—53.

48. Ṣaḍ ēva maraṇasthānē dvāri catvarakē tathā
viśrāmē kāṣṭhacayanē tathā sañcayanē khaga.

49. Mṛtisthānē śavō nāma bhūmis tuṣyati dēvatā
pānthō dvāri bhavēt tēna prītā syād vāstudēvatā.

50. Catvarē khēcaras tēna tuṣyēd bhūtādidēvatā
viśrāmē bhūtasañjñō' yam tuṣṭās tēna diśō daśa,
citāyām sādhaka iti sañcitau prēta ucyatē.

deceased, is made of earth and some food, such as rice flour, is thrown over it. After this is done, it is again destroyed while Mantras are uttered, and the mourners return home. When arrived here *Piṇḍas* or rice-balls are offered to the *Prēta*, or ghost of the departed, who is now represented by a stone (pāṣāṇa), which is buried in a small pit, made for this purpose near the house. One rice-ball is offered every morning during ten days, while loose rice (*bali*) is presented in the evening. Another stone should be buried on the bank of running water, as a rule under the shade of an Aśvattha tree. No Piṇḍa, but *Vāsōdaka* (cloth-water) and *Tilōdaka* (gingili-seed water), are offered to this stone. Whether the whole ceremony is, as circumstances permit, performed in one, three or ten days, the libations of the Vāsōdaka and Tilōdaka in the evening must coincide in number with the offerings of the Piṇḍas in the morning. During the first year a memorial service is held every month. The ten previously mentioned Piṇḍas are offered mainly in order to supply the Prēta with a body (*prētaśarīra*, *yātanāśarīra*) with which he has to appear before Yama in order to receive the judgment due to him for his deeds when alive. Half of the oblation is devoted to the construction of this body, one-fourth to the servants of Yama, and the remaining fourth is intended as nourishment to be consumed by the spirit of the dead. The formation of the *Prētaśarīra*, which is a true miniature likeness of the deceased, proceeds according to the Garuḍapurāṇa in the following manner. Other accounts contain slight variations. On the first day the crown of the head is formed; on the second ears, eyes and nose; on the third neck, shoulders, arms and chest; on the fourth navel, private parts and buttocks; on the fifth knees, shanks and legs; on the sixth all the entrails; on the seventh the veins; on the eighth the teeth and hair; on the ninth the seminal fluids; on the tenth the body has been completely formed, but, as the Prēta is by this

time ravenously hungry, an extraordinarily large *Piṇḍa* must be given to satisfy his appetite.[330] In consequence a large heap of cakes, food of all kinds, the *Prabhūtabali*, is on the tenth day in a funeral procession carried to the waterside, and thrown into the water. It is not necessary that the ten Piṇḍas should be offered daily; they may be offered all at once on the tenth day, as is the custom in Guzerat. The main thing is that they are offered, for unless and until they are offered the poor *Prēta* hovers over the burning place and wanders restless over the surface of the earth. On the eleventh day the Nārāyaṇabali is offered, and a bull (*nīlavṛṣa*) and a heifer (*vatsatarī*) are

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[330] See *Garuḍapurāṇa*, II, VI, 31—37:

31. Dināni daśa yān piṇḍān kurvantyatra sutādayaḥ
 pratyahaṁ tē vibhajyantē caturbhāgaiḥ khagōttama.
32. Bhāgadvayēna dēhas syāt tṛtīyēna yamānugāḥ
 tṛpyanti hi caturthēna svayam apyupajīvati.
33. Ahōrātrais tu navabhir dēhō niṣpattim āpnuyāt
 śiras tvādyēna piṇḍēna prētasya kriyatē tathā.
34. Dvitīyēna tu karṇākṣināsikās tu samāsataḥ
 galāṁsabhujavakṣāṁsi tṛtīyēna tathā kramāt.
35. Caturthēna ca piṇḍēna nābhiliṅgagudāni ca
 jānujaṅghē tathā pādau pañcamēna tu sarvadā.
36. Sarvamarmāṇi ṣaṣṭhēna saptamēna tu nāḍayaḥ
 dantalōmānyaṣṭamēna vīryantu navamēna ca.
37. Daśamēna tu pūrṇatvam tṛptatā kṣudviparyayaḥ

To the sūtra of the Smṛtiratnākara (Ēvam anvaham dattaiḥ piṇḍaiḥ prētākṛtiḥ smaryatē) the Sudhīvilōcana VI (M.S. leaf 1351) remarks:

Prathamē'hani yat piṇḍam tēna mūrdhābhijāyatē,
cakṣuśśrōtrē nāsikā ca dvitīyē'hani jāyatē.
Bhujau vakṣas tathā grīvā tṛtīyē'hani jāyatē,
nāḍisthānam gudam liṅgam caturthē'hani jāyatē.
Ūrū tu pañcamē jñēyau ṣaṣṭhē carma prajāyatē
saptamē tu sirās sarvā jāyantē nātra saṁśayaḥ.
Aṣṭamē tu kṛtē piṇḍē sarvarōmāṇyanantaram
navamē vīryasampattir daśamē kṣutparikṣayaḥ.
Daśamē ca tu piṇḍēna tṛptiḥ prētasya jāyatē
āśaucāntē tatassamyak piṇḍadānam samāpyatē.
Tatra śrāddham pradātavyam sarvavarṇēṣvayam vidhiḥ
ēkōddiṣṭāt piśācatvam pitṛtvam piṇḍayōgataḥ.

let loose, which ceremony is called *Vṛṣōtsarjana*. For suicides no piṇḍas are offered during the ten days, but the Nārāyaṇabali is performed on the eleventh.[331] When the *Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* has been performed on the twelfth day the deceased becomes, so far as his relations on earth are concerned, a *Pitṛ*. Up to the performance of the ten piṇḍas the dead remains a Prēta, through the Nārāyaṇabali he becomes a Piśāca, and by the Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa he is promoted to the position of a Pitṛ. Here again it is not necessary to perform all these ceremonies within the space of twelve days, but as life is uncertain, and difficulties may afterwards arise, it is thought better to begin and finish with them as quickly as possible. The Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa may thus be performed on the 12th or 45th day, or after six or twelve months.[332] There are sixteen Śrāddhas to be observed, the 9 Śrāddhas (navaśrāddhāni) are made while the deceased is still a Prēta, on the 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th day, and on the 11th day when a Pisāca.[333] However, I may remark here, that the term *Piśāca* is never pronounced in the funeral ceremony.

When the *Prētaśarīra* has been duly formed, the deceased sufficiently equipped for his journey to Yama, sets out on it, but he arrives in the town of Yama only in the course of the second year. If no piṇḍas are given, Yama provides the Prēta with a body, which in consequence of the

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[331] See *Garuḍapurāṇa* or II, VI, 39—46 about Suicides and *Vṛṣōtsarjana*:

39. Nimittam durmṛtim kṛtvā yadi nārāyaṇō baliḥ
ēkādaśāhē kartavyō vṛṣōtsargō'pi tatra vai.

[332] See *ibidem*, 48—53:

48. Dvādaśa pratimāsyāni ādyam ṣāṇmāsikam tathā
sapiṇḍīkaraṇañ caiva tṛtīyā ṣōḍaśī matā.

49. Dvādaśāhē tripakṣē ca ṣaṇmāsē māsikē'bdikē
tṛtīyām ṣōḍaśīm ēnām vadanti matabhēdataḥ.

[333] See *ibidem*, 71.

Prathamē'hni tṛtīyē vā pañcamē saptamē tathā
navamaikādaśē caiva navaśrāddham prakīrttitam.

troubles it undergoes on its journey to Yama is generally called *Yātanāśarīra*. After serving his due term of punishment in hell, the deceased reappears as a Prēta on earth roaming about it in hunger and thirst, disturbing and harassing the living. The dead, for whom the prescribed Piṇḍas have been spent, wanders the same road as the others, but under far better conditions, as he has obtained a proper Prētaśarīra. He has first to pass the Vaitaraṇī river, which is a hundred yōjanas broad, and filled with pus and blood. To cross this stream he has to present to the boatmen a cow as his fare.[334] By this time six months have gone, and the wanderer arrives in the seventh month at the town *Bahvāpada* (great misfortune);[335] hence he starts and reaches in the eight *Nānākrandapura*, the city of manifold crying;[336] here he stays for a month, weeping and lamenting when he thinks of his charming wife and the pleasant home he has left behind;[337] in the tenth he reaches *Sutaptana-*

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[334] See *ibidem*, 123—127 ·

123. Vrajatas tatra mārgē tu tatra Vaitaraṇī śubhā
śatayōjanavistīrṇā pūyaśōṇitasaṅkulā

124. Āyāti tatra dṛśyantē nāvikā dhīvarādayaḥ
tē vadanti pradattā gaur yadi Vaitaraṇī tvayā

125. Nāvam ēnām samārōha sukhēnōttara vai nadīm
tatra yēna pradattā gauḥ sa sukhēnaiva tām taret.

126. Adāyi tatra ghṛṣyēta karagrābantu nāvikaiḥ
ukhaiḥ kākair vṛkōlūkais tīkṣṇatuṇḍair vitudyatē.

127. Manujānām hitam dānam antē Vaitaraṇī khaga
dattā pāpam dahēt sarvam mama lōkantu sā nayēt.

[335] See *ibidem*, 128:

128. Saptamē māsi samprāptē purē Bahvāpadē mṛtaḥ
vrajatē sōdakam bhuktvā piṇḍam vai saptamāsikam.

[336] See *ibidem*, 131:

131. Māsyaṣṭamē duḥkhadē tu purē bhuktvātha sōdakam
piṇḍam prayātyasau tārkṣya Nānākrandapurē tataḥ.

[337] See *ibidem*, 132, 133:

133. Navamē māsi dattam vai Nānākrandapurē tataḥ
piṇḍam aśnāti karuṇam nānākrandān karōtyapi.

gara,[338] which appears to be a very hot place; at the end of the eleventh he comes to the town *Raudra*; [339] and when the twelfth month is completed, he arrives at Śītāḍhya, which is situated near Yama's town, *Saṁyamana*.[340] The residence of Yama he approaches in the second year. It must not be forgotten that the *Prētaśarīra* is able to accomplish his journey only if the necessary Piṇḍas are offered to him. Yama himself is surrounded by thirteen servants who are called *Śravaṇa*.[341] According to the good or bad character of the Prēta, Yama presents a pleasant or terrible aspect. To the bad he shows a face with horrible tusks, and with a terrible frown; he is covered with mouths that are deformed and frightful; he is afflicted with hundreds of diseases; a stick leans against his stout arm and he carries a noose in his hand; so that he exhibits altogether a hideous aspect.[342]

To the good, however, he appears in quite a different form, kind and friendly, with rings adorning his ears, a crown on his head, and carrying along with him prosperity.[343]

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[338] See *ibidem*, 134; 134:

134. Daśamē masi dattam vai Sutaptanagaram tataḥ
saramnēvam vilapatē halāhatihataḥ pathi.

[339] See *ibidem*, 136:

136. Daśamē māsi piṇḍādi tatra bhuktvā prasarpati,
māsē caikādaśē pūrṇē puram Raudram sa gacchati.

[340] See *ibidem*, 140:

140. Nyūnābdikañca yacchrāddham tatra bhuṅktē suduḥkhitaḥ
sampūrṇē tu tatō varṣē Śītāḍhyam nagaram vrajēt.

[341] See *ibidem*, 145:

145. Trayōdaśa pratīhārāḥ śravaṇā nāma tatra vai
śravaṇāḥ karmatas tuṣyantyanyathā krōdham āpnuyuḥ.

[342] See *ibidem*, II, 6, 147:

147. Daṁṣṭrākarālavadanam bhrūkuṭīdāruṇākṛtim,
virūpair bhīṣaṇair vaktrair vṛtam vyādhiśataiḥ prabhum
daṇḍāsaktamahābāhum pāśahastam subhairavam.

[343] See *ibidem*, II, 6, 149:

149. Yē tu puṇyakṛtas tatra tē paśyanti yamam tadā
saumyākṛtim kuṇḍalinam maulimantam dhṛtaśriyam;

Yama, the son of Śaraṇyū and of Vivasvat, the twin-brother of Yamī, whose offer to marry him he refused as immoral, nowhere appears in the Vēda as a judge of the dead, and the punishment of the bad is no concern of his. He is mentioned as the first man that died and found the way to the other world, to which he eventually guides other mortals. His messengers among men are two horrible dogs, which strike terror into those who behold them and which everybody tries to avoid and to pass by. In the Purāṇas and in other later works Yama appears as the judge of the dead. The distance from this world to the residence of Yama, amounts to 86,000 yōjanas,[344] and the making of this journey is the first trial the dead have to undergo. The good already experience now the fruit of their good actions, for they are supplied with all they want and are well cared for; but for the wicked it is indeed a sore trial, as they are exposed to all kinds of hardships, and suffer great bodily pain as well as mental agitation caused by fear and anguish. Yama encourages the good and promises them a blissful future, while he predicts to the bad the sufferings of hell.[345] According to some statements, he accompanies the *Prētaśarīra* to the town where *Citragupta*, Yama's recorder, resides.[346] This dread official presents a horrible appearance. He has red eyes, a long nose; awful tusks project from his mouth; his thirty-two arms are three yōjanas long, and his terrible voice sounds like the rolling of thunder at a general dissolution. When a new arrival approaches, Citragupta and Yama's servants,

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and II, 19, 6. Compare also Vṛhannāradīyapurāṇa, XXIX, 36:

36. Yamaścaturbhujō bhūtvā śaṅkhacakragadādibhṛt
puṇyakarmaratānāñca snēhānmitravadarcayēt.

[344] See *Vṛhannāradīyapurāṇa*, XXIX, 4:

4. Ṣaḍaśītisahasrāṇi yōjanānām munīśvaraḥ
yamamārgasya vistāraḥ pāpinām bhayadāyakaḥ.

[345] See *ibidem*, 21—39.

[346] See *Garuḍapurāṇa*, II, 19, 1, 2.

who resemble their master in dreadful ugliness, begin to roar in a frightful manner.[347] Citragupta then reads out the judgment at which he has arrived after a careful examination of the record which he has kept of the good and bad actions of the deceased, a judgment which displays even-handed justice. Accordingly the good set out for heaven, and the bad are pushed into hell, each to reside in their respective places among the gods, pitṛs, men, or the damned, until they rejoin once more the living world, in a shape previously assigned to them.[348] The more modern

[347] Another reading has in ślōka 17, 22 instead of 32. See *Vṛhannāradīya*, XXIX, 47—50:

17. Pralayāmbudanirghōṣō añjanādrisamaprabhaḥ
vidyutprabhāyudhair bhīmō dvātriṁśadbhujasaṁyutaḥ.

18. Yōjanatrayavistārō raktākṣō dīrghanāsikaḥ
daṁṣṭrākarālavadanō vāpītulyavilōcanaḥ,

19. Mṛtyujvarādibhir yuktaś Citraguptō vibhīṣaṇaḥ
sarvē dūtāśca garjanti yamatulyavibhīṣaṇāḥ.

50. Tatō bravīti tān sarvān kampamānāṁśca pāpinaḥ
śōcataḥ svāni karmāṇi Citraguptō yamājñayā.

Compare *Garuḍapurāṇa*, II, 19. 6:

6. Saptadhānyasya dānēna prītō dharmadhvajō bhavēt.
tatra gatvā pratihārō brūtē tasya śubhāśubham.

[348] See *Garuḍapurāṇa*, II, 19, 14—16:

14. Ēvam kṛtēna sampaśyēt sa naraḥ kṛtakarmaṇa
daivikīm paitṛkīm yōnim mānuṣīm vātha nārakīm.

15. Dharmarājasya vacanān muktir bhavati vā tataḥ
manuṣyatvam tataḥ prāpya suputraḥ putratām vrajēt

16. Yathā yathā kṛtam karma tām tām yōnim vrajēn naraḥ
tat tathaiva ca bhuñjānō vicarēt sarvalōkataḥ.

See also *Vṛhannāradīya*, XXIX, 57—61.

57. Dharmarāṭ pakṣapātantu na karōti hi hē janāḥ
vicārayadhvam yūyam tad yuṣmābhiś caritam purā.

58. Daridrē'pi ca mūrkhē ca paṇḍitē vā śriyānvitē
āḍhyē vāpi ca dhīrē vā samavartī yamaḥ smṛtaḥ.

59. Citraguptasya tad vākyam śrutvā tē pāpinas tadā
śōcantaḥ svāni karmāṇi tūṣṇīm tiṣṭhanti niścalāḥ.

60. Yamājñākāriṇas sarvē caṇḍādyā ativēgitāḥ
narakēṣu ca tān sarvān prakṣipantyativēgitāḥ.

61. Śuddhakarmaphalan tē tu bhuktvāntē pāpaśēṣataḥ
mahītalañca samprāpya bhavanti sthāvarādayaḥ.

doctrine carefully recognises three kinds of spheres into which the soul of the deceased enters, those of Final Beatitude,[349] Heaven, and Hell. In the first sphere Brahman is reached by the *Dēvayāna,* in the second the ascent to the Moon takes place by the *Pitṛyāna;* and the eventual descent from it is performed in the reverse manner. The difference in the conditions between the two stations may be briefly defined as that existing between *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa* (see pp. 387—90, 411). With Brahman he remains until the end of the Kalpa, after which he is reborn; in Heaven and Hell he passes the prescribed period until his reappearance on earth. As a *Sannyāsin* is believed to obtain *Mōkṣa* or Final Beatitude after his death, the otherwise obligatory ten *Piṇḍas* are not offered after his burial.

The difficulties which beset this subject are considerable, not only on account of its nature, but also on account of the obscure language in which it is discussed. I think it therefore advisable to say a few words in explanation of an expression which is often used in connexion with this topic. This is the word *Ātivāhika,* which is in various writings used in different senses. Its first meaning is *transportable.* In such a sense it already occurs in *Kapila's* Sūtras, when he contends that the body is not necessarily a gross one, for there exists also a transportable one. This is composed of three of the five elements that form the living body (see p. 406); they are the last three: *tējas* light, *vāyu* air, and *ākāśa* ether, which rise upwards, while *pṛthivī* earth, and *āpaḥ* water, go downwards. This *ātivāhika* body is strictly reserved for men and is never imparted to other living beings.[350] In the Brahmasūtras of Dvai-

[349] Compare *Śrībhāgavata,* II, 2, 21, 22, and *Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad* VI, 2, 2.

[350] See *Kapila-Sūtra,* V, 103: "Na sthūlam iti niyama ātivāhikasyāpi vidyamānatvāt."

pāyana we find the Ativāhikas mentioned again in the aphorism "*Transportable through their sign*" and Śaṅkarācārya expresses a doubt whether this term applies in the Upaniṣads to the signs of the Road (*mārgacihna* which the spiritual body has to traverse after death), or to the places of enjoyment (*bhōgabhūmi*), or to the leaders of the wandering spirits (*nētārō gantṛṇām*).[351] In the *Chāndōgya-* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣads* it is connected with certain stages, through which the ghost of the deceased has to pass in order to obtain Final Beatitude or Heaven.[351] To the first the pious or knowing (*jñānin*) is led by the northern way, while he who is only practising his work (*karmiṇ*), reaches the second by the southern road. The deities on this southern path presiding over smoke (*dhūma*), night (*rātri*), the dark fortnight (*aparapakṣa*), the six southern months (*ṣaḍdakṣiṇāyanamāsāḥ*), the sphere of the Manes (*pitṛlōka*), and ether (*ākāśa*), lead him on, until the not yet beatified spirit reaches the moon (*candramas*) where the Gods use him. To *Final Beatitude* on the other hand the pious are guided under the safe conduct of the genius of the rays of light (*arcis*), day (*ahan*), the bright fortnight (*āpūryamāṇapakṣa*), the six northern months (*ṣaḍudagayanamāsāḥ*), the year (*saṁvatsara*), sun (*āditya*), moon (*candramas*) and lightning (*vidyut*), whence a not-human personage leads him to Brahman.[352]

See *Vāchaspatya*, p. 653, about this statement from the *Viṣṇudharma*:

Ātivābikasañjñō' sau dēhō bhavati Bhārgava
kēvalam tan manuṣyāṇām nānyēṣām prāṇinām kvacit.

[351] See *Brahmasūtra* IV, 3, 4: Ātivāhikās talliṅgāt. The Commentary of *Śaṅkarācārya* remarks about it: "Tēṣvēvārcirādiṣu saṁśayaḥ kim ētāni mārgacihnānyuta bhōgabhūmayō'tha vā nētārō gantṛṇām iti."

[352] See *Chāndōgyōpaniṣad*, V, 10, 1—4: "Tadya ittham viduḥ yē cēmē' raṇyē śraddhā tapa ityupāsatē tē'rciṣam abhisambhavantyarciṣō har ahna āpūryamāṇapakṣam āpūryamāṇapakṣād yān ṣaḍudaṅṅēti māsāṁstān (1) māsēbhyas saṁvatsaram saṁvatsarād ādityam ādityāc candramasam candramasō vidyutam tatpuruṣō'mānavas sa ēnān brahma gamayatyēṣa dēvayānaḥ panthā iti (2); Atha ya imē grāma iṣṭāpūrtē dattam ityupāsatē

We see thus a peculiarly devised procession, in which one presiding genius leads the spectral body from this stage to the next. Though the Vedic poets had already admitted, as previously mentioned, a division of heaven similar to that of the earth into three spheres, in the highest of which the Manes dwell, these simple conceptions no longer satisfied the imagination of later generations.[353]

Ātivāhika indicates also the body with which a spirit enters into all the three places, whether he obtains *mōkṣa*, ascends to heaven,[354] or is hurled into hell; and, lastly, it denotes a soul sojourning in hell.[355]

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dhūmam abhisambhavanti dhūmād rātrim rātrēr aparapakṣam aparapakṣād yān ṣaḍdakṣiṇēti māsāṁstān naitē saṁvatsaram abhiprāpnuvanti (3); Māsēbhyaḥ pitṛlōkam pitṛlōkād ākāśam ākāśāc candramasam ēṣa sōmo rājā taddēvānām annam tam dēvā bhakṣayanti (4)." Continued on p. 551.

The expression *bhakṣayanti* does here not mean *eat* but *use* (enjoy) according to *Śaṅkarācārya's* Commentary to this place: "Kim tarhyupakaraṇamātram dēvānām bhavanti tē strīpaśubhṛtyādivat; dṛṣṭaś cānnaśabda upakaraṇēṣu striyō'nnam paśavō'nnam viśō'nnam rājñām ityādi.

With respect to the presiding Deities consult *ibidem*: Śrutyantarādyē ca satyam hiraṇyagarbhākhyam upāsatē tē sarvē'arciṣam arcirabhimānām dēvatām abhisambhavanti pratipadyantē.

Compare with the above given quotation *Chāndōgyōpaniṣad*, IV, 15, 5, and *Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad*, VI, 2, 15—16; and see p. 551.

The *Ātivāhikas* are not always given in the same order and number; so are, *e.g.*, now generally twelve *ātivāhikas* mentioned as leading on the northern road to Final Beatitude (*Mukti*). They are: the ray of light, or day, the bright fortnight, the six northern months, the year, the wind, the sun, the moon, lightning, Varuṇa, Indra and Dhātṛ; as indicated in the following ślōka:

Muktō'rcirdinapūrvapakṣaṣaḍudaṅmāsābdavātāṁśumad
glanvidyudvaruṇēndradhātṛmahitassīmāntasindhvāplutaḥ.

[353] See *above*, p. 275; *Ṛgvēda*, V, 60, 6; VII, 164, 11; *Atharvaṇavēda*, XVIII, 2, 48.

[354] Compare among others the Commentary to Āśvalāyana's *Gṛhyasūtra*, IV, 4, 8: Jānumātrē gartē ētāvatkālam ātivāhikam śarīram āsthāyāhitāgniḥ saṁskāram pratīkṣatē tatō'smillōkē dagdhaḥ san avaṭān niṣkramya dhūmēna saha svargam ētīti śrūyatē.

[355] See *Vaijayantī*, Lōkapālādhyāya, 38:
Narakā jantavaḥ prētā yātyā apyātivāhikāḥ
prētāḥ parētā vētālā gandharvās sattvakā grahāḥ.

The number of the various pits of hell varies. The law-books of Manu and Yājñavalkya mention twenty-one by name, while the Viṣṇupurāṇa and Bhāgavatapurāṇa mention twenty-eight. The Garuḍapurāṇa goes so far as to speak of 84 lacs, or of 8,400,000 pits of hell.[356] Into all these many dungeons sinners are thrown. According to the sin each has committed a particular cell is assigned to him. After he has expiated his sins in hell, he once more joins the living creation, but on doing so his previous Prētaśarīra disappears. The same fate overtakes also the spectral body which has left heaven to undergo rebirth in the world below. Unless the individual is born again as a *Dvija* or Aryan twiceborn, no Piṇḍas are offered for a *Prēta* or *Yātanā-śarīra* which arises at the death of any subsequent rebirth. This existence and change of the astral body of a departed creature is a very significant feature, helping us, as it does, to appreciate the peculiar system of the Indian transmigration or *Saṁsāra*. It indicates an essential point where it is at variance with the Egyptian dogma.

As the body of every creature is liable to decomposition, as soon as the soul has left the body, particular care must be taken to keep the body as intact as possible, and to

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[356] See *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, IV, 88—90:

88. Tāmisram andhatāmisram mahārauravarauravam
narakam kālasūtrañca mahānarakam ēva ca.

89. Sañjīvanam mahāvīcim tapanam sampratāpanam
saṁhātañca sakākōlam kuḍmalam pūtimṛttikam

90. Lōhaśaṅkum ṛjīṣañca panthānam sālmalīm nadīm
asipatravanañcaiva lōhadārakam ēva ca.

Compare *Yājñavalkya*, III, 222—224. These two lists do not altogether coincide in the names of the hells.

Compare also *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, II, 6, 2—5; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, V, 26, 6, 7; *Garuḍapurāṇa*, II, 4.

The subject is likewise treated in Mr. FitzEdward Hall's edition of H. H. Wilson's translation of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Vol. II, pp. 214, 215.

secure its preservation, it has to be embalmed,[357] because, according to the Egyptian religion, the soul effects its reunion with the body, after it has returned from the subterranean regions, previously to its final absorption into Osiris. During its separation from the soul, the body pants for reunion with it and entreats the god of *An* (Heliopolis) to permit it to do so.[358] In India, on the other hand, the preservation of the body was never regarded as a matter of religious importance. In fact the body by being buried or burnt was delivered over to destruction; and allowed to resolve into the various elements which composed it. Whether the corpse was buried, or whether it was burnt, the dissolution into its component elements (*pañcatva*) was the main object. After the earthly body had been disposed of, it was deemed necessary to provide the shelterless soul with an artificial raiment, and through the agency of oblations and mantras a counterfeit substitute of the body was produced. In the case of pious sages, who, renouncing the pleasures of life, end their days in deep contemplation, the offering of the Piṇḍas becomes unnecessary, for they enter at once from this world into Final Beatitude or Mōkṣa, and are thus until the end of the Kalpa exempted from the pangs of rebirth.

There exists, therefore, from the very outset a great difference between the Egyptian and Indian doctrines, though on many points they show a great deal of resemblance.

Mā, the Goddess of Truth, and *Horos* guide the soul of the deceased to the nether world, where it is laid in the scales and weighed by Anubis, Horos and Thoth, the last marking the result. Led by Horos, he then appears in the presence of Osiris, who, attended by his guards and surrounded

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[357] See *Book of the Dead*, chapter 154. The gross body, Ka and soul of the Egyptians have by some been compared with the *sthūla*-, *sūkṣma* and *kārarana*- śarīra in Sanskrit.

[358] See *ibidem*, chapter 89.

by seventy-two judges, pronounces the final judgment. If the examination takes an unfavourable turn, and ends in a sentence of condemnation, the head of the shade is cut off either by Set, Horos, or some demon. If beheading is not deemed a sufficient punishment, the guilty shade is thrown into an ever-flaming fire, which enveloping him burns continually. Awful and wonderfully variegated tortures are inflicted on the wicked, whom seventy-five hell-pits of various conditions are ready to receive. The most dreadful punishment of all is, however, utter annihilation, or the so-called second death.[359] Life is on the contrary the most precious of all gifts, and *Ra* is therefore called life.[360]

On the other hand, those who have escaped conviction do not at once reach the goal of highest bliss. They have to undergo purification by fire, pass through a series of portals beset with monsters which bar their progress, and escape dangers that threaten their existence. To overcome these perils and to deceive their enemies, the shades, imitating the example of Osiris, occasionally assume during their stay in these trying regions, which are known as *Amenti, Teser* or *Cher-nuter*, forms of various animals, such as crocodiles, adders and hawks, a proceeding which may have been mistaken for a migration of the shade into some other body. Yet, as this temporary change in the external appearance of the shade only takes place in the netherworld, and does not imply a rebirth on the surface of the earth, it differs from the transmigration of souls and cannot be taken as identical with it. It is true that the deceased appears in a certain picture in the shape of a pig, when escorted on a bark by the two dog-headed apes of Thoth, but as this voyage is subsequent to the judgment passed by Osiris on the dead, the ship conveys him most probably to an

[359] See *ibidem*, CIX, 11.

[360] See *ibidem*, CLXI, and elsewhere.

infernal place of torture, and not to the earth to appear there as a pig. The soul of the cleansed shade is on the other hand ultimately reunited with his body, in order to return to life and to be for ever merged into Osiris.[361] While the most ancient Egyptian records do not contain any evidence for the dogma of Transmigration, whether Metempsychosis or Metensomatosis,[362] prevailing among the Egyptians of old, it may yet be possible that some doctrines embracing it, may at one time or other at a later period have found access into Egypt. At all events we have it on the authority of Herodotos, that the Egyptians not only maintained that Dēmēter and Dionysos (Isis and Osiris) ruled in the nether-regions, but that the soul of man was also immortal, and that, after the destruction of the body it entered into that of another animal, and, after assuming the forms of all beings that exist on earth, in water and in the air, it took again the shape of man; such a rotation being completed in the space of three thousand years.[363] Pythagoras—though not named by Herodotos, who intentionally abstained from mentioning any Greek writers as having borrowed this doctrine from the Egyptians but published it as their own—is generally regarded as having imbibed his knowledge on this point during his stay in Egypt. This is possible, even probable, but not certain. The religious preservation of the body by embalment and the annihilation of the sinner by the second death, is in my opinion, *prima facie* incompatible with the doctrine of transmigration. The fact of the corpse being preserved with the object of

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[361] Compare *The History of Egyptian Religion* by Dr. C. P. Thiele, London, 1882, pp. 67—73, and *Chaldean Magic* by Fr. Lenormant, pp. 84—86.

[362] The difference between Metempsychosis and Metensomatosis is that the former term is applied to express the wandering of a soul into other human bodies or the wandering of different souls into one body, while Metensomatosis implies either the confinement of a soul in another natural body, or the migration of a soul into different bodies.

[363] See *Herodotos*, II, 123.

securing to the soul, during its infernal wanderings, its legitimate habitation on earth, precludes the assumption of the existence of a belief in a transmigration of the soul into different living bodies.

With respect to the statement of Herodotos, we must bear in mind that the cost of embalming and the ability to secure the permanent protection of the embalmed body require not only very considerable means, but also a powerful influence extending beyond the grave; such as only a few distinguished persons in the whole nation could possess, if we except the king who in ancient Egypt united with his office that of high priest also. In these circumstances it is quite possible that in course of time dissatisfaction spread in Egypt with a religion which, at the expense of the many poor, favoured the few rich. Though we do not possess any historical records in proof of such a movement, there exist indications which suggest the possible existence of such a commotion, which, if it took place, was probably encouraged by the priests, who were jealous of the royal ascendancy. A complication of this kind would be favourable for the adoption and spreading of a faith, which promised eternal life to every one and opened to the poor and oppressed the prospect of a future life with a change for the better and the assurance of ultimate bliss. I do not believe, however, that the Egyptian religious belief, exercised a direct influence on India. On the other hand it is necessary to refer to Egypt in order to show by a juxtaposition of the systems current in both countries, the material differences which existed between them.[364]

If we now return to India, we find that among the majority of non-Indian scholars the opinion prevails, that though the Vēda clearly contains the doctrine of a life after death, and admits the immortality of the soul, it does

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[364] See *above*, pp. 283, 284.

nowhere hint at the transmigration of souls. This opinion was nearly forty years ago expressed by Professor Albrecht Weber. Professor Paul Deussen has adhered to it in his system of the Vēdānta, and it has lately been again confirmed by Professor Zimmer.[365] While this view is taken by European Orientalists, I must not conceal the fact that the Brahmanic priests and pandits entirely disavow it. They contend on the contrary that the idea of transmigration is found in the Ṛgvēda already, and especially in Ṛgvēda X, 16, 3. Indeed the commentary ascribed to Sāyaṇa clearly explains the former verse as referring to transmigration, and he does the same in his commentary to the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka.*[366] This being the case, so much is clear,

[365] See Dr. A. Weber's Legende des Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. IX, p. 238: "In den Liedern des Rik ist noch keine Spur der Seelenwanderung oder des Hasses der Einzelexistenz zu finden"; *Das System des Vedanta*, von Dr. Paul Deussen, Leipzig, 1883, p. 385: Die älteste Ansicht, wie sie in den Hymnen des Ṛigveda herrscht, kennt noch keine Seelenwanderung"; and *Altindisches Leben* von Heinrich Zimmer, p. 408: "Von der spätern indischen Lehre der Seelenwanderung haben wir jedoch im Veda keine Andeutung." On the other hand Sir Monier Williams remarks in his *Religious Thoughts and Life in India*, p. 281. "It is remarkable that in some passages of the hymns (X, 58, 7; 16, 3) there are dim hints of a belief in the possible migration of the spirit of the deceased into plants, trees and streams."

[366] Compare Sāyaṇa's commentary to Ṛgvēda X, 16, 3: "Hē prēta tē tvadīyam cakṣur indriyam sūryam gacchatu prāpnōtu ātmā prāṇaḥ vātam bāhyam vāyum gacchatu api ca tvam api dharmaṇā sukṛtēna tatphalam bhōktum dyām ca atra ca śabdōvikalpārthē dyulōkam vā pṛthivīm ca pṛthivīm vā gaccha prāpnuhi, apō vāntarikṣalōkam gaccha prāpnuhi yadi tatrāntarikṣē hitam sthāpitam tē tava karmaphalam ōṣadhīṣu śarīraiḥ śarīrāvayavaiḥ pratitiṣṭha pratitiṣṭhati." Sāyaṇācārya's commentary to the same verse contained in the *Taittirīyāraṇyaka* VI, 1, 22 is even more explicit: "Hē prēta tē tvadīyam cakṣuḥ indriyam sūryam gacchatu, ātmā prāṇaḥ bāhyavāyum gacchatu, tvam api dharmaṇā sukṛtēna tatphalam bhōktum dyulōkam bhūlōkañ ca gaccha vā jalam gaccha, cakṣurādīndriyasāmarthyam punar dēhagrahaṇaparyantam tattadadhiṣṭhātṛdēvatā tvayā dyulōkādiṣu śarīrē svīkṛtē paścāt tvām ēva prāpsyati. Yatra yasmin lōkē tē tava hitam sukham asti, tatra gatvā ōṣadhīṣu praviśya taddvārā pitṛdēhamātṛdēhau praviśya tatra tatrōcitāni śarīrāṇi svīkṛtya taiḥ śarīraiḥ pratiṣṭhitō bhava.

that whatever may have been the idea of the Vedic seer on the subject of transmigration, whether he believed in it, or whether his words accidentally favoured an interpretation not intended by him, but afterwards applied to them,—the indigenous tradition corroborated by the accepted commentator, connects the above Vedic verses with the dogma of transmigration, a circumstance which seems either to have been entirely overlooked, or not treated with proper attention. This evidence of Sāyaṇa is by no means an unimportant matter, for though tradition may be wrong, it should not without sufficient cause be rejected as false and irrelevant, especially when no positive proofs exist to refute it absolutely. And here I have to mention a peculiar incident. The sage *Yājñavalkya* in the Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad is asked the question where is the dead person whose speech enters the fire, whose breath the air, whose eye the sun, whose mind the moon, whose ear the space, whose body the earth, whose self the ether, whose hairs of the body the shrubs, whose hairs of the head the trees, and whose blood and semen the water ? This passage, though much enlarged, greatly resembles Ṛgvēda X, 16, 3. Professor Paul Deussen, one of the most learned and thoughtful Sanskritists of the day, is inclined to recognize in this extract the genesis of the doctrine of the migration of the soul, and yet apparently does not apply a similar meaning to the Vedic verse, where the same sentiment is likewise expressed, as *Ārtabhāga* had most probably this verse in mind when he asked his question.[367]

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[367] See Dr. Paul Deussen *das System des Vēdānta*, p. 405 : "Zu dieser merkwürdigen Stelle, in der wir, wre es scheint, die Genesis der Seelenwanderungslehre selbst vor Augen haven." and *Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad* III, 2, 13; "Yājñavalkyēti hōvāca: yatrāsya puruṣasya mṛtasyāgnim vāgapyēti vātam prāṇaścakṣur ādityam manaś candram diśaḥ śrōtram pṛthivīm śarīram ākāśam ātmauṣadhīr lōmāni vanaspatin kēśā apsu lōhitañca rētaśca nidhīyatē kvāyam tadā puruṣō bhavatīti."

Compare p. 530.

I am myself in agreement with those who decide against transmigration being originally an article of the Vedic dogma, but I take my stand on another ground, for even if the two Vedic allusions should refer to the doctrine of Metempschychosis, one must not forget that the portion of the Ṛgvēda, in which they are found, does not belong to the most ancient, but to a subsequent period already exposed to foreign influence. So much is at all events certain, that the idea of the peregrination of the soul through various bodies pervades the whole population of India and is expressed in its Lawbooks and Purāṇas.[368] Perhaps the earliest quotation of transmigration is contained in certain passages of the Chāndōgyōpaniṣad and Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad, though the above mentioned term *Ātivāhika* which occurs in the Kapila-Sūtras, may be understood as insinuating it. Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad, the older, simpler and more concise of the two Upaniṣads, alludes to it in two places as follows. "That very "Self is Brahman, endowed with knowledge, mind, life, "sight, hearing, earth, water, wind, ether, light and no light, "desire and no desire, anger and no anger, right and wrong, "and everything. If he is now endowed with this or that, "this means, that according as he acts or behaves, thus he "becomes; if he works good he becomes good, and if he "works bad, he becomes bad; he becomes pure by a pure "deed, and bad by a bad one. They also say here, that "man is endowed with desires, meaning, that what he "desires, that he resolves, and what he resolves, that he "does, and according to the deed he does, he gets. About "this is a verse: On whatever object a man's mind is "intent to that he goes together with his deed, and after "he has received the final reward of whatever deed he "does here (in this world), he returns from that world to "this world of action. So far as to him who desires, but

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[368] Compare on this subject among others *Manu* I, 50, 117; II, 201; XII, 39—51, 55—72; *Ādiparvan* XC and *Viṣṇupurāṇa* II, 6, 32, 33.

"now about him who does not desire; of him who not desir-"ing, free from desires, has obtained his desires, or desires "the Self, the breath does not pass away, but being Brah-"man, goes to Brahman.[369]

"Those who thus know this and those who worship in the "forest faith and truth, they enter into the light of the "pyre, from the light to the day, from the day to the "bright fortnight, from the bright fortnight to the six "northern months, from the months to the world of the "Gods, from the world of the Gods to the sun, from the "sun to the sphere of lightning; and a spiritual personage "having appeared leads these with lightning endowed "spirits to the world of Brahman. In these worlds of "Brahman they live elevated for years; for them there is "no return.

"But those who conquer the worlds by sacrifice, liber-"ality and penance they enter into the smoke of the pyre, "from the smoke to the night, from the night to the dark "fortnight, from the dark fortnight to the six southern "months, from the months to the world of the fathers, "from the world of the fathers to the moon, and having "reached the moon, they become food. The Gods feed "there on them, as the sacrificers feed on the king Sōma, "as he waxes and wanes. When, however, (the effect of

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[369] See *Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad* IV, 4, 5–6: Sa vāayam ātmā brahma vijñānamayō manōmayaḥ prāṇamayaś cakṣurmayaḥ, śrōtramayaḥ pṛthivīmaya āpōmayō vāyumaya ākāśamayas tējōmayō' tējōmayaḥ kāmamayō' kāmamayaḥ krōdhamayō' krōdhamayō dharmamayō' dharmamayaḥ sarvamayas tad yad ētad idammayō' dōmaya iti yathākārī yathācārī tathā bhavati sādhukārī sādhur bhavati pāpakārī pāpō bhavati puṇyaḥ puṇyēna karmaṇā bhavati pāpaḥ pāpēna; athō khalvāhuḥ kāmamaya ēvāyam puruṣa iti sa yathākāmō bhavati tatkratur bhavati yatkratur bhavati tatkarma kurutē tad abhisampadyatē. (5) Tadēṣa ślōkō bhavati: Tad ēva saktaḥ saha karmaṇaiti liṅgam manō yatra niṣaktam asya; prāpyāntam karmaṇas tasya yat kiñcēha karōtyayam, tasmāllōkāt punar aityasmai lōkāya karmaṇā iti, nu kāmayamānō' thākāmayamānō yō' kāmō niṣkāma āptakāma ātmakāmō na tasya utkrāmanti Brahmaiva san Brahmāpyēti. (6)"

"their actions) passes away, they re-enter the ether, from "the ether to the air, from the air to rain, from rain to "earth, and having reached the air they become food. In "a fire-like man they are again sacrificed, and are thence "born in a fire-like woman. Rising upwards to the worlds, "they thus surely revolve. Those who do not know these "two paths, become worms, birds and serpents.[370]

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[370] See *ibidem*, VI, 2, 15—16; "Tē ya ēvam ētad vidur yē cāmī araṇyē śraddhām satyam upāsatē tē'rcir abhisambhavantyarciṣō'har ahna āpūryamāṇapakṣam āpūryamāṇapakṣād yān ṣaṇmāsān udaṅṅāditya ēti māsēbhyō dēvalōkam dēvalōkād ādityam ādityād vaidyutam tān vaidyutān puruṣō mānasa ētya brahmalōkān gamayati tē tēṣu brahmalōkēṣu parāḥ parāvatō vasanti tēṣām na punar āvṛttiḥ (15). Atha yē yajñēna dānēna tapasā lōkāñ jayanti tē dhūmam abhisambhavanti dhūmād rātrim rātrēr apakṣīyamāṇapakṣam apakṣīyamāṇapakṣād yān ṣaṇmāsān dakṣiṇāditya ēti māsēbhyaḥ pitṛlōkam pitṛlōkāc candram tē candram prāpyānnam bhavanti, tāṁstatra dēvā yathā sōmam rājānam āpyāyasvāpakṣīyasvētyēvam ēnāṁstatra bhakṣayanti tēṣām yadā tatparyavaityathēmam ēvākāśam abhiniṣpadyanta ākāśād vāyum vāyōr vṛṣṭim vṛṣṭēḥ pṛthivīm tē pṛthivīm prāpyānnam bhavanti, tē punaḥ puruṣāgnau hūyantē tatō yōṣāgnau jāyantē lōkān pratyutthāyinas ta ēvam ēvanuparivartantē'tha ya ētau panthānau na vidus tē kīṭāḥ pataṅgā yad idam dandaśūkam."

The *Chāndōgyōpaniṣad* discusses this subject in two places, in IV, 15, 5 and V, 10, 1—8, the first portion of the latter has already been given on pp., 540, 541. *Chāndōgya* IV, 15, 5 runs as follows: "Atha yadu caivāsmiñ chavyam kurvanti yadi ca nārciṣam ēvābhisambhavantyarciṣō'har ahna āpūryamāṇapakṣam āpūryamāṇapakṣād yān ṣaḍudaṅṅēti māsāṁstān māsēbhyaḥ saṁvatsaram saṁvatsarād ādityam ādityāc candramasam candramasō vidyutam tatpuruṣō'mānavaḥ sa ēnān brahma gamayatyēṣa dēvapathō brahmapatha ētēna pratipadyamānā imam mānavam āvartam nāvartantē nāvartantē."

I continue the extract from the Chāndōgyōpaniṣad (see p. 541) as it differs considerably from the Bṛhadāraṇyakōpaniṣad: "Tasmin yāvat sampātam uṣitvā' thaitam ēvādhvānam punar nivartantē yathētam ākāśam ākāśād vāyum vāyur bhūtvā dhūmō bhavati dhūmō bhūtvā' bhram bhavati (5). Abhram bhūtvā mēghō bhavati mēghō bhūtvā pravarṣati ta iha vrīhiyavā ōṣadhivanaspatayas tilamāṣā iti jāyantē'tō vai khalu durniṣprapataram yō yō hyannam atti yō rētaḥ siñcati tad bhūya ēva bhavati (6). Tadya iha ramaṇīyacaraṇā abhyāśō ha yat tē ramaṇīyām yōnim āpadyēran brahmayōnim vā kṣattriyayōnim vā vaiśyayōnim vā' tha ya iha kapūyacaraṇā abhyāśō ha yattē kapūyām yōnim āpadyēran śvayōnim vā sūkarayōnim vā

The purport of this passage is quite clear. It gives expression to an idea that the spectral body passes into higher or lower spheres according to the merits of its deeds, and describes the return passage of those who have ascended by the *Pitṛyāna* to the blissful abode of the moon : a view which in its outlines, no doubt, was already widely spread among the Indian population before Buddha appeared and preached his doctrine, or else it would not be easy to explain how the belief in transmigration could have so quickly found admission into the minds of the Hindus. It is my opinion that the origin of this belief must be traced to the conception of the non-Aryan races who inhabited India in ancient times, and whose descendants still inhabit it.[371]

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caṇḍālayōnim vā (7). Athaitayōḥ pathōr na katarēṇa ca na tān imāni kṣudrāṇyasakṛd āvartīni bhūtāni bhavanti jāyasya mriyasvētyētat tṛtīyam sthānam tēnāsau lōkō na sampūryatē tasmāj jugupsēta."

The way leads in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka (VI, 2, 15) from the northern months to the world of the Gods (*dēvalōka*), while in the Chāndōgya (V, 10, 1) it leads to the year (*saṁvatsara*). About this difference between *dēvalōka* and *saṁvatsara* see Śaṅkarācārya's commentary to *Brahmasūtra* IV, 3, 2.

According to the Chāndōgyōpaniṣad the *karmin* after leaving *heaven* becomes respectively ether, air, smoke, mist, cloud and rain ; and is reborn as rice, barley, herbs, trees, sesamum or beans, from which state it is very difficult to escape. However, as such plants are eaten, he may obtain rebirth through this process, and, if deserving, be reborn as a Brāhman, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya, while, if unworthy, he will become a dog, a pig, or a caṇḍāla. Compare *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparvan* XC already quoted above.

[371] I disagree with the statement of the late Bishop Caldwell which he makes on p. 581 of the second edition of his excellent *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*: "Neither amongst the Shamanites, nor amongst the primitive, un-Brahmanised demonolaters of India is there any trace of belief in the metempsychosis." The Shamanites whose name is derived from the Sanskrit *śramaṇa*, religious mendicant, believe that the soul is only enabled to obtain the body of a perfect Shamanite after repeated migration through different human bodies. With respect to the primitive Indian demonolaters the remark is far too sweeping, for our knowledge about their religious beliefs is as yet too limited and inaccurate to allow us to make such a positive statement about the principles of their faith. At all events the Todas, whose ethnological connexion with the Gauda-Dravidians I hope to have conclusively proved (*see* pp. 180—193

When speaking of the Sāṅkhya system of *Kapila* I observed that the admission of Prakṛti into his philosophy must have been due to that very same cause; and it is a most striking coincidence that the term *Ātivāhika* is already found in Kapila's Sūtras, an expression of such vital importance in the doctrine of transmigration.[372] Though it is quite impossible to prove at the present moment what really took place in remote antiquity, I think I am not far from the truth, if I ascribe the Indian doctrine of transmigration to the original inhabitants of Bharatavarṣa. If we do this, all becomes easily explainable; for if the Brāhmans adopted this idea from the Gauda-Dravidians, we need not wonder that this doctrine found so easily general acceptance, and is still so popular in this country, and that Buddhism, which promulgated it, spread so quickly among the people.

Indeed the main difference between the worship of the ancient Aryans and that of the non-Aryans may be stated as consisting in the former revering the *Forces of Nature,* while the latter adored the *Manifestations of the Forces of Nature.* This distinction explains the higher status which characterises the Aryan belief when compared with the non-Aryan. It expresses the gulf which separates the Male from the Female Principle, and it explains the superiority in position

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and 453) believe in transmigration (compare Col. W. E. Marshall's *Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, p. 188), and it is not at all necessary to suppose that they derived this dogma from a foreign source. The same applies to the *Rājmahālīs* (see Col. Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 257). Lieut. Shaw ascribes to the Pahārias (*Tuppahs* of Mudgeway, Ghurry and Munnuāry) a belief in a Supreme Being, in a future state and in transmigration. The soul of a sinful man migrates either into an animal of the brute creation, or into plants (see *Asiatic Researches*, IV, pp. 46 and 48). Lieut. Shaw thinks it probable that the idea about metempsychosis is borrowed from the Hindus. See also Sir W. W. Hunter's *The Annals of Rural Bengal*, p. 210, according to which the Santals believe that good men enter into fruit-bearing trees. I could multiply my quotations on this subject, but all statements *pro et contra* must be taken with reserve.

[372] See *above*, pp. 401—406.

and conception maintained by the Aryan over the non-Aryan divinities. It is also manifested by the tendency towards abstractness so fully developed among the so-called Aryan and Semitic races, in contrast to the predilection towards concreteness so apparent among the non-Aryan tribes; a fact to which I drew attention more than fourteen years ago in my Classification of Languages.

C. *On Devils.*

In the preceding discussion on the Grāmadēvatās and Aiyanār I had occasion to refer repeatedly to the Devils. The former are regarded as the superiors of the latter, who have to obey their orders. One of the principal duties of the Supreme Spirit or the Great Father and of Mother Earth, *i.e.*, of Aiyanār and the Grāmadēvatā, consists indeed in preventing the Devils from hurting and torturing men.[373] In fact the unbridled malignity of these Demons excited the fear of the people to such a degree, that the religious fervour of the non-Aryan aborigines concentrated itself in a worship for protection against these evil spirits, which eventually assumed the garb of Demon-worship or Demonolatry. In this way the adoration of a Supreme Spirit or Male Divinity and the worship of the principle of Female Energy, as represented by the Grāmadēvatā, are quite compatible with the existence and prevalence of demonology in this country. The ancient Akkadians had similarly recourse to their chief gods, *Ea*, the lord of Heaven, and *Davkina*, the lady of the Earth, in order to obtain from them protection against the wicked demons. These people of hoary antiquity invoked the help of the Spirits of the Heaven and of the Earth against the evil spirits when in distressed circumstances, for without their

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[373] See *above*, p. 154.

support the supplication was inefficient. I quote as an example of this kind the following incantations :—

"The wicked god, the wicked demon, the demon of the desert, the demon of the mountain, the demon of the sea, the demon of the marsh, the evil genius, the enormous *Uruku*, the bad wind by itself, the wicked demon which seizes the body, which disturbs the body—Spirit of the Heavens, conjure it; Spirit of the Earth, conjure it!"

"The demon who seizes man, the demon who seizes man, the *Gigim* who works evil, the production of a wicked demon;—Spirit of the Heavens, conjure it; Spirit of the Earth, conjure it."[374]

It is a very curious and interesting incident that these evil spirits, the *Utuq*, *Gigim* and *Maskim*, had particular fractions, derived from the sexagesimal system of numeration, assigned to them according to the position they occupied in the rank of the demoniac company. The fraction indicating the much-feared *Maskim* was $\frac{50}{60}$ or $\frac{5}{6}$, while the *Gigim* were described by $\frac{40}{60}$ or $\frac{4}{6}$, and the *Utuq* by $\frac{30}{60}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$. Whole numbers were on the other hand reserved for the Gods. The belief in the mysterious power inherent in numerals is not confined to the ancient Akkadians and Chaldeans : it pervades the Kabbala and is also found in India, where the Gods likewise are represented by numbers; and this, I deem, the proper place to introduce the following remarks.[375]

It is not unknown that the method of expressing by numbers the secret powers of divine nature has been ascribed to the philosophical system known as the *Sāṅkhya* which relates to *Number*. Aphorisms of this kind, are, however not extant in the present Sāṅkhya. In consequence many learned sages, such as Śaṅkarācārya, have declared, that

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[374] See *above*, pp. 326, 327 about *Ea* and *Davkina* and *Chaldean Magic*, by François Lenormant, pp. 3—11.

[375] See *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 25—27.

the sūtras, at present ascribed to Kapila, were not the same he originally expounded.[376] If we now take into consideration what I have previously said about Kapila, and the foreign source from which his teaching concerning Prakṛti was probably derived, and add to this statement the fact that the antiquity and originality of the Chaldean numeral system is acknowledged by all competent scholars, these suppositions gain much in probability. The ethnological connexion between the original inhabitants of India and those of Chaldea is corroborated by philological and theological evidence, and this further accord in the mysterious use of numerals for the expression of divine secrets, supports the assumption that the teaching of the genuine Kapila was based not on an Aryan, but on a non-Aryan or Turanian foundation.

The Chaldean demons were of two kinds. A cosmical character belongs to the most powerful, who subverted by their nefarious proceedings the regular order of nature. A prominent place among these demons is occupied by the seven malevolent *Maskim*, who ransack heaven and earth, disturb the stars and interfere with their movements, though they themselves live in the bowels of the earth. The generic name of all the inferior Akkadian demons is *Utuq*.[377]

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[376] Compare on this subject the *Discourses on the Bhagavatgītā* by T. Subba Row, B.A., B.L., p. VI.

[377] See *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 26, 27: "We are better acquainted with all that relates to the spirits of an inferior and decidedly malevolent order, the demons properly so called. Their generic names is *Utuq*, which has passed from the Turanian Akkadian into the Semitic Assyrian. The name *Utuq*, however, further takes the more limited and special signification of a particular kind of demons. The other species are the *Alal* or destroyer, called in the Assyrian *Alu*; the *Gigim*, in the Assyrian *Ekim*, the meaning of which is not known; the *Telal* or warrior, in the Assyrian *Gallu*; and lastly the *Maskim* or slayer of ambushes; in the Assyrian *Rabits*. As a general rule each class is divided into groups of seven, that most important magical and mysterious number."

The ancient Chaldeans inhabiting under a clear and generally cloudless sky the continuous plains of Mesopotamia possessed rare opportunities of watching the stars and their movements. They assigned peculiar divine powers to the most important stars and to certain clusters. Thus originated the worship of the stars: and of the ancient Chaldean religion Sabæism became an offshoot. That name is derived from the Semitic word *zaba*, army, host. The Sabæans saw in the stars of the heaven the bodies of those Gods, who occupied an intermediate position between the supreme deity and men, over whom they exercised a powerful influence. The planetary gods (Sun, Moon, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn) were represented by images in their temples and thrice worshipped daily. The Sabæans practised astrology and the magic arts, and used talismans against evil spirits. They also believed in the transmigration of souls. Harran in Mesopotamia was their centre during the middle ages. Muhammad opposed Sabæism, and the Koran asserts that Abraham left Ūr Chasdīm in consequence of the prevalence of Sabæism. The *Yezidis* or worshippers of the Devil sprang from the Sabæans. This sect, which suffered great persecution both from Muhammedans and Christians, have a tradition that they came originally from *Bassora.* They revere the Devil as *Melek Taous*, King Peacock, or *Melek el Kout*, the mighty angel, who, now punished and in disgrace for his rebellion, will eventually regain his high position, and who should be revered, because he has at present the power of inflicting evil on mankind, and may afterwards again confer benefits on his worshippers.

The connexion between the ancient Chaldeans, Sabæans and Yezidis is a historical fact; though it need not be specially mentioned that the religion of the latter embodied in itself portions of various beliefs.[378] I introduce

[378] *Nineveh and its remains* by Austin Henry Layard, Vol. I, pp. 296-306. "The Yezidis recognize one Supreme Being; but, as far I could learn,

the tenets of the Yezidis into this discussion in order to prove the development of the Chaldean religion into devil-worship.

The belief in demons came after the Babylonian exile into the Hebrew religion and passed from it over into Christianity.

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they do not offer up any direct prayer or sacrifice to Him . . . The name of the Evil spirit is, however, never mentioned; and any allusion to it by others so vexes and irritates them, that it is said they have put to death persons who have wantonly outraged their feelings by its use. So far is their dread of offending the Evil principle carried, that they carefully avoid every expression which may resemble in sound the name of Satan, or the Arabic word for 'accursed' . . . When they speak of the Devil, they do so with reverence as *Melek Taous*, King Peacock, or *Melek el Kout*, the mighty angel . . . They hold the Old Testament in great reverence, and believe in the cosmogony of the Genesis, the Deluge, and other events recorded in the Bible. They do not reject the New Testament, nor the Koran; but consider them always less entitled to their veneration . . They baptize in water, like the Christians; if possible, within seven days after birth. They circumcize at the same age, and in the same manner as the Mohammedans, and reverence the sun, and have many customs in common with the Sabæans . . . They have more in common with the Sabæans than with any other sect . . . The Yezidis have a tradition that they originally came from Busrah, and from the country watered by the lower part of the Euphrates; and that, after their emigration, they first settled in Syria, and subsequently took possession of the Sinjar hill, and the districts they now inhabit in Kurdistan. This tradition, with the peculiar nature of their tenets and ceremonies, points to a Sabæan or Chaldean origin . . . There is in them a strange mixture of Sabæanism, Christianity, and Mahommedanism, with a tincture of the Gnostics and Manichæans. Sabæanism, however, appears to be the prevailing feature; and it is not improbable that the sect may be a relic of the ancient Chaldees, who have, at various times, outwardly adopted the forms and tenets of the ruling peoples, to save themselves from persecution and oppression; and have gradually, through ignorance, confounded them with their own belief and mode of worship. Such has been the case with a no less remarkable sect, the Sabæans, or Mendai (the Christians of St. John, as they are commonly called), who still inhabit the banks of the Euphrates and the districts of ancient Susiana."

Like the Yezidis so also do the Dravidian *Oraons* acknowledge a Supreme God, as Dharmi or Dharmesh, the Holy One, who is perfectly pure, but whose benevolent designs are thwarted by malignant spirits. Mortals neglect in consequence Dharmesh and adore the evil spirits. (See Col. Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 256.)

Among all the kindred Turanian tribes demonology has thus existed since the oldest times, and we find it still flourishing throughout Northern, Central and Southern Asia: in Siberia as well as in Kamtchatka, Tartary, Mongolia up to the confines of China, in the Himalayan region as well as in the whole Indian Peninsula situated on its southern side. It is found in fact all over India, though it prevails particularly in certain districts, such as Nagpore, Guzerat, Kanara, Malabar, Tinnevelly and Travancore.[379] It is also spread among the inhabitants of the adjacent island of Ceylon.[380]

In Southern India these devils are commonly called *Bhūtas*, *Piśācas* or *Pēys*, the latter word being their name in Tamil.[381] Some Hindus contend that the devils were sent into the world to punish great sinners for their bad deeds by torturing them in this life and after death. Others say that the devils were originally created good, but became bad, and committed such atrocious crimes that they were in consequence cursed and transformed into devils. Their number is always increasing as all join them who die suddenly or meet a violent death, either at their

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[379] See the essays of the late Bishop Caldwell on "*The Shanars of Tinnevelly*," published by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1844, and on the "*Ancient Religion of the Dravidians*," VII Appendix, pp. 579—597 of his second edition of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages; the *Bhut Nibandh*, an essay, descriptive of the demonology and other popnlar superstitions of Guzerat by Dalpatram Daya, translated by Alexander Kinloch Forbes, Bombay (after 1849); *The Land of Charity* by the Rev. Samuel Mateer, London, (1871), pp. 189—226; *The Belief in the Bhutas, Devil and Ghost worship in Western India* by Mr. M. J. Walhouse, in Vol. V (1876), pp. 408—423 of the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*; etc.

[380] About Ceylon consult *Yakkun Nattannawā*, a Cingalese poem, descriptive of the Ceylon system of demonology, translated by John Callaway, late Missionary in Ceylon, London, 1829.

[381] The derivation of the Tamil *Pēy* is unknown. Its original meaning is *evil, bad*; and it is in this sense also applied to wild or obnoxious plants.

own hauds or otherwise.[382] Their appearance is horrible; they are represented as quite black, with abominable faces and distorted and emaciated figures. In fact they were so ugly that they took fright at their own hideousness, and ran away when they saw their own images; this was at all events the opinion of the ancient Chaldeans.[383] The chief Ceylonese devil is the *Great Black God,* the son of the queen Karandoo Bānā. He walks and plays in the midst of the Seven Seas; the people who behold him get sick. The *Black Female Devil* dwells under the rocks and stones of

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[382] According to the *Bhut Nibandh* by Dalpatram Daya, p. 7, the following persons become Devils, or Bhūtas: "If a man at the time of death has his affections excessively fixed on a son, or a wife, or a house, so that on account of the tenacity of that affection his life does not readily part from his body but quits it after a violent struggle, he, when he dies, becomes a Bhut. The man who dies fighting with his face to his enemy goes to Swarg, and he who in a cowardly manner is slain with his back turned to the foe, departs to Narak. In either case, if at the time of death he has been very solicitous about his property, or any thing else, he becomes a Bhut. He who falls by his own hand, or by poison, or commits any other kind of suicide, becomes a Bhut. He who dies of the bite of a snake, is struck by lightning or drowned, or crushed by the fall of earth, etc., or burned—or when in any other case his death is sudden, becomes a Bhut. He who dies on his bed or in an upper room, or who is defiled after death by the touch of a Sudra, or other defilement, is also a Bhut."

[383] See *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 50—53: "The Chaldeans represented the demons under such hideous forms that they believed that it was sufficient for them to be shown their own image, to cause them to flee away alarmed. The museum of the Louvre has lately bought a very curious bronze statuette of Assyrian workmanship. It is the figure of a horrible demon in an upright position with the body of a dog, the feet of an eagle, the claws of a lion, the tails of a scorpion, the head of a skeleton but half decayed, and adorned with goat's horns, and the eye still remaining, and lastly four great expanded wings. This figure was originally suspended by a ring behind the head. On the back there is an Akkadian inscription, which informs us that this hideous creature was the demon of the South-West wind, and by placing this image at the door of the window, its fatal influence might be averted ... The monstrous forms thus assigned to the demons, which were composed of parts borrowed from the most different animals, were also, according to Berosus, characteristic features of the first rudimentary beings born in the darkness of chaos, before Bel-Marduk the demiurgus began his work."

the Black Sea, and makes children ill.[384] Devils vary much, however, in outward appearance. They reside generally, as mentioned in the incantation above, in deserts, on mountain peaks, in malarious marshes and in the sea. They prefer to dwell, according to the opinion of the Natives of India, on trees which are not used for sacrificial purposes, especially on palmyra-, umbrella-, or tamarind-trees; some haunt houses, or hover about in the air; some wander restlessly from one place to another, preferring as their homes, burial and burning grounds, gibbets or places of execution.[385] They are always hungry and thirsty. The throats of some are said to be as thin as the eye of a needle, but yet they can swallow at once twelve buckets of water, and as their food they gobble all kinds of dirt and refuse. They delight in perpetrating mischievous and malignant deeds. Their name is legion. The passions which lead men into temptation and afterwards to perdition are personified as Devils, in the form of bad habits and diseases which are peculiar to them and from which they suffer.[386]

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[384] See *Yakkun Nattannawā*, pp. 3, 4. The person who represents the *Black Devil* is described as follows: "16. He received permission from sixteen hundred queens; he has a black turban on his head; he has four arms; a sword in one hand, and a shield in the other. A mark was fastened to his head in order to make sixteen faces, like those of a tiger and deer. 17. Having held a great elephant with his two hands and head, he sucked its blood with his mouth, and covered the whole body with the entrails. He is dressed in black habitments, having a picture of the black devil for a vestment, and rides on a bullock. 18. His whole body is black, and he rides on a black bullock. The breast also is black, and a demon is in it. In his left hand is a pool of blood and white food. May the sicknesses caused by the *Black Prince* be taken away this day."

The female figure of the planets has a monkey's face (p. 7), and other evil spirits are differently described.

[385] See *Chaldean Magic*, pp. 30, 31: "In another place it is said that the *Utuq* inhabits the desert, the *Mas* dwells on the heights, the *Gigim* wanders in the desert, the *Telal* steals into towns." Compare *Yakkun Nattannawā*, pp. 2, 3, 6, 8 and 14.

[386] *Ziegenbalg* quotes on pp. 183—186 about eighty such Devils, and Dr. Graul in his *Reise nach Ost-Indien*, IV, p. 333, states that he possesses

According to popular superstition the demons and the mischief worked by them can only be removed by the use of multifarious incantations and by sacrifices, a fact already asserted by Diodorus Siculus when speaking of the Chaldean magi.[387] The Chaldeans were indeed famous for their knowledge of the magic arts. Assarbanipal, king of Assyria, the Sardanapal of the Greek, became such

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a list of 123 Devils and 40 Bhūtas, and that he was told that the number of the latter amounted to 721. The late Rev. Mr. Männer, of the Basel Mission, communicated to me a list of the Bhūtas worshipped in South Kanara, which I have arranged in alphabetical order. The male Bhūtas are the following: Babbariye (slave who became a Muhammedan and did all kinds of mischief), Dāru (slanderer), Giṇḍe, Gulige (of whom are varieties, the Antargulige or air-haunting G., Caṅkaragulige, Kunyagulige, and Rājandagulige), Gurumarle (fool of a guru), Jārandāye (Bhūta who sits on horseback), Jumādibantē (servant of Jumādi), Kalkuḍe (Bhūta with an umbrella, the stone-mason of the Gautama monument at Karkal), Kalruṭṭi (Bhūta of Kalkude and Orte), Kanberlu (demons of former slaves), Kantanutrijumādibante (servant of K.), Kilu (base), Kētrāle (gluttonous), Kinnibagge (instigator, who goes a little bent), Kōḍadabbu (demon of Pariahs), Kōḍamanatāye (who rides on a horse), Koragataniye (Koraga born on a Sunday), Kukkendāye (who sits on a Mango tree), Kulatāye (family or tank-bhūta), Kundāye (humble), Kurupergaḍe (the little master), Kuriyāddāye (who plays with boils ?), Mallabagge (who is much bent and makes himself invisible), Meisandāye (who rides on an ox), Mēreru (demons of former slaves), Muḍadayē (the eastern), Nalkeitāye (four-handed), Nandigōṇe (blood-sucker), Pañjadāye (who lives in Pañja), Pañjidāye (who keeps pigs), Pañjurli (who rides on a pig), Kuppepañjurli (heap of P.), Pañjurlibante (servant of P.), Pattōridāye (prattler), Posa (or Marlajumādi), Puñje (cock), Dēvupuñje, Lakkarasupuñje, (cock of Lakka Rāja), Naṅkolye (the fettered), and Sonne (winking Bhūta).

Of the female Bhūtas I may mention: Abbage and Dārage (two twin sisters who also died at the same time), Beikaddi (uncombed), Jāvumadimalu (virgin), Jikkini (wife who troubles her husband after death), Jumādi (Kantanutrijumādi or Kanterijumādi, Malejumādi, Marlejumādi or (foolish J., Saralajumādi), Korapolu (carrion eater), Korati (Holeya woman), Mādakorati, (Holeya-woman on the roof), Kuñjalaḍḍi (forest tramp), Māyandalu (invisiblemaking), Māyelu, Pil-cāmuṇḍi (Tiger-cāmuṇḍi), Pottelu (dumb), Subbi (who shows herself), Taḍḍyadajji (grandmother who sits on the stairs), Tanimaniga (Holeya-woman), Tappedi and Tukātteri (fiery Kātteri).

387 See Diodorus Siculus, II, 29.

an enthusiastic student of antiquarian, and more especially of theosophical, lore, that in order to spread and promote useful knowledge he opened to the public his large library of clay tablets and papyrus rolls which he had deposited in the temple of Nebo at Nineveh. He also acquired, with great pains, from all quarters of his vast empire, rare and important works on theogony and cosmology, and entertained a great number of writers and copyists to recopy important but fading inscriptions and to compile huge encyclopedias. Among the collections thus made, not the least important are the tablets which contain the formulas of conjuration and incantation. They were arranged in three parts, the first contained the hymns to Gods; the second, incantations for curing diseases; and the third imprecations to drive away wicked demons and spirits. I need not mention that only fragments of this interesting collection have been preserved.

To the chanting of these imprecations supernatural power was ascribed, a power which perhaps in its mode of operation, resembled the more modern display of mesmerism and hypnotism. Specially trained experts were employed at Chaldea for this purpose, who corresponded to the classes of professionals referred to by Daniel.[388]

The evil spirit which entered a person was in ancient Chaldea exorcised by prescribed prayers. The manner in which this was done is described in the following incantation which was used against the *Maskim*, one of the most terrible class of evil spirits:

[388] See *Daniel* II, 2: Vayyōmer hammelech liqrō laḥartummim velā-aṣṣāphīm velamchaṣphīm velachchasdīm lehaggīd lammelech ḥalōmōthāv; and *ibidem*, V, 11. The verses are rendered in the English (Oxford) translation of the Bible as follows: Then the king commanded to call the magicians, and the enchanters, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans, for to tell the king his dreams (II. 2) . . And the king, thy father made him master of the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans and soothsayers (V, 11).

"They are seven! They are seven! In the depths of the "ocean, they are seven! In the brilliancy of the ocean they "are seven! They proceed from the ocean depths, from the "hidden retreat. They are neither male nor female, those "which stretch themselves out like chains. They have no "spouse, they do not produce children, they are strangers "to benevolence, they listen neither to prayers nor wishes. "Vermin come forth from the mountain, enemies of the god "Hea, they are the agents of the vengeance of the gods, "raising up difficulties, obtaining power by violence. The "enemies! They are seven! They are seven! The enemies! "are twice seven, Spirit of the heavens, may they be con-"jured! Spirit of the earth may they be conjured!"[389]

The evil demons were turned away from places, by hanging their images on doors or windows.[390] Different sorts of talismans were used. Some acted like incantations to prevent demons from entering into the house, others were fastened to the furniture or to garments, to ensure safety against diseases, demons, and misfortunes. They were made of different material, such as cloth or stone.[391]

All diseases were ascribed to demoniac agency and incantations were uttered to counteract the evil and to restore health to the sufferer. We read thus: "Disease of the "bowels, the disease of the heart, the palpitation of the "diseased heart, disease of the vision, disease of the head,

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389 See *ibidem*, p. 10.

390 See *ibidem*, p. 52.

391 See *ibidem*, pp. 46, 47.

On page 8 *Mr. Lenormant* gives a description of a talisman: Two double bands of white cloth upon the bed on the platform as a talisman if he binds on the (right) hand, two double bands of black cloth if he binds on the left hand, the bad demon, the wicked *Alal*, the wicked *Gigim*, the bad *Telal*, the wicked god, the wicked *Maskim*, the phantom, the spectre, the vampyre, incubus, succubus, nightmare, wicked sorcery, the philter, liquid-poison, that which gives pain, that which hurts, that which is evil, their head upon his head, their foot upon their foot, they never seize him, they will never return. Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the earth, conjure it!

"malignant dysentery, the tumour which swells, ulceration "of the veins, micturition which wastes, cruel agony which "never ceases, nightmare: Spirit of the heavens conjure it! "Spirit of the earth conjure it!"

"Painful fever, violent fever, the fever which never leaves "man, unremitting fever, the lingering fever, malignant "fever: Spirit of the heavens, conjure it! Spirit of the "earth, conjure it!"

"Let the disease of his head depart. May the disease "of his head be dissipated like nocturnal dew. May he "be cured by the command of Hea! May Davkina cure "him!"[392]

All calamities which befall suffering mankind, whether they appear as war, fire, flood, drought or epidemic disease, are in India and in the countries in its vicinity ascribed to the evil demons, as was done in ancient Chaldea. In fact, all kinds of maladies but especially those which attack men suddenly and startle by their frightful aspect, such as cramps, convulsions, epileptic and other fits, are by devil-worshippers imputed to the mischievous agency of evil spirits. In order to cure the patient, supplications must be made directly to the harassing demon, or the aid of a tutelary deity must be invoked, in India the aid of Aiyanār or the Grāmadēvatā is sought, just as the ancient Akkadians called upon the Spirit of Heaven and the Spirit of Earth for protection.

In Ceylon, where demon-worship prevails, the *Great Black God* seizes men and frightens them so that they fall sick with burning colic and inflammation of the bowels, while the demon *Maha Sohon* inflicts chin-cough, leanness of the body, thirst, itching of the body, windy complaints, dropsy, weakness, consumption and madness.[393] For the relief of the sick

[392] See *ibidem*, pp. 4, 5, 22.

[393] See *Yakkun Nattannawā*, pp. 1, 2, 7—13. The devil *Oddy* gives thus swelling, fever, head-ache, inflammation of the bowels, phlegm, colic, consumption, asthma, etc.

no doctor, but conjurors and exorcists are called in. The famous Venetian traveller, *Marco Polo,* when visiting south-western China, witnessed in the province Yunnan the proceedings of such devil-conjurors, who professed to heal the sick by incantations. His graphic and accurate description which is well worthy of being quoted, is given below. [394]

[394] See *The Book of Sir Marco Polo*, by Col. Henry Yule, C.B., Vol. II, pp. 53—55.

"Let me tell you that in all those three provinces that I have been speaking of, to-wit Carajan, Vochan, and Yachi, there is never a leech. But when any one is ill they send for the Devil-conjurors who are the keepers of their idols. When these are come the sick man tells what ails him, and then the conjurors incontinently begin playing on their instruments and singing and dancing; and the conjurors dance to such a pitch that at least one of them will fall to the ground lifeless, like a dead man. And then the devil entereth into his body. And when his comrades see him in this plight they begin to put questions to him about the sick man's ailments. And he will reply: 'Such or such a spirit hath been meddling with the man, for that he hath angered the spirit and done it some despite.' Then they say: 'We pray thee to pardon him, and to take of his blood or of his goods what thou wilt in consideration of thus restoring him to health.' And when they have so prayed, the malignant spirit that is in the body of the prostrate man will (mayhap) answer: 'The sick man hath also done great despite unto such other spirit, and that one is so ill-disposed that it will not pardon him on any account;'—this at least is the answer they get if the patient be likely to die. But if he is to get better the answer will be that they are to bring two sheep, or may be three; and to brew ten or twelve jars of drink, very costly and abundantly spiced. Moreover it will be announced that the sheep must be all black-faced, or of some other particular colour as it may happen; and then all those things are to be offered in sacrifice to such and such a spirit whose name is given. And they are to bring so many conjurors, and so many ladies, and the business is to be done with a great singing of lauds, and with many lights and store of good perfumes. That is the sort of answer they get if the patient is to get well. And then the kinsfolk of the sick man go and procure all that has been commanded, and do as has been bidden, and the conjuror who had uttered all that gets on his legs again.

So they fetch the sheep of the colour prescribed, and slaughter them, and sprinkle the blood over such places as have been enjoined, in honour and propitiation of the spirit. And the conjurors come, and the ladies, in the number that was ordered, and when all are assembled and everything is ready, they begin to dance and play and sing in honour of the spirit.

These men endeavour by their incantations to expel the devil from the person, in whom he at present abides. Every person, who thinks himself competent, may act the part of an exorcist. The proceedings begin with the usual invocations, and when the presence of the devil has been established by the mad antics of the possessed person, the exorcist begins his proceedings by requesting the devil to leave his present quarters, without giving further trouble, and to discontinue haunting the patient. When, as is to be expected, no notice is taken of this demand, recourse is taken to more forcible means, and the devil in the person who gives shelter to him, is severely beaten and kicked. Eventually the devil submits, and is then asked to give his name, the place whence he came, and the reason for visiting and troubling the person into whose body he entered. After replying to these questions he leaves the place and is then often regaled with a sumptuous repast, in order to pacify him and to cover with marks of respect his undignified retreat. Such sacrifices, and the ceremonies observed at them, are with slight differences throughout the same, although the taste of different demons very often does vary, some preferring a goat, while others have a

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And they take flesh-broth, and drink, and lign-aloes, and a great number of lights, and go about hither and thither, scattering the broth and the drink and the meat also. And when they have done this for a while, again shall one of the conjurors fall flat and wallow there foaming at the mouth, and then the others will ask if he have yet pardoned the sick man? And sometimes he shall answer yes! and sometimes he shall answer no! And if the answer be *no*, they shall be told that something or other has to be done all over again, and then he shall be pardoned; so this they do. And when all that the spirit has commanded has been done with great ceremony, then it will be announced that the man is pardoned and shall be speedily cured. So when they at length receive such a reply, they announce that it is all made up with the spirit, and that he is propitiated, and they fall to eating and drinking with great joy and mirth, and he who had been lying lifeless on the ground gets up and takes his share. So when they have all eaten and drunken, every man departs home. And presently the sick man gets sound and well."

greater liking for a cock, a pig or some other animal. There exists, however, with respect to intoxicating liquor a great agreement of opinion as to its being acceptable.[395]

I have already alluded to the dances which form a prominent feature of demon-worship. Such dances are of common occurrence amoug the Shanars in Tinnevelly; and in Ceylon the dancers, who perform, appear to put on hideous masks differing according to the external appearance of the demon represented.[396] The principal part at such an occasion is played by the chief or one of the leading men of the village, occasionally also by some man or woman who is moved by the spirit. The person, who enacts the part of the demon appears in peculiarly monstrous garments and decorations, resembling as nearly as possible the demon whom he represents. As the dance is accompanied by music, it may be mentioned that one of the most prominent musical instruments, besides tom-toms, horns, and clarionets is an enormous bow, which is placed over an empty brass-pot. On its wooden frame are tied rows of bells, and to it are tightly fastened a number of strings. By striking the latter a shrill sound is produced which is accompanied by the tinkling bells and the vibrations from the brass-pot, which is struck with the hand. When all things are ready, the musicians begin to play a slow and quiet tune on their instruments, while some one beats time with his hands. At this moment the devil-dancer appears and commences to move about slowly. By degrees the music becomes quicker and shriller, and with it the performer getting more excited, whirls round in a frenzy, and flourishes his staff covered with bells, until

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395 Read *above*, p. 488.

396 See Bishop Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Shanars* and his essay on the *Ancient Religion of the Dravidians*, quoted above on pp. 585, 586. Compare also *Yakkun Nattannawā*, p. 3, and *the Practices of a Capua*, *ibidem*, pp. 16—21.

he has worked himself to such a state of excitement, that he loses all control over his movements, and the demon appears to have taken possession of him. When he has arrived at such a condition the people worship him as a deity, and the bystanders ask him questions on all subjects about which they desire to get information, to which question they obtain somehow obscure and oracular answers. These devil dances are generally performed at night.[397]

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[397] In the *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* by Colonel Edward Tinte Dalton, C.S.I., on pp. 232, 233 is described a similar dance of the Muasis, which was often witnessed by Captain Samuells: "The Baiga is always the medium of communication, but he assembles the people to aid him in the invocation. Musical instruments are produced, dancing commences, and the invocation to the spirit is chanted until one or more of the performers manifest possession by wild rolling of the eyes and involuntary spasmodic actions of the muscles. ... The affection appears contagious, and old women and others who have not been dancing become influenced by it in a manuer that is horrible to contemplate. ... The affection, says Captain Samuells, comes on like a fit of ague, lasting sometimes for a quarter of an hour, the patient or possessed person writhing and trembling with intense violence, especially at the commencement of the paroxsym. Then he is seen to spring from the ground into the air, and a succession of leaps follow, all executed as though he were shot at by unseen agency. During this stage of the seizure he is supposed to be quite unconscious, and rolls into the fire, if there be one, or under the feet of the dancers without sustaining injury from the heat or the pressure. This lasts for a few minutes only, and is followed by the spasmodic stage. With hands and knees on the ground and hair loosened, the body is convulsed, and the head shakes violently, whilst from the mouth issues a hissing or gurgling noise. The patient next evincing an inclination to stand on his legs, the bystanders assist him and place a stick in his hand, with the aid of which he hops about, the spasmodic action of the body still continuing and the head performing by jerks a violently fatiguing circular movement. This may go on for hours, though Captain Samuells says that no one in his senses could continue such exertion for many minutes. When the Baiga is appealed to, to cast out the spirit, he must first ascertain whether it is Gansām himself or one of his familiars that has possessed the victim. If it be the great Gansām, the Baiga implores him to desist, meanwhile gently anointing the victim with butter; and if the treatment is successful, the patient gradually and naturally subsides into a state of repose from which he rises into consciousness, and restored to his normal state, feels no fatigue or other ill-effects from the attack."

Malabar and Kanara are likewise wellknown centres of the devil-worship. Mr. *M. J. Walhouse* gives an interesting account of a devil dance in a village in Kanara :—

" The festival always takes place at night, and about 9 o'clock all the villagers assemble in their best attire, the women wearing all their ornaments, and their heads, as well as often the men's, thickly garlanded with flowers. Tom-toms and drums are beaten, and the Pujāri, or priest, takes the Bhūta-sword and bell in his hands, and whirls round and round, imitating the supposed mien and gestures of the demon. But he does not aspire to full possession, which in aboriginal rites like these is only given to a representative of the aboriginal tribes, now the lowest castes. A Dhēr, one of the slave caste, at other times regarded with contempt, but now advanced to the foremost post, comes forward naked, save a waist-band, and with all his head and body grotesquely and frightfully besmeared with white, yellow and red paint. Over his head, and tied to his back, there is a sort of an arch, termed Ani, made of green cocoa-tree leaves, with their ends radiating out. For some time he paces up and down, within a ring formed by the crowd, flinging about his arms, gesticulating wildly, leaping, and shaking his body furiously. Meanwhile a dozen or more tom-toms and drums are beaten incessantly and stunningly, with a continually increasing din ; and the Dhēr presently breaks into a maniac dance, capering, bounding, and spinning vehemently, whilst the instruments redouble their noise, the power of the Bhūta being estimated by the fury and persistence with which the Dhēr dances. The multitude around joins in raising a long, monotonous, howling cry, with a peculiar vibration. At length the Dhēr stops, he is full of the demon, and stands fixed and rigid, with staring eyes. Presently he speaks, or rather the demon speaks from him, in loud, hoarse, commanding tones, wholly unlike his own, or indeed any natural voice. He addresses the headman of the village first, and then the principal inhabitants in due order, for any neglect of etiquette on this point by the Bhūta would infallibly give rise to great resentment. After thus speaking to the principal villagers and asking whether all the people are present, the possessed Dhēr goes on to say that the Bhūta is pleased with the performance of the ceremony, and exhorts all the people to behave justly and charitably to one another. Various disputes and litigated matters, especially when evidence and ordinary means of adjustment fail, are then brought forward and submitted to the decision of the Bhūta, and his award, pronounced through the Dhēr, is generally, though not always, submitted to. After this the demon desires to have food, and the Dhēr eats fried rice and drinks the milk of young cocoanuts; or, if the demon he represents be one of low degree, he eats animal food and drinks arrack. He then distributes areca flowers and pieces of cocoanut to all assembled in due order of precedence, and the Bhūta passes away from him, he loses his commanding mien and tones, and relapses into the servile drudge."[398]

[398] See Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol. V, pp. 413, 414.

Among the Wagries, Bhils and other aboriginal tribes in the Dekhan and Guzerat the same customs prevail; the principal demons there revered are named Khodiyal, Meladī, Śenābī, Barochi, Ṭoṭābī, Būtiyā, Śikotar, Kesurbai, Vantri, the Khapar Yōginīs, the Zambdis and Vissoti. The first six of these are demons and the last six are demonesses. Vissoti is said to occupy a superior position among these demons, and not to be altogether bad-natured. Some of the abovementioned devils, like the Śenābī, do not enter into bodies, but are invoked to drive away the devils who have taken possession of men.[399]

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[399] I obtained this information from a native gentleman of Ahmedabad. Mount Girnar near Junagar is the principal seat of *Khodiyal*, who is worshipped throughout Guzerat by offerings, consisting respectively of 5¼ seers of Labshi (wheat flour mixed with jaggery and boiled in water), 1¼ seer of jaggery, ¾ seer of sugar, a goat and a bottle or more of liquor. *Śikotar* is the wandering ghost of an impious woman who enters the bodies of men and is driven out by a *Bhuva* or devil-priest. She is also at times revered as the goddess of the sea, who restores ships which have been wrecked at sea, and stories are told to this effect. The *Yōginīs* are of three kinds, *Pul*-(flower), *Lāl*-(red) and Kēśur-(hair) Yōginīs. They are invoked when epidemics, especially cholera, rage in the country. With their hair hanging over their shoulders, their faces painted with red colour, the Bhuvas assemble at a prominent Yōginī-temple, and after having partaken of a liberal supply of intoxicating liqnor, jump about, pretending that the Yōginī has entered them, and that they speak in her name. At first the Pulyōginī appears alone, complaining about the neglect she and her sisters have suffered threatening the arrival of her sisters Lalyōginī and Keśuryōgiuī, if she is not properly appeased now. The people made then in their homes the requested sacrifices consisting of a goat, rice, ghee and liqnor, and in the evening Pulyōginī is in a small carriage, resembling a children's toy, taken with tomtom beating out of the town, and in the dead of night drives to the limits of the neighbouring village, where the chief Bhuva leaves her without looking backwards. The inhabitants of the next village when they find the carriage on the next morning are frightened by the arrival of Pulyōginī and send her with similar ceremonies to another village. The *Zambdis* are the ghosts of bad women and are distinguished as Pul, Rambhā, Dīpa, Dharma, Juhu and Dhunba-Zambdis. Dākinī and Chudel are included in this group. These Zambdis appear generally in different shapes deluding benighted travellers on their way.

I give these details about the Guzerati deities with the intimation, that I have not been able to verify them.

The Piśācas are in South India attended by peculiar demoniac servants, who are popularly known as *Bhūtas*. They are small, but stout and of red colour. Pigtails surround their heads, their faces are horrible and lion fangs protrude from their mouths. As they are created for the special purpose of being servants, they do not mind doing the lowest and most menial services, and are quite satisfied with their position, which cannot be said of the Piśācas. The Bhūtas are generally employed as gatekeepers of their masters, watching those who enter and go away, or fetching or carrying off somebody.[400] In the Persian plays which are often performed in India, black Devils or Piśācas and red Bhūtas appear and serve in the court of Indra.

The temples which are dedicated to the worship of the devils present generally a very mean appearance, though some are of considerable size. The majority of these places are constructed of mud, without stone or brick, in a pyramidal form, covered with white-wash and streaks of red ochre, a stone or a small heap of earth serving as an altar. Occasionally a low square groundwork of stones or bricks terminates in a pyramid or obelisk, the angles of the pyramid generally corresponding with the cardinal points. These pyramidal obelisks are according to the late Bishop Caldwell a distinguishing characteristic of devil worship.[401]

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[400] See *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 186 and 187.

[401] Compare Bishop Caldwell's *Tinnevelly Shanars*: "The places in which the demons are worshipped are commonly termed *Pē-cōils*, or devil temples. A heap of earth raised into a pyramidical shape and adorned with streaks of white-wash, sometimes alternating with red ochre, constitutes in the majority of cases, both the temple, and the demon's image, and a smaller heap in front of the temple with a flat surface forms the altar. The devil-pyramid is sometimes built of brick and stuccoed over; and when thus built of coherent materials it rises into something of the shape of an obelisk. So far as I have seen, the angles of the pyramid are made to correspond with the cardinal points. Its height rarely exceeds eight feet and is generally less than five. This pyramidal obelisk is a distinguishing characteristic of devil-worship."

According to the Rev. S. Mateer a small pyramidal erection or obelisk of four or five feet in height stands in front of a devil temple, or even by itself.[402] These obelisk shrines represent, no doubt, a very ancient style of architecture. It is here worth mentioning that of the two kinds of temples which are found among the Todas, the *Boa* (*Boath*) which is regarded as the older form of building and of which there are only four left on the hills, is such a conical structure looking from a distance exactly like a church-steeple. These conical shrines are surrounded by a circular wall.[403]

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[402] See Mateer's Land of Charity, p. 213: "*Pē coils*, or devil temples, are very numerous throughout the country. They bear no resemblance whatever to the Brahmanical idol temples, being in general mere sheds, a few yards in length, open at one end, and mostly quite empty. Indeed, images are no essential element in demonworship. In front of the devil-temple, or sometimes without any covered edifice, there stands a small pyramidal erection or obelisk four or five feet in height, generally built of brick and stuccoed which is always associated with this worship and takes the place of an image; but it is impossible to ascertain the origin or meaning of this symbol."

Mr. M. J. Walhouse says *loco citato*, p. 412: "The general buildings dedicated to these demons are called Bhūtastāns, and when dedicated to one of the superior, or very popular, Bhūtas, sometimes of considerable size; but far more commonly a small plain structure, four or five yards deep, by two or three wide, with a door at one end, covered by a portico supported on two pillars, with a thatched roof, and windowless. In front of it there are usually three or four T-shaped pillars, the use of which is not clear. They are said to denote that the building is a Bhūtastān, and flowers are placed, and cocoanuts broken on them at ceremonies. Inside the Bhūtastān there is usually a number of images roughly made in brass in human shape, or resembling animals, such as pigs, tigers, fowls, etc. These are brought out and worshipped as symbols of the Bhūtas on various ceremonial occasions. The Bhūtas themselves are usually represented by mere rough stones."

[403] See *above*, p. 186. The priest in charge of a Boa is a *Vorshāl* or sacrifice man, who belongs to the second class of priests. Some scholars doubt, whether the Boas, though now appropriated by the Todas were erected by them. See Col. Marshall's *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, pp. 168, 169 and Mr. Breeks' *Account of the Nilagiris*, pp. 14, 15.

From the foregoing exposition I may now be permitted to deduce a few conclusions. The simple and poetic worship paid in the Vedic songs to the physical forces of Nature, gave place in course of time on the one hand to a rigid, sacrificial ceremonial, propounded and enforced by priests, and on the other, to an exposition of philosophical systems trying to explain in a more liberal way the creation and existence of the Universe. These systems were already at an early period modified by contact with the ideas entertained on this subject by a foreign race, which occupied India. These non-Aryans belonged to the great Turanian race which reigned then over civilised Asia, with Mesopotamia as their centre. They believed in the existence of one Supreme Spirit of heaven, with whom was associated and admitted to an equal, and eventually even superior, share of power the Goddess of the Earth. Both ruled supreme over the good as well as the evil spirits who disturbed and tortured men ; over men and the entire world. Associated with this doctrine was a belief in the transmigration of souls after death. The combination of these Aryan and non-Aryan systems affected the beliefs of both nations, and the result of this connexion is apparent in the present religious state of India.

PART IV.

THE BHARATAS.

CHAPTER XX.

Introductory Remarks.

The hope which I expressed at the beginning of the third Part that an inquiry into the system of Indian theogony would corroborate the conclusions that had been previously arrived at by the linguistic evidence, has not been disappointed. Both inquiries indeed have elicited the fact, that the Aborigines of India belong on the whole to one and the same race which being composed of Gaudians and Dravidians I should like to call *Bharatan*. In order to determine for a race the position to which its thinking powers entitle it, or to ascertain, as it were, its mental index, it is necessary to study the formation of its thoughts, in their linguistic and philosophical, or rather religious, aspects as revealed in the framing of words and sentences, and in the expression of ideas. For finally fixing, however, the place to which an individual or a community is entitled in the ranks of mankind, the condition of the mental qualifications must be supplemented by physical evidence, such as ethnology alone is able to furnish. It is therefore of great importance that the results of the ethnological investigation concerning the population of India should coincide with those gained by the help of philology and theology. In fact these three sciences agree in their conclusions that only two chief races exist in India.[1]

[1] Read *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, by H. H. Risley, Ethnographic Glossary, Vol. I, pp. XXX, XXXI: "The data thus obtained from 6,000 persons, representing 89 of the leading castes and tribes in Northern India,

With these remarks I may proceed now to inquire into the political status of the ancient inhabitants of India. The two principal and rival races we meet here, are styled in Sanskrit *Ārya* and *Anārya*, names which correspond to the modern Aryan and non-Aryan, the latter being also described as *Dasyu* and *Dāsa*.[2] The former represents the invaders of India, the latter its original inhabitants; for even if the Bharatas or Gauda-Dravidians had at an earlier period immigrated into India, we possess no information about this fact, and, so far as our knowledge goes, they occupied the country at a pre-Aryan epoch on both sides of the Himalayan mountains.

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from the Bay of Bengal to the frontiers of Afghanistan, enable us to distinguish two extreme types of feature and physique, which may be provisionally described as Aryan and Dravidian. A third type which in some respects may be looked upon as intermediate between these two, while in other, and perhaps the most important, points it can hardly be deemed Indian at all, is found along the northern and eastern borders of Bengal. . . . With this type, which may conveniently be described as Mongoloid, we have for our present purpose no immediate concern. Except in the districts of Assam and North-Eastern Bengal, it has contributed comparatively little to the evolution of caste as it now exists in India, and may be left out of consideration in the attempt to trace the stages of growth by which the prevailing state of things has been arrived at.

See *Die Anthropologie Indiens* von *Emil Schmidt*, p. 3. "Das Endresultat der mühevollen ausgedehnten Untersuchung ist, dass wir es in Indien, wenn wir von dem ausgesprochen fremdartigen Rassenelement der mongolischen Bewohner der Nordgrenzen absehen, wesentlich mit zwei verschiedenen Rassen zu thun haben. Schon die ältesten Urkunden, die Veden, lassen einen Kampf zweier verschiedener ethnischer Elemente erkennen, einen Kampf der zu tiefgreifenden socialen Gegensätzen geführt hat. Dass, aber diese soziale Sonderung (die Kaste) *varna*, d. h. Farbe genannt wird, ist bezeichnend dafür, dass ursprünglich der Gegensatz ein solcher des Blutes war; es war der Kampf einer eingewanderten, hellhäütigen mit einer schon ansässigen dunkelhäutigen Rasse. Die exakten Untersuchungen Risley's bestätigen von naturwissenschaftlicher Seite her die auf historischer Grundlage gewonnene Anschauung. Es handelt sich danach um zwei Grundformen."

1. Der *arische Typus*.
2. Der *dravidische Typus*."

[2] See *above*, p. 13.

We are likewise without any reliable information about the events which marked the progress of the Aryan invasion and conquest of India, but thus much is clear, that no sooner had the country been finally occupied, and its former inhabitants been subdued or expelled, than the victors began to quarrel among themselves, and open strife and war broke out between the several tribes hitherto united in kindred friendship. The songs of the Ṛgvēda are full of the valorous deeds performed in such internecine expeditions, which became the more frequent, the more the resistance of the aborigines declined, for the less the Aryans had to fear them, the more they could indulge in combats among themselves. Occasionally the excessive strength of one tribe gave to others a welcome pretext to oppose and subdue it, and in order to overthrow the growing ascendency of a clan, confederacies were formed to remove the danger which threatened the independence of the rest. Among such confederacies one of the most renowned is that of the five tribes, which comprised the *Turvaśa, Yadu, Anu, Druhyu* and *Pūru.*[3] The various wars which were waged by

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[3] In the Vēda text occur the following terms denoting five races: *pañca kṛṣṭayaḥ* (Ṛg. III, 2, 10; 53, 16); *pañca kṣitayaḥ* (Ṛg. I, 7, 9; 176, 3; V, 35, 2, etc.); *pañca carṣaṇayaḥ* (Ṛg. V, 86, 2; VII, 75, 4); *pañca janāḥ* (Ṛg. III, 37, 9; 59, 8, etc.); *pañca mānavāḥ* (*Atharv.* III, 21, 5; XII, 1, 15); *pañca mānuṣāḥ* (Ṛg. VIII, 9, 2), etc. The expression *five races* refers probably to the five tribes above mentioned who occur thus in Ṛg. I, 108, 8, as Professor Kuhn has first pointed out. Elsewhere in Yāska's Nirukta III, 8, (see Roth's edition, p. 54) *pañca janāḥ* are explained as: "Gandharvāḥ pitarō dēvā, asurā rakṣāṁsi"; and in the Aitarēyabrāhmaṇa III, 31, we read: "Pāñcajanyam ētad uktham yadvaiśvadēvam sarvēṣām vā ētat pañca janānām uktham dēvamanuṣyāṇām gandharvāpsarasām'sarpāṇām ca pitṝṇām ca." In the Sanskrit dictionary of Professors *Böthlingk* and *Roth*, Vol. II, p. 412, we find under the word, *kṛṣti*: "Die fünf Völkerschaften (*pañca kṛṣṭayyḥ*; vgl. auch *kṣiti, carṣaṇi, jana*) ist Bezeichnung für *alle Völker*, nicht bloss für die arischen Stämme; eine alte Zählung, über deren Ursprung wir in den vedischen Texten keinen ausdrücklichen Aufschluss finden. Vergleichen kann man, dass die Welträume oder Richtungen öfters als fünf gezählt werden . . . wobei man als fünfte Richtung die nach

Sudās, the famous king of the Tṛtsus, brought about such alliances in which Aryans and non-Aryans fought together on both sides. It is indeed very difficult to decide in every single case whether a tribe is of Aryan or of non-Aryan origin, because the evidence on this point is so deficient that the opinion of scholars is of necessity much divided. General opinion is unanimous on the point that the Tṛtsus were a powerful Aryan tribe, and that the jealousy of the two great Brahmanic sages, Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, who at various times occupied the office of high priest to king Sudās, caused to a great extent those wars which ended at last with the disastrous overthrow of the Tṛtsus. Even after Viśvāmitra had been compelled to make room for his rival, fortune remained faithful to Sudās. He defeated king Bhēda, and under the guidance of Vasiṣṭha the Bharatas, to whom Viśvāmitra belonged, were broken like staves (Ṛg. VII, 13, 18, 19; VII, 33, 3, 6, etc.), and the ten kings who opposed king Sudās were thoroughly defeated in the battle on the banks of the Paruṣṇī (Ṛg. VII, 18; 83, 6, 8).[4] But the Aryans on either side were not strong enough to fight these combats unaided with any chance of success, and hence required the support of allies, whom they sought and found in the camps of their national foes who took part in this battle of the ten kings. The non-Aryan Pak-

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der Mitte . . . d. h. die Arier als Mittelpunkt und um sie herum die Nationen der vier Weltgegenden zu zählen hatte; vergl. die entsprechende Fünftheilung von Indien bei Hiuen-thsang . . . Nach vedischem Sprachgebrauch darf die Zahl fünf nicht als Bezeichnung einer unbestimmten Vielheit angesehen werden." The five tribes are mentioned by name *Ṛgvēda,* I, 108, 8)—Yayāti, mentioned in the *Ṛgvēda,* I, 31, 17 and X, 63, 1, is in the latter place called the son of Nahuṣa, and is in the Mahābhārata (*Ādiparvan* LXXV) and the Purāṇas named as the father of Turvaśa and Yadu (by Dēvayānī) and of Anu, Druhyu and Pūru by Śarmiṣṭhā. Read Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde,* Vol. I, pp. 719—722, 726 and *Anhang,* pp. XX and XXI, and compare Roth's *Zur Litteratur and Geschichte des Weda,* pp. 132, 133.

[4] See pp. 582, 596—598

thas, Bhalānas, Alinas, Śivas and Viṣāṇins fought on the side of Aryans against Aryans and non-Aryans.[5] Many tribal names besides the above mentioned occur in the Ṛgvēda, such as the Ajas, Bharatas, Cēdis, Gandhāris, Kīkaṭas, Ruśamas, Śaṇḍikas, Śigrus, Śimyus, Uśīnaras, Vaikarṇas, Yakṣus and others. Except in a few cases where the Aryan or non-Aryan origin of a clan is pretty well ascertained, as *e.g.* the Aryan extraction of the Tṛtsus and the non-Aryan of the Kīkaṭas, we are quite in the dark as to the ethnological race to which most of these tribes belonged. The *Anus* are thus by some claimed as Aryans, while others explain the term *Anu* as applying to non-Aryan people, and the Bharatas are identified with the Kolarian race.[6]

Another difficulty in this inquiry is the uncertainty felt in knowing or deciding whether a proper name, if used in the singular number, applies to an individual, to a family, or to a tribe, for the exact meaning often cannot be gathered from the context; as is the case with names like Dṛbhīka,[7] Kavaṣa, Nahuṣa, Sṛñjaya, Tarukṣa, Tugra, Vētasu, and others. It is also possible that the plural of the name of a person occurring in the Vēda, only applies to his posterity, and not to a tribe, the wider meaning being also

[5] See *Ṛgvēda* VII, 18, 7.

[6] The Aryan nationality of the Anu is upheld by Professor Zimmer, the non-Aryan by Professors Lassen, Böthlingk, Roth, Grassmann, and Mr. Hewitt.

Professor Lassen says *Indische Alterthumskunde*, p. 719: "Von seinem vierten Sohne *Anu* oder *Anava* werden die Geschlechter der *Mlēkha* abgeleitet and nach dem Norden verlegt. *Anu* bedeutet eigentlich Mensch, im Veda wird die Bedeutung jedoch beschränkt auf ferne, dem Arischen fremde Völker, und das Wort bedeutet nur scheinbar einen besondern Volkstamm."

Mr. J. F. Hewitt has assigned a Kolarian origin to the Bharatas and conjectures that the Anus, identifying them with the Kathi, were also Kolarians.

[7] *Dṛbhīka* is by the German lexicographers decribed as a demon, while Professor Ludwig (Vol. III, p. 207) thinks he recognizes in them a tribe which reminds him of the Δερβικες and Δερβικκαι.

admissible, especially when referring to a feudal community, such as prevailed among the Scotch clans.

As the Ṛgvēda is a compilation of songs by different authors of different times, it is, I think, rather hazardous to use the language or the meaning of one stanza or song for the explanation or interpretation of another, unless the authors of both are the same, or cogent reasons favor such a proceeding. If we meet thus with considerable obstacles in elucidating the details of the clan-formation in Vedic times, we must also on the other hand not overlook that, however deficient our knowledge of this period is and always will be, so much is certain that the Aryan invasion of North India was successful, that the border-country was permanently conquered, and that the subjugatiou of the adjacent provinces to Aryan rule had in consequence become an inevitable destiny. It is, however, quite a different matter to dilate on the ethnological constitution of the invaders, whether or not they formed a homogeneous group of Aryan tribes. It is not only possible, but also highly probable, that friendly aliens swelled their ranks, and that, as is generally the case with migrating peoples, the weaker tribes whom they had dispossessed were compelled to follow in their tracks. When immigrating, or victoriously invading, swarms of people settle down as a stable community, their various heterogeneous component elements amalgamate gradually into one national body, which preseuts to the outside world the aspect of a united nation, when even its multigenerous origin is still conspicuous and lives fresh in the memory of others. By and by with increasing power, the admission to citizeuship will be rendered difficult, till it may be altogether denied to newcomers. We have in the United States of North America a modern instance of the formation of such a state, and the foundation of Venice by frightened fugitives who were joined by bold

adventurers was followed in course of time by the establishment of the proudest aristocracy, which displayed its exclusiveness by the closing of the golden book. A like fate befell the Aryan settlement in India, which, free and liberal in its constitution at the beginning, became by degrees conservative and exclusive, till at last by priestly preponderance it developed the most successful and pernicious system of caste the world has ever known. Yet before this social edifice had assumed the immutable form it now exhibits, there preceded a time when its various portions existed separately and were not mixed with others. There can be no doubt that though the national Aryan stock prevailed among the Brāhmans, many foreign bodies had joined before it became consolidated as a Brahmanic caste: but once thus constituted it remained on the whole unchangeable, even if at times strange elements found access to it in a surreptitious manner.

In spite of all the difficulties which surround this ethnological mystery the Vēda has preserved some slight intimations which may throw light on this important question.

Among the most interesting episodes which are found in the Ṛgvēda, Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa and other Vedic writings, as well as in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas, must be numbered the rivalry and contest between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra.

On Vasiṣṭha.

The origin and history of the life of Vasiṣṭha have, from the importance attached to them, always been a subject of the greatest interest and even in ancient times were the favorite topic of legendary accounts.[8] In

[8] Among European scholars Professor von Roth in his *Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda*, Professor Christian Lassen in his *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Professor Albrecht Weber in his *Indische Studien*, Professor Max Müller in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, and Dr. John Muir in his *Original Sanskrit Texts* (especially in Vol. I) have much contributed to the elucidation of this Vedic period.

the Ṛgvēda he appears as a sage, a priest and a poet, its seventh maṇḍala being ascribed to him. As the domestic chaplain of king Sudās, the grand-son of Pijavana and the famous king of the Tṛtsus,[9] he became the rival of Viśvāmitra. He is said to have belonged to the tribe of the Tṛtsus, to whose king, Sudās, the Mahābhārata alludes as a Śūdra; a circumstance which proves how little historical reliance can be placed on that epic![10] He was a friend of Varuṇa, but having lost his favour, in order to regain it he humbly implores the forgiveness of the incensed God.[11] He teaches Indra the Virāj metre, and in return receives for this instruction the explanation of the formula of expiation (*prāyaścitta*);[12] the same God also imparts to Vasiṣṭha the devotion (*brahman*), while to Viśvāmitra he only grants the recitation (*uktha*).[13]

Vasiṣṭha is called the son of Varuṇa and Mitra and of the nymph Urvaśī. For when he had inconsiderately caused *Nimi* to lose his bodily form, the king retaliated by pronouncing a similar curse against his former domestic priest, in consequence of which Vasiṣṭha's male energy entered into Varuṇa and Mitra, but left them at the sight of Urvaśī. As Agastya was born on the same occasion, he became, as it were, a brother of Vasiṣṭha.[14]

The enmity of Viśvāmitra subjected Vasiṣṭha to many trials and hardships. He lost all his hundred sons. His son Śakti was either killed by the sons of Sudās, or all his sons were according to the Mahābhārata and Sāyaṇa's com-

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[9] See *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 18, 4, 5, 21—25; VII, 33, 1—6, etc. Sudās is also occasionally called the son of Pijavana.

[10] See *Śāntiparvan*, LX, 38: Śūdraḥ Paijavanō nāma sahasrāṇām śatam dadau.

[11] See *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 86.

[12] See *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XII, 6, 1, 38.

[13] See *Saḍviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*, 1, 5.

[14] See *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 33, 10, 11; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 5, 6, and *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, IX, 13, 1—13.

mentary to Ṛgvēda VII, 104, 12, devoured by a Rākṣasa. Conformably to the Epic the machinations of Viśvāmitra made king Kalmāṣapāda, the son of Sudāsa, when transformed into a man-eating Rākṣasa, swallow all the sons of Vasiṣṭha.[15] Sāyaṇa connects the murder of Vasiṣṭha's sons with this story and explains the Vedic verse in which the bereaved sage indignantly repudiates the accusation of being a Rākṣasa or Yātudhāna, which had been insidiously brought against him, as referring to the calumnious statement that Vasiṣṭha had in the shape of a Rākṣasa eaten his own sons.[16] In this state of mind Vasiṣṭha preferred death to revenge, and tried to destroy himself by first throwing himself from the summit of mount Mēru, then by walking into the blazing forest-fire, again by hurling himself with a heavy stone tied on to his neck into the sea, and lastly by drowning himself in the swollen waters of the Vipāśā Hard as he tried, however, he could not obtain his desire to lose his life.

The respect in which Vasiṣṭha was held and the worship which he secured after his death, elevated him to a divine

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[15] Compare the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, VII, 4, 7, 1. See also Mahābhārata, *Ādiparvan*, CLXXVIII, about Kalmāṣapāda, the son of Sudāsa, 22nd descendant of Triśaṅku, meeting Śaktṛ, the son of Vasiṣṭha, in the road, and the consequences of their quarrel. It appears that both reports refer to the same occurrence, and perhaps the persons alluded to in the T. S. as the Saudāsāḥ and Kalmāṣapāda, the son of Sudāsa, (and in consequence a Saudāsa), are really identical with each other.

[16] See *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 104, 12. According to Sāyaṇa in his commentary, v. 12, a Rākṣasa who had slain the hundred sons of Vasiṣṭha, assumed the form of the latter, saying that he (the Rākṣasa) was Vasiṣṭha and Vasiṣṭha the Rākṣasa :

" Hatvā putraśatam pūrvam Vasiṣṭhasya mahātmanaḥ
Vasiṣṭham rākśas'ōsi tvam vāsiṣṭham rūpam āsthitaḥ
Aham Vasiṣṭha ityēvam jighāṁsū Rākṣasō' bhravīt
Atrōttarā ṛcō dṛṣṭā Vasiṣṭhēnēti naḥ śrutam."

See the end of the introductory remark of Sāyaṇa to Ṛgvēda VII, 104, where he quotes the *Bṛhaddēvatā* as follows :

Ṛṣir dadarśa rakṣōghnam putraśōkapariplutaḥ
hatē putraśatē kruddhaḥ Saudāsair duḥkhitas tadā.

position. Manu mentions him as one of the ten Maharṣis;[17] the Viṣṇupurāṇa acknowledges him in one place as one of the nine mind-born sons of Brahman, while he is called in another one of the seven sages of the present or Vaivasvata Manvantara.[18] The Mahābhārata also is not consistent in this respect. The Ādiparvan does not include his name among the six great sages, but the Śāntiparvan adds him as the seventh, and names him also as one of the twenty-one Prajāpatis:[19] the Rāmāyaṇa, however, is silent on this subject.

Vasiṣṭha had various wives. By Urjjā he had seven sons, but Śakti (or Śaktṛ) was not one of these. Another wife Akṣamālā is said to have been of low birth, but was elevated to a high position by her husband; some identify her with Arundhatī, who is well known as being the zealous and jealous wife of the sage. She is regarded as one of the Pleiades, and by her union with Vasiṣṭha was revered as the mother of the seven great patriarchs figuring in the sky as the constellation of the Great Bear. By the wife of his son Śakti he became grandfather to the posthumous *Parāśara*.

Vasiṣṭha is also mentioned as one of the superintendents of the month Āṣāḍha, and as a Vyāsa or divider of the Vēda in the eighth Dvāpara. He was the owner of the celebrated cow Surabhi which excited the covetousness of Viśvāmitra, and was according to later traditions the innocent cause of the protracted enmity between both sages, as Vasiṣṭha did not want under any conditions to part with his favorite Kāmadhēnu.

Vasiṣṭha communicated his knowledge to king Janaka. He was the priest of Nimi, son of Ikṣvāku, whom he cursed for retaining Gautama; he was the teacher of Sagara, Ikṣvāku's 37th descendant; the sacrificial priest of Kalmāṣa-

[17] See *Manu*, I, 35.

[18] See *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, I, 7, 5; and III, 1, 14.

[19] See *Śāntiparvan*, CCVIII, 2—5 and CCCXXXIV (first Calcutta edition CCCXXXVI), 33—35.

pāda, Mitrasaha or Saudāsa, 50th in descent from Ikṣvāku and the priest of Rāma, his 61st descendant. According to the Raghuvaṁśa he procured progeny to king Dilīpa, by inducing him to pay respect to his favorite cow Surabhi. These few statements prove that Vasiṣṭha like Agastya and Viśvāmitra lived for many ages beyond the usual limit assigned to human life.[20]

Vasiṣṭha is the one sage whom the Brāhmans particularly love to glorify, and whom they therefore endow with all kinds of virtues to make him worthy of their reverence and worship. By doing so, however, they have artificially created a superior being who is placed beyond the range of historical research. On the other hand they go to the other extreme in vilifying as much as possible the character of his great rival and enemy Viśvāmitra. With these remarks I now turn to Viśvāmitra.

On Viśvāmitra.

The seer and priest Viśvāmitra, the author of the third Maṇḍala of the Ṛgvēda which contains the famous Gāyatrī (III, 62, 10), first appears prominently in the Ṛgvēda, in his official capacity as the priest of the Tṛtsu-king Sudās, whose affairs he for a while conducts satisfactorily, but whose court he has to leave owing to the influence of Vasiṣṭha. The exact position in which both priests stood to the king is not clear. Viśvāmitra was most likely only temporarily employed, but having expected to keep his post permanently, felt much aggrieved when through the influence of Vasiṣṭha he was disappointed in this hope; and henceforth he directed his hatred against the king and his priest. Vasiṣṭha was, as has been suggested, by birth a Tṛtsu, and Viśvāmitra a Bharata, the former representing the ruling, the latter a section of an alien tribe

[20] See Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, p. 337.

which sought its fortunes by entering into the service of a mighty and noble prince. With respect to Viśvāmitra's nationality, there are two possibilities. He was either an Aryan of liberal mind, who had embraced the cause of the aliens, in this case of the Bharatas, with whom he became in course of time thoroughly identified, or he was of non-Aryan extraction, *i.e.*, a Bharata. If so, considering the high position he occupied from the first, it is very probable that his immediate forefathers had already become naturalized among the Aryans, and participated in the enjoyment of Aryan privileges, which Viśvāmitra inherited from them, and of which he made the utmost use owing to his great mental qualifications and fearless disposition.[21] That Viśvāmitra, a high-minded and ambitious man, should try his utmost to elevate himself and the Bharatas by seeking for them an alliance with the most powerful nation of the neighbourhood, need not create any surprise. The moment appears to have been well chosen, for the times were troublous, and the league was acceptable to Sudās, as the martial Bharatas considerably strengthened his army. On the other hand the Bharatas, up to now a rather insignificant and even despised race, gained a political position which

[21] See *Notes on the early history of Northern India* by J. F. Hewitt, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. XX, pp. 345, 346: "The whole story shows the opposition between two parties, one strictly Brahminical, represented by Vasiṣṭha, who wished to bring the people completely under Brahminical rule, to enforce the caste distinctions between Aryans and non-Aryans, to restrict the right of offering sacrifices and acquiring learning, with the advantages thence resulting, to those who were of pure Aryan birth, and received as Brahmins into the sacred caste. The other was the party of compromise, who wished to give Aryan privileges to the ruling classes of the native races, and to take their gods into the Aryan pantheon. The party of compromise, who were, as Viçvāmitra describes the Bharatas in the Rigveda, the far-seeing people, won the day. The advantages of securing the alliance of the ruling classes of the native races were too great to be neglected by those who looked at the question in its widest aspects, and they were formally received into the highest castes."

placed them socially within the pale of the superior class, a position which, when once obtained, could not easily be wrested from them again, because the rank secured in those days was afterwards permanently acknowledged by the establishment of the distinctions of caste. The personal ambition of Viśvāmitra was at first centred in acquiring and permanently maintaining the post of domestic chaplain to king Sudās and his family. Perhaps this apparently selfish object was really prompted by not altogether selfish designs, for his personal promotion was of the greatest import to the Bharatas. When these entered into a compact with the Tṛtsus, Vasiṣṭha, if then present at the court of Sudās, may have even promoted the treaty as strengthening the position of the Tṛtsus. At all events he neither suspected any danger arising from this alliance nor did he penetrate into the ultimate object and secret aims of Viśvāmitra, so that the latter was for a while able to insinuate himself into the good graces of the king and gain popularity with the people. But when Vasiṣṭha fathomed the designs of Viśvāmitra to supplant him, he presumably lost no time in counteracting and frustrating them. Viśvāmitra was in consequence either forced to resign his post or was deposed from his office, which event put an end to the alliance of the Tṛtsus and Bharatas. The latter under the lead of Viśvāmitra, separated themselves from the Tṛtsus, and when open war was declared, sustained at first a defeat.

Viśvāmitra was still in the service of Sudās when he sang:

> 9. The mighty sage, god-born and god-incited, who looks on men, restrained on the billowy river.
> When Viśvāmitra was Sudās's escort, then Indra through the Kuśikas grew friendly.
>
> 10. Like swans, prepare a song of praise with pressing-stones, glad in your hymns with juice poured forth in sacrifice.
> Ye singers, with the gods, sages who look on men, ye Kuśikas, drink up the Soma's savoury meath.

11. Come forward, Kuśikas, and be attentive; let loose Sudās's horse to win him riches.
East, west, and north, let the king play the foeman, then at earth's choicest place perform his worship.
12. Praise to Indra have I sung, sustainer of this earth and heaven.
This prayer of Viśvāmitra keeps secure the race of Bharatas.[22]

On leaving Sudās, Viśvāmitra, who appears to have retreated unmolested, recrossed with his wealth and his Bharatas the rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī, after imploring them to stop flowing until he and his friends had passed, and to resume their course afterwards:

11. Soon as the Bharatas have fared across thee, the warrior band, urged on and sped by Indra,
Then let your streams flow on in rapid nation. I crave your favour who deserve our worship.
12. The warrior host, the Bharatas, fared over: the singer won the favour of the rivers.
Swell with your billows, hasting, pouring riches. Fill full your channels, and roll swiftly onward.[23]

The end of the 53rd hymn in which Viśvāmitra expresses his hatred against Vasiṣṭha and threatens him with revenge

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[22] See Ṛgvēda III, 53, 9—12:
9. Mahān ṛṣir dēvajā dēvajūtō; stabhnāt sindhum arṇavam nṛcakṣāḥ,
Viśvāmitrō yad avahat Sudāsam apriyāyata Kuśikēbhir Indraḥ.
10. Haṁsā va kṛṇutha ślōkam adribhir madantō gīrbhir adhvarē sutē sacā
dēvēbhir viprā ṛṣayō nṛcakṣasō vipibadhvam Kuśikāḥ sōmyam madhu.
11. Upa prēta Kuśikāś cētayadhvam aśvam rāyē pra muñcata Sudāsaḥ
rājā vṛttram jaṅghanat prāg apāg udag athā yajātē varē ā pṛthivyāḥ
12. Ya imē rōdasī ubhē aham Indram atuṣṭavam
Viśvāmitrasya rakṣati brahmēdam Bhāratam janam.
The translation is taken from Mr. R. T. H. Griffith's Hymns of the Ṛigvēda.

[23] See *Ṛgvēda*, III, 33: Śāyaṇa confirms this statement in his preface to the hymn: "Purā kila Viśvāmitraḥ Paijavanasya Sudāsō rājñaḥ purōhitō babhūva. Sa ca paurōhityēna labdhadhanaḥ sarvam dhanam ādāya Vipāṭ-Śutudryōḥ sambhēdam āyayāvanuyayur itarē, athōttitīrṣur Viśvāmitrō gādhajalē tē nadyau dṛṣṭvōttaraṇārtham ādyābhis tisṛbhis tuṣṭāva." Compare Yāska's Nirukta, II, 24. See Griffith's translation.

was, as Professor Roth has already pointed out, written at a later period than the preceding verses quoted above, and the last or 24th verse shows this clearly in the following words:—

> "These sons of Bharata, O Indra, desire dissociation not association,
> They urge their steed as against a constant foe, and carry a strong bow in battle."[24]

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[24] See Prof. Roth's *Litteratur and Geschichte des Weda*, p. 111: "Diese Söhne Bharata's, o Indra, kennen (feindliches) Abwenden, nicht (freundliches) Hinwenden. Sie spornen ihr Ross; wie einen ewigen Feind tragen sie den starken Bogen (spähend) umher in der Schlacht."

Professor Roth discusses this hymn at some length and says on pp. 121—123: "Diese [(Vasiṣṭha's) Familie also angehörig dem Volkstamme der *Tritsu*, war es, welche ihrem Fürsten *Sudās* den wichtigen Dienst leistete durch ihre Anrufung die Huld der Götter im Kampfe von den Feinden ab und auf seine Seite zu wenden. Wie stimmt aber hiemit, was Viçvamitra von sich und den Kuçika rühmt, dass durch ihr Opfer *Indra* für *Sudās* gewonnen worden sey? und wie kann er die *Kuçika* auffordern Sudās' Schlachtross zu weihen, damit es ihn zum beutereichen Siege führe? Wie könnte, was auch durch Nir. II, 24. bestätigt wird *Viçvāmitra* neben *Vasishtha* Priester des *Sudās* gewesen seyn, da wir doch von ihm sehen, er gehöre dem Volksstamme der *Bharata* an, und die Bharata werden von *Sudās* und den Tritsu durch Verdienst der Vasishthiden besiegt? Ich versuche eine Lösung der Widersprüche nicht, indem ich die eine oder andere Angabe für falsch erkläre, sondern beide für geschichslich halte."

"Die Lösung scheint mir in den Versen 4, 21 bis 24 zu liegen, welche die Tradition, wie wir sie in der *Anukramanī* in ihrer ältesten Form haben, als Verwünschungen der *Vasishthiden* auffasst. Was in dieser dunkeln Stelle das Deutlichste ist, dass ist der Ausdruck eines durch Hintansetzung gekränkten Stolzes, der Rache droht, im Munde *Viçvāmitra's* selbst oder mindestens eines *Bharatiden*. Der Feind ist in den Besitz einer Würde oder einer Macht gekommen, welche *Viçvāmitra* zuvor inne hatte. Waren es nun *Viçvāmitra* und die *Kuçika*, welche den Sudās zum Siege geführt und einer entsprechenden Stellung und Ansehens genossen hatten, und finden wir in den übrigen Hymnen die *Vasishthiden* an derselben Stelle, so kann es kaum etwas Anderes als eben dieser Vortheil seyn, der ihnen von dem Feinde aus der Hand gewunden wurde. Ich nehme also an wie schon oben angedeutet—dass die fünfzehnte Hymne des vierten *Anuvaka* im Mandala *Viçvāmitra's* Bruchstücke von Liedern jenes *Rishi* aus verschiedenen Zeiten enthält, und dass jenes Stück, in welchem *Viçvāmitra* sich und die *Kuçika*, als Priesterschaft des Sudās darstellt, älter ist, als

Viśvāmitra's anger, it is probable, carried him often too far, and he wreaked his revenge in an unjustifiable manner, thus laying himself open to the charges of cruelty and meanness. But though he was no doubt a man of a fierce and unrelenting disposition, still the Mahābhārata and other Epic and Pauranic poems appear to have delighted in exaggerating to an incredible extent the misdeeds which Viśvāmitra was accused of having committed. His main offence certainly was that he, a man of non-Brahmanic extraction, forced his way by mere mental and physical superiority into the sacred circle of the ruling priestcraft, and into the exclusive pale of the domineering race, a presumption which though crowned with success, stamped the perpetrator in the eyes of bigoted Brāhmans with a stigma which could neither be effaced nor condoned.

Viśvāmitra is generally called the descendant of Gādhin or Gāthin, or the son of Kuśika, from which name the frequently used patronymic Kauśika is derived. His birth is connected with the well kuown legend that the aucient

die Verwünschung, welche das Ende jenes *Sūkta* bildet. *Viçvāmitra* und die Seinigen wären durch den wachsenden Einflass des Vasishtha Geschlechts von *Sudās* weg zu dem Stamme der *Bharata* gedrängt worden, zu den Feinden *Sudās'* und der *Tritsu*, und vou dort aus schwören sie ihren Gegnern Rache . . . Wem diese Vermuthung zu weitgreifend scheinen wollte, der müsste, wozu gar kein Grund vorliegt, die Stelle 4, 9, bis 11 für unterschoben erklären und anuehmen, dass *Viçvamitra* stets den *Bharata* angehört hätte.'' See Dr. J. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, p. 372.

The meaning of this verse is so far clear that it distinctly says that henceforth Viśvāmitra and his followers the Bharatas, will have nothing to do with Vasiṣṭha aud his partisans, and that they will only meet in battle, to which the Bharatas will urge their steeds and carry their bows. The translation is, however, not easy, and the various versions differ considerably. The text is: "Ima Indram Bharatasya putrā apapitvam cikitur na prapitvam, hiuvantyaśvam araṇam na nityam jyāvājam pariṇayantyājau." The commentary of Sāyaṇa is as follows: "Hē Indra Bharatasya putrā Bharatavaṁśyā imē Viśvāmitrā apapitvam apagamanam Vasiṣṭhēbhyaś cikitur jānanti prapitvam na jānanti śiṣṭaiḥ saha tēṣām saṅgatir nāsti, brāhmaṇā ēva ityarthaḥ." Dr. Muir conjectures Vol. I, p. 354, (*Va*) *siṣṭhaiḥ* for śiṣṭaiḥ.

sage Ṛcīka had prepared for his wife Satyavatī a dish, which would make her the mother of a son endowed with all the worthy qualities of a Brāhman, while her mother, the wife of Gādhin, was to eat another preparation, in order to obtain a brave warrior as her son. Through the fault of her mother, Satyavatī changed the food, and each woman ate the dish prepared for the other. In consequence, Gādhin became the father of Viśvāmitra, while Ṛcīka at the instance of his wife Satyavatī postponed the birth of a formidable and murderous Kṣatriya for a generation, causing the curse to fall on her grandson, and not on her son. She became eventually the mother of Jamadagni who in his turn marrying Rēṇukā, the daughter of Rēṇu, had as his son the fierce matricide Paraśurāma.[25]

Viśvāmitra calls himself the son of Kuśika.[26] Indra is likewise in the Ṛgvēda addressed as the son of Kuśika.[27] According to the legend, Kuśika, while living as a Brahmacārin, desired to have a son like Indra, who thereupon out of fear was born as the son of Gāthin, and Indra in this manner obtained the name of Kauśika.[28] Viśvāmitra is also

[25] See *Harivaṁśa*, XXVII, 16—37.

[26] See *Ṛgvēda*, III, 33, 5, above : "Ahvē Kuśikasya sūnuḥ."

[27] See *Ṛgvēda* I, 10, 11. Sāyaṇa remarks on this verse that though Viśvāmitra was the son of Kuśika, in reality it was Indra : "Hē Kauśika Kuśikasya putra . . yadyapi Viśvāmitraḥ Kuśikasya putraḥ tathāpi tadrūpēṇēndrasyaivōtpannatvāt Kuśikaputratvam aviruddham ayam vṛttāntō' nukramaṇikāyām uktaḥ : Kuśikas tvaiṣirathir Indratulyam putram icchan brahmacaryam ca cacāra tasya indra ēva Gāthīputrō jajñē iti."

[28] See *Harivaṁśa*, XXVII, 12—16 :

12. Kuśaputrā babhūvur hi catvārō dēvavarcasaḥ
Kuśikaḥ Kuśanābhaśca Kuśāmbō Mūrtimāṁstathā.

13. Pahlavaiḥ saha saṁvṛddhō rājā vanacarais tadā
Kuśikas tu tapas tēpē putram Indrasamaprabham
Labēyam iti tam Śakras trāsād abhyētya jajñivān.

14. Pūrṇē varṣasahasrē vai tam tu Śakrō hyapaśyata
atyugratapasam dṛṣṭvā sahasrākṣaḥ purandaraḥ.

15. Samarthaḥ putrajananē svam ēvāṁśam avāsayat
putratvē kalpayām āsa sa dēvēndraḥ surōttamaḥ.

called Viśvaratha. The *Harivaṁśa* gives a list of the sons of Viśvāmitra, beginning with Dēvarāta, who is identical with Śunaḥśēpha, the son of the Brāhman Ajīgartta, or according to others of the Brāhman Ṛcīka, whom Viśvāmitra saved from being sacrificed by buying, adopting and finally placing him at the head of his sons. The fifty elder sons of Viśvāmitra scorned the proposal of their father, while Madhucchandas, the oldest and representative of the fifty younger sons, consented to acknowledge Śunaḥśēpha or Dēvarāta, a name he had been given by Viśvāmitra, as their eldest and senior. In consequence Viśvāmitra cursed those elder sons, causing them to have as their descendants the low castes—Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas.[29] The history of Śunaḥśēpha is very peculiar

16. Sa Gādhir abhavad rājā Maghavān Kauśikaḥ svayam
Paurakutsyabhavad bhāryām Gādhis tasyām ajāyata.

Compare with this *ibidem*, XXXII, 43—62.

[29] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 15, ff: "Sō' jīgartam Sauyavasim ṛṣim aśanāyāparītam araṇya upēyāya; tasya ha trayaḥ putrā āsuḥ: Śuuaḥpucchaḥ, Śunaḥśēpaḥ, Śunōlāṅgūla iti." This Ajīgarta sells his second son to Rōhita. See Dr. M. Haug's *Aitareya-Brahmanam*, Vol. I, p. 180. According to the *Harivaṁśa*, XXVII, 42, Śunaḥśēpha is the second son of the sage Ṛcīka. Read ślōkas 41—48 and 53-56:

41. Aurvasyaivam Ṛcīkasya Satyavatyām mahāyaśāḥ
Jamadagnis tapō viryājjajñē brahmavidām varaḥ.

42. Madhyamaśca Śunaḥśēphaḥ Śunaḥpucchaḥ kaniṣṭhakaḥ
Viśvāmitram tu dāyādam Gādhiḥ Kuśikanandanaḥ.

43. Janayām āsa putram tu tapōvidyāśamātmakam
prāpya brahmarṣisamatām yō'yam saptarṣitām gataḥ.

44. Viśvāmitras tu dharmātmā nāmnā Viśvarathaḥ smṛtaḥ
jajñē Bhṛguprasādēna Kauśikād vaṁśavardhanaḥ.

45. Viśvāmitrasya tu sutād Dēvarātādayas smṛtāḥ
prakhyātās triṣu lōkēṣu tēṣām nāmāni mē śṛṇu.

46. Dēvaśravāḥ Katiścaiva yasmāt Kātyāyanāḥ smṛtāḥ
Śālāvatyām Hiraṇyākṣō Rēṇur jajñe'tha Rēṇumān

47. Sāṅkṛtir Gālavaś caiva Mudgalaś cēti viśrutāḥ
Madhucchandō jayaścaiva Dēvalaśca tathāṣṭakaḥ

48. Kacchapō Haritaś caiva Viśvāmitrasya tē sutāḥ
tēṣām khyātāni gōtrāṇi Kauśikānām mahātmanām.

and significant, not on account of his adoption by Viśvāmitra, but because, in consequence of this adoption, the succession to the priestly office of Viśvāmitra in its senior branch reverted to the Brāhmans, a caste to which Śunaḥśēpha belonged by birth. Dēvaśravas and Dēvavāta are in the Ṛgvēda called Bhāratas, and Sāyaṇa explains this patronymic as meaning "the two sons of Bharata."[30] Dēvaśravas occurs elsewhere, as we have seen, as the son of

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53. Viśvāmitrātmajānām tu Śunaḥśēphō'grajaḥ smṛtaḥ
Bhārgavaḥ Kauśikatvam hi prāptaḥ sa munisattamaḥ.
54. Viśvāmitrasya putras tu Śunaḥśēphō'bhavat kila
Haridaśvasya yajñē tu paśutvē viniyōjitaḥ
55. Dēvair dattaḥ Śunaḥśēphō Viśvāmitrāya vai punaḥ
Dēvair dattaḥ sa vai yasmād Dēvarātas tatō' bhavat.
56. Dēvarātādayaḥ sapta Viśvāmitrasya vai sutāḥ
Dṛṣadvatīsutaścāpi Viśvāmitrāt tathāṣṭakaḥ.

Compare about Viśvāmitra's birth and progeny *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 7, 14—17.

About Śunaḥśēpha's adoption and the curse of Viśvāmitra against his fifty eldest sons, see *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 17, 18; (17) Nēti hōvāca, Viśvāmitrō dēvā vā imam mahyam arāsatēti saha Dēvarātō Vaiśvāmitra āsa . . . Sa hōvāca Śunaḥśēphaḥ, sa vai yathā nō jñapayā rājaputra tathā vada yathaivāṅgirasaḥ san nupēyām tava putratām iti sa hōvāca Viśvāmitrō jyēṣṭhō mē tvam putrāṇām syās tava śrēṣṭhā prajā syāt, upēyā daivam mē dāyam tēna vai tvōpamantraya iti, sa hōvāca Śunaḥśēphaḥ, sañjñānānēṣu vai brūyāt sauhārdyāya mē śriyai yathā'ham Bharatarṣabhōpēyām tava putratām ityatha ha Viśvāmitraḥ putrān āmantrayām āsa Madhucchandāḥ śṛṇōtana Ṛṣabhō Rēṇur Aṣṭakaḥ yē kē ca bhrātaraḥ stha nāsmai jyaiṣṭhyāya kalpadhvam iti. (18) Tasya ha Viśvāmitrasyaikaśatam putrā āsuḥ, pañcāśad ēva jyāyāṁsō Maducchandasaḥ, pañcāśat kanīyāṁsaḥ tad yē jyāyāṁsō na tē kuśalam mēnirē. Tān anu vyājahārāntān vaḥ prajā bhakṣīṣṭēti ta ētēndhrāḥ Puṇḍrāḥ Śabarāḥ Pulindā Mūtibā ityudantyā bahavō bhavanti Vaiśvāmitrā dasyūnām bhūyiṣṭhāḥ. Sa hōvāca Madhucchandaḥ pañcāśatā sārdham yān naḥ pitā sañjānītē tasmiṁstiṣṭhāmahē vayam, puras tvā sarvē kurmahē tvām anvañcō vayam smasītyatha ha Viśvāmitraḥ pratītaḥ putrāṁstuṣṭāva." In Dr. Haug's edition, Vol. I, pp. 182, 183.

Ṛgvēda, X, 167, is dedicated to Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni and both are mentioned at the end of the last or fourth verse.

[30] See *Ṛgvēda*, III, 23, 2, 3. 2: "Amanthiṣṭām Bhāratā rēvadagnim Dēvaśravā Dēvavātāḥ sudakṣam." Sāyaṇa explains *Bhāratā* by *Bhāratau Bharatasya putrau*.

Viśvāmitra, and Dēvavāta may be another designation for Dēvarāta, under which name Śunaḥśēpha was adopted by Viśvāmitra. In this case *Bharata* may, either as a personal or a tribal name, refer to Viśvāmitra.[31] I must also not omit mentioning that according to the legend Viśvāmitra fell in love with the nymph Mēnakā, and that the daughter of both, Śakuntalā, married Duṣyanta, the son of this union being king Bharata. This is another incident of the close connexion between Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas.[32]

Viśvāmitra is like his rival Vasiṣṭha an instance of great longevity. He performs at one time the duties of chaplain to king Sudās, he elevates Triśaṅku to heaven, he officiates as hōtṛ-priest at the sacrifice of Hariścandra, he lives during the reigns of Ambarīṣa, Daśaratha and Rāma, *i.e.*, he performs his duties during 34 (from the 28th to the 61st) generations of kings of the line of Ikṣvāku. Dr. John Muir has fully pointed out this peculiarity.[33]

We need not be surprised too that the genealogical tables concerning the descent of Viśvāmitra do not agree, and that the same Purāṇa should contradict itself on this subject, as is the case with the parentage of Jahnu in the Harivaṁśa.[34] These inaccuracies give ample cause for complaint, but as I do not attach great historical importance to the genealogical tables contained in the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa or other Epic and Pauranic poems, so far as the most ancient times are concerned, I have only quoted these statements to impress on the reader how unreliable they are, and how necessary it is to accept them with caution.

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[31] See *Harivaṁśa*, XXVII, 55; XXXII, 55, 61; and *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa* as quoted in the preceding note; see also Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, p. 353.

[32] See *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparvan*, LXXII-LXXIV.

[33] See *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, p. 362.

[34] See *ibidem*, p. 353.

The position which Viśvāmitra occupies in ancient Indian history is so important, because he, a non-Brāhman, and probably not of pure Aryan descent as belonging to the tribe of the Bharatas, raised himself by his own exertions to the highest pinnacle of dignity, thus securing for himself one after another the titles of Rājarṣi, Maharṣi and Brahmarṣi.[35] If Viśvāmitra was not really an Aryan noble, the personal and bitter opposition against him is easily explained. The popular feeling of the mass of the Aryans fomented by the priests must have been strongly incited against the intrusion of a foreigner, though after the caste-restrictions had been once established and enforced, the fact of their previous non-existence was ignored for political reasons. The unfriendly treatment which Viśvāmitra received at the hands of later reporters, shows clearly that a hostile feeling still prevailed against him, long after the real circumstances of these events had been forgotten. Vasiṣṭha still remains the favorite, and is praised for his patience and magnanimity, the great Brahmanic virtues, while Viśvāmitra is described as formed of inferior clay and credited with vindictiveness, cruelty and deceitfulness. As, however, he at last succeeded in becoming a Brahmarṣi, Vasiṣṭha, his steady opponent, had to acknowledge this fact, and became reconciled to him.

Professor Lassen when reviewing the combat between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra thinks that a real war, in which barbarous nations took part, did not take place, that Vasiṣṭha gained his victory not by warriors but by his priestly rod, and that the legend acknowledges the superiority of the Brāhmans, as Viśvāmitra could only obtain his Brahmanic dignity in the same manner as Brāhmans do.[36]

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[35] The Bālakāṇḍa in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, sargas 51—65, contains the history of Viśvāmitra, and the *Mahābhārata* in various Parvans, as the Ādiparvan, chap. 69 ff, Udyōgaparvan, 105—118, Anuśāsanaparvan, etc.

[36] See Christian Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, pp. 718,

On the Bharatas.

After these short sketches of the lives of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, as we find them contained in the Vedic, Epic and Pauranic writings, I now turn to consider the position of the Bharatas, to whom Viśvāmitra belonged, and of whom he was the chief in lay and ecclesiastical matters. He is, as we have seen, repeatedly called Bharata in the Ṛgvēda, either directly or by implication when this name is given to his sons; and other Vedic works, like the Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa, where he is addressed as best of the Bharatas,[37] acknowledge him as such. The Bharatas appear to have owed their fortune mainly to the energy and statecraft of Viśvāmitra, who raised them from an apparently low and dependent position to independence and power. The weakness of the Bharatas may be inferred from the defeat they suffered, a defeat to which Vasiṣṭha alludes.[38]

The verse in question is explained by Sāyaṇa as alluding to a calamity which had befallen the Bharatas whom he identifies with the Tṛtsus, and from which Vasiṣṭha their priest had extricated them. This identification of the

719, second edition, (725, 726 in first edition) ; "Ihr Kampf mit seinen Motiven und seiner Maschinerie gehört der Form des ausgebildeten Epos an. Dahin gehört die Wunderkuh, die alles erwünschte erschafft an einem wirklichen Kampfe mit Waffen und einer Betheiligung der fremden Völker, der entarteten Krieger und der Urbewohner bei demselben zu denken, sind wir nicht berechtigt, da diese nur Schöpfungen der Dichtung sind. Auch wird der eigentliche Sieg von Vasistha nicht durch Waffen gewonnen, sondern durch seinen Stab. Die Sage stellt die vollendete Ueberlegenheit der Brahmanen dar, weil Viśvāmitra genöthigt wird, die Unzulänglichkeit der Macht der Krieger anzuerkennen und seine Brahmanenwürde nur nach der Weise der Brahmanen erreichte."

[37] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 17 : Bharata ṛṣabha.

[38] See *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 33, 6 : "Daṇḍā ivēd gōajanāsa āsan paricchinnā Bharatā arbhakāsaḥ, abhavacca pura ētā Vasiṣṭha ād it Tṛtsūnām viśō aprathanta." Compare p. 578.

Tṛtsus with the Bharatas is evidently wrong.[39] The context is also not in favour of this interpretation, which, so far from being supported, is disproved by evidence. The account in the Ṛgvēda makes it very improbable that Vasiṣṭha was ever the priest of the Bharatas, and if he acted in those days as such, it must have been at a time when the Bharatas first joined the Tṛtsus, and Viśvāmitra did not think it advisable or was not yet strong enough to openly oppose Vasiṣṭha. But after Viśvāmitra had with his followers seceded from the Tṛtsus, his connexion with them was broken for ever, and he, the foremost leader of the Bharatas, identified himself thoroughly with this people. On the other hand Vasiṣṭha's position towards this tribe is totally different. Though some scholars following the interpretation of Sāyaṇa,[40] regard Vasiṣṭha as the leader of the Bharatas,

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[39] See *Sāyaṇa* to Ṛgvēda VII, 33, 6 : "Gō ajanāsō gavām prērakā daṇḍā iva yathā daṇḍhāḥ paricchinnapatrōpaśākhā bhavanti tadvad Bharatāḥ Tṛtsūnām ēva rājñām Bharatā iti nāmāntarēṇōpādānam śatrubhiḥ paricchinnā ēvāsan it ēvakārārthaḥ arbhakāsōrbhakā alpāścāsan ādit paricchinnatvād anantaram ēva tēṣām Tṛtsūnām Vasiṣṭhaḥ pura ētā purōhitō'bhavacca tatpaurōhityasāmarthyāt Tṛtsūnām viśaḥ prajāḥ aprathanta avardhayanta." Compare on the other hand Sāyaṇa to Ṛgvēda, III, 53, 24.

Professor Roth has repeatedly pointed out the inaccuracy of Sāyana and in his essay *Zur Litteratur and Geschichte des Weda* says on pp. 93, 94: "Bei der Uebersetzung des Folgenden habe ich zu oft von *Sājana* abgehen müssen, als dass der Zweck dieser Blätter es gestattete, überall die abweichenden Erklärungen desselben anzuführen; ich erwähne derselben darum nur an den Stellen, wo der von mir angenommene Sinn zweifelhaft und des Commentators Auffassung der Rest einer ältern richtigen seyn kann."

[40] Professor Rudolph Roth gives in his work *Zur Litteratur and Geschichte des Weda*, p. 90, the following version : "Wie Stäbe des Ochsentreibers wurden die winzigen Bharata zerborchen; Vorkämpfer wurde Vasishṭha, ausbreiteten sich alsbald die Stämme der Tritsu."

Professor *Alfred Ludwig*, Vol. II, p. 656, translates this verse as follows: "Wie Stäbe, Treibstöcke der Rinder abgeschält (von Rinden und Ästen) waren die hilflosen Bharata, Vorkämpfer war ihnen aber Vasiṣṭha, darum breiteten sich weit ausz die Stämme der Tṛtsu." He identifies in Vol. III, p. 172, the Tṛtsus with the Bharatas. Mr. *R. T. H. Griffith*, Vol. III, p. 44,

most critics disagree with Sāyaṇa, and ascribe the defeat of the Bharatas to the action of Vasiṣṭha. Considering the question in all its bearings, I think that the Vedic verse should, without straining its meaning, be understood in the latter sense. For the course of subsequent events it is immaterial what position is ascribed in this verse to Vasiṣ'ha,—whether as a friend at the commencement of their relations, or subsequently as an enemy of the Bharatas,—so long as the Bharatas are not identified with the Tṛtsus. The Bharatas who with Viśvāmitra allied themselves at first with the Tṛtsus, were perhaps a numerous troop of adventurous mercenaries who, like the Goths in the Roman Empire, sought service at the foreign court of king Sudās, attracted by his reputation for liberality. Received very kindly on terms of equality, they ingratiated themselves by their valourous acts still more with the king and with his high priest Vasiṣṭha, until the latter discovered the ambitious designs of Viśvāmitra to supplant him. And it was just in time; for Viśvāmitra had already been appointed domestic chaplain to Sudās. Vasiṣṭha got rid of his rival, compelling him to retire with his followers from the court, but allowing him to retain the wealth he had acquired. Thus came to an end

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agrees with this view in his rendering: "Like sticks and staves wherewith they drive the cattle, stripped bare, the Bharatas were found defenceless: Vasishṭha then became their chief and leader and widely were the Tṛtsus' clans extended." To this he adds in note 6: "*Bharatas:* apparently the same as the Tṛtsus."

See Dr. Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, 320: "Like staves for driving cattle, the contemptible Bharatas were lopped all around. Vasishṭha marched in front, and then the tribes of the Tṛtsus were deployed." Compare also Professor Heinrich Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*, p. 126: "Wie Ochsentreiberstöcke wurden die winzigen Bharata zerbrochen; Führer (gegen sie) ward Vasishṭha, und es breiteten sich aus die Gaue der Tṛtsu;" and on p. 128: "Der endliche Ausgang ist freilich ein anderer. Während die Tṛtsu verschwunden sind in späterer Zeit, strahlen in hellem Lichte die Bhārata."

the alliance between the Tṛtsus and Bharatas, and henceforth began the continual rivalry and intrigues between the two priests to acquire supremacy.

The Bharatas seem to have been so well known as soldiers of fortune that their name became synonymous with mercenaries, like the Swiss who obtained in modern times a similar reputation. This appears to be the meaning of a sentence in the Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa in which Sāyaṇa explains the meaning of *Bharata* as denoting *warrior,* and even in the Ṛgvēda there occurs a passage where a similar meaning is implied in the term Bharata.[41]

From want of reliable historical information, we are completely in the dark as to how the great change which befell the Bharatas came about. All we know is that they appear all on a sudden as the representatives of the great Aryan race which gave its name to India. In my opinion the Aryan invaders were comparatively few in number and felt the necessity of admitting to their ranks the most powerful and respected classes of foreigners. To these latter belonged in the first place the strong and numerous Bharatas, whose ambition it was to force for themselves admission into the Aryan pale with the enjoyment of equal rights.

[41] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, 2, 25 (in Dr. Haug's edition, Vol. I, p. 44, and Vol. II, pp. 128, 129): "Tasmād dhāpyētarhi Bharatāḥ satvanām vittim prayanti," which in Vol. II, p. 212 of Böthlingk's and Roth's dictionary is translated "deshalb treten noch heute Kriegsknechte in den Sold (freier, edler) Krieger, Ait. Br., 2, 25. Sāj. wenigstens dem Sinne nach richtig: Bharatā yōddhāraḥ satvanām sārathīnām vētanam sampādayanti." Dr. Haug (Vol. II, p. 128) makes as to *Bharatas* the following remark: Sāyaṇa does not take this word here as a proper name, in which sense we generally find it in the ancient Sanskrit Literature, but as an appellative noun, meaning 'warriors.' He derives the word from *bhara* cattle, and *tan* to extend, stretch, to which etymology no modern philologist will give his assent. *Satvan* is here explained by Sāyaṇa as 'charioteer.'

Compare *Ṛgvēda*, II, 36, 2: where *Bharatasya sūnavaḥ* are explained by Sāyaṇa to mean "sarvasya jagatō bhartū Rudrasya putrāḥ," (the Maruts) the sons of Rudra the warrior. Compare Griffith, Vol. I, p. 393.

For support they could always rely on their warlike and independent kindred who had not joined them, but with whom they kept up friendly relations for some time at least. That the Bharatas outside the Aryan pale were respected and numerous, we know from Sanskrit sources.[42]

Though the Aryanised Bharatas became thus the governing tribe among the Aryans in India, it must not be forgotten that they, in their turn, adapted themselves in many respects to Aryan manners and customs, adopting what seemed advisable and politic, and retaining what they were not specially required to yield; perhaps, often only yielding temporarily for the sake of appearance.

This connexion between the Aryanised and non-Aryan Bharatas is a matter of considerable importance, and legend has not forgotten it. For while Viśvāmitra is by his adherents and fifty younger sons the representative of the Aryanised Bharatas, he is by the descendants of his fifty elder sons whom he cursed, the reputed ancestor of the barbarous and non-Aryan Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Mūtibas, a fact to which I have already alluded.[43] I do not intend to connect Viśvāmitra personally with these lower tribes, though there is no doubt that the Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa does so. It is, however, very significant that the existence of a relationship between the high and low caste Bharatas is already admitted in early times.

When speaking of the Bārs or Bhārs I pointed out their identity with the Bharatas, an idea which had previously presented itself to Sir Henry M. Elliot.[44] Their name can be connected with the Sanskrit *Barbara* or *Varvara*, the wellknown Aryan word for barbarian, which latter

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[42] *e.g.* from the *Harivaṁśa*, XXXII, I, 53, as quoted *above* on p. 39.

[43] See *above*, p. 592, and Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa, VII, 18.

[44] See *above*, pp. 37—47

term may have originated from their harshly-pronounced tribal name Bār. It has in my opinion nothing to do with *bat* or *bar*, the Banian tree, which etymology has been proposed by Sir Alexander Cunningham, and has lately been recommended again by Mr. J. F. Hewitt.[45] The latter scholar is also inclined to admit a non-Aryan origin of the Bharatas, but he prefers a Kolarian source, while the Bharatas belong according to my opinion to the Gauda-Dravidians of whom they appear to me to form the very nucleus.

I hope I have made it clear that, the Bharatas being the most powerful and numerous nation in India, this country should be named after them *Bharatavarṣa,* though the form *Bhāratavarṣa* is in more common use.[46]

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[45] See *above* p. 42, and Notes on the early history of Northern India, Part II, by J. F. Hewitt, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI, p. 280. I may here remark that the first part of this book containing the observations about the Bārs was published previously to Mr. Hewitt's Notes.

[46] See Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, pp. 704, 705 (first edn., p. 714) : " Während das zuletzt genannte Geschlecht seinen Namen durch nach ihm benannte Städte der Nachwelt aufbewahrt hat, ist der Name der ihm in der ältesten Zeit eng verbundenen *Bharata* an keine Oertlichkeit gebunden ; ihr Andenken hat sich dagegen erhalten in dem Namen *Bharata* für das ganze Indien, die grosse Schlacht und das grosse sie erzählende Epos. (Da der Name der *Bharata* in den Vedischen Liedern vorkömmt und daher älter ist, als die Benennung *Bhārata,* kann der Name des Königs nicht wohl, we hier angegeben, aus dem Namen des Landes gebildet worden sein, sondern ist derselbe, wie der Volksname, so wie *Pūru, Yadu* und *Turvaça* zugleich als Namen der Stämme und der Könige sich finden.) Wir müssen diesem Volk deshalb eine grosse Bedeutung für die älteste Geschichte zuerkennen. Sie spricht sich auch darin aus, dass der König dieses Namens als der erste Eroberer der ganzen Erde in der Sage gilt and daher die Beinamen *Sārvabhauma* und *Sarvadamana,* erhalten hat. Wenn diese Uebertreibung der Dichtung die Rechnung geschrieben werden muss, so wird doch insofern diese Ueberlieferung gerechtfertigt, als in einer der ältesten vorepischen Schriften von *Bharata* erwähnt wird dass er vom Himālaja an längs der *Yamunā* und der *Gangā* grosse Pferdeopfer verrichtet und dadurch die weite Macht der *Bharata* gegründet habe."

The nominal ancestor Bharata is, so far as I know, not mentioned as a king in the Ṛgvēda, yet the term may perhaps be occasionally taken as applying to the ancestor of the Bharatas, though in by far the greater number of cases it applies to the tribe.[47] While speaking of the word Bharata, I must not omit to mention that *Agni*, the god of fire, is called *Bharata* in the Ṛgvēda, and that Sāyaṇa explains its meaning in this context as the bearer of the oblation.[48]

To some other meanings of this word I have already alluded, but the best information on this subject is to be found in the great Sanskrit dictionaries of Professors Böthlingk and Roth.[49]

When the Bharatas had once established their supremacy, they ruled for a long period extending their sway far to the east; and the expression of Pāṇini when he mentions the eastern Bharatas supports this supposition.[50] Their non-Aryan origin had by this time been entirely forgotten, and they ranked and were esteemed everywhere as the genuine representatives of the noblest of Aryan races. The Bharatas appear to have been divided at an early period into two branches. These, however, did not immediately separate, but kept united for a long time under the leadership of one chief, until the reigning family became extinct in its direct line. These two main branches were represented

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[47] In *Ṛgvēda*, VII, 16, 4, Sāyaṇa explains the word *Bharata* as *Dauṣyantiḥ*, the son of Duṣyanta; but there is no special reason for this interpretation. With respect to Sāyaṇa's commentary, however reliable it may be on the whole, we must never forget that it was compiled not quite six hundred years ago.

[48] See *Ṛgvēda*, II, 7; I, 5; IV, 25, 4. Sāyaṇa explains in this last verse *Bharata* as meaning "bearer of the oblation," *haviṣō bhartā*. He evidently connects *Bharata* with the root *bhṛ*, to bear. Read also Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, pp. 348, 349, note 145.

[49] See in the *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, Vol. V, pp. 211—213, and Böthlingk Sanskrit Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung, Vol. IV, p. 252.

[50] See *Pāṇini*, II, 4, 66: "Bahvaca iñaḥ Prācyabharatēṣu."

eventually by the Kuru-Pañcālas, the latter being afterwards replaced by the Pāṇḍavas. These two tribes of the Bharatas correspond to the original divisions of the Indian aborigines into Gaudians and Dravidians.

The Ṛgvēda does not mention together the double race as the Kuru-Pañcālas, nor does it separately name the Kurus, Pañcālas or Pāṇḍavas. It is therefore probable that at that time the Bharatas continued to live united as one great nation.[51]

In two songs of the Ṛgvēda a tribe of the *Krivis* is spoken of as dwelling in the neighbourhood of the upper Sindhu and Asiknī.[52] In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa the Krivis are identified with the Pañcālas, who are said to have been called in ancient times Krivi. The term *Kuru-Krivi* would in these circumstances be synonymous with *Kuru-Pañcāla*, a term of frequent occurrence.[53] If this is the case, and there is no reason to doubt it, the term Krivi is in my opinion formed by a sort of assonance from the original word Kuru, a mode of formation which is by no means unusual in the Gauda-Dravidian languages, and which also occasionally occurs in Sanskrit. By modifying in a slight manner the first and principal word, the second term, without having any special meaning of its own, is made to indicate in a vague way all similar things. For instance if the first word of such a compound denotes a man, tribe, animal or any other

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[51] It is just possible that an allusion is made to the two divisions of the Bharatas in the famous hymn in which Vasiṣṭha extols the victory of Sudās, and announces that the king had scattered twenty-one families of the two Vaikarṇa tribes, if this expression can be explained as referring to the Kuru-Pañcālas or Kuru-Krivis. See *Rgvēda*, VII, 18, 11 : "Ēkam ca yō virìśatim ca śravasyā Vaikarṇayōr janān rājā nyastaḥ." See Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*, p. 103.

[52] See *Rgvēda*, VIII, 20, 24, and VIII, 22, 12.—Sāyaṇa explains *Krivi* in the first place as meaning a well.

[53] See *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 5, 4, 7 · "Krivaya iti ha vai purā Pañcālānācakṣatē."

thing, the second signifies any person or thing resembling the first. The compound Kuru-Krivi is, I take it, an example of this kind. This fondness for assonance is a striking peculiarity of the Hindus. A few examples in common use will suffice to illustrate this habit. The Telugu and Tamil people say thus *gurramu girramu* or *kuderi kideri* when they want to speak of horses and similar animals, *śāstram gīstram* denotes all kinds of sciences, *sāmān gīmān* all kinds of things, *pustakam gistakam* all kinds of books, and *katti gitti* all kinds of knives.[54] I have previously derived *Kuru* from a Gauda-Dravidian root,[55] and *Krivi* is in this case formed according to grammar, for the first vowel of the original word becomes in this reduplication invariably *i*, and in a dissyllabic like *Krivi*, the *i* of the first syllable *kri* necessitates an *i* in the second. In these circumstances I cannot accept the derivation proposed by Professor Lassen, who sees in the word *kuru* a malformation of *karu*.[56] I need not add that the expletive *krivi* in this connexion is not a real name, though it may have afterwards become a nickname for the Pañcālas. The word *Krivi* in the Ṛgvēda has also

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[54] One even often hears such amusing repetitions as *gentlemen gintlemen*, *tumbleru gimbleru*, etc. It appears that the favorite letter used in this peculiar reduplication is *g*, though *k* is also used: at all events the word begins with a guttural. In Sanskrit we meet occasionally among relatives, such assonantic names, *e.g*, Vōpayata and Vaidayata, Cōdayata and Caikayata, Śaikayata and Kṣaikayata, Jaiyaṭa and Kaiyaṭa, etc.

[55] See *above*, pp. 109—113.

[56] See Christian Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, p. 733: "Die Pāndava sind die Nachfolger der Kuru, diese und die Pancāla werden uns in vorepischen Schriften als die zwei Hauptvölker Madhyadeśa's genannt. Die Kuru werden im Rigveda gar nicht genannt, und die Panchāla nicht mit ihrem älteren Namen, sondern mit *Krivi*.. Der Name *Kuru* is aus *Karu*, d. h. thätig, entstellt." Read also Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*, p. 103: "Den Namen der Kuru deutet Lassen durch Annahme einer Zwischenform *karu;* fasst man sie nun als die 'Hauer, Metzler' oder auch die 'Thatigen,' sicher aus derselben Warzel und mit einem nahe verwandten. Suffixe gebildet ist der Name der Krivi aus *karvi* darch *kṛvi* (cf. jāgṛvi)."
The king of the Krivis is called *Kraivya*.

other meanings. On the other hand the word *Kuru* is by itself not found as a tribal name in the Ṛgvēda, yet it forms no doubt part of such expressions as Kuruṅga and Kuru-śravas which occur in it. The compound *Kuru-Krivi* suggests to my mind the supposition, that the Kurus must have been predominant at the time when it came into use. Yet I believe that the Pañcālas represented originally the older and stronger section of the Bharatas. The Bharatas became subdivided into two great halves; the Kurus being the leaders of the one, the Pañcālas or later on the Pāṇḍavas those of the other set. The same division is, as intimated above, represented among the non-Aryan Bharatas by the Gaudians and Dravidians. While the Brāhmans among the Kuru-Pañcālas classed themselves according to the people among whom they lived, so also did their descendants divide themselves at a subsequent period into Gauḍa-Brāhmans and Drāviḍa-Brāhmans.[57]

The Mahābhārata and the other Epic and Pauranic works, though not following a scientific system in the genealogical arrangement of the various tribes, still acknowledge the descent of the Pañcālas and Kurus from Bharata, and by doing so admit, in an indirect way, what I have taken great pains to prove. Bharata, who in the Mahābhārata is represented as the son of king Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā, the latter well-known as the daughter of Viśvāmitra, appears throughout as the first and greatest king of the Bharatas, in short as the founder of the race. According to the Aitarēyabrāhmaṇa he was consecrated by the sage Dīrghatamas, the son of Mamatā, and having conquered the whole world, performed numerous horse-sacrifices, and gave away millions of superbly decked elephants. In short the deeds he performed were as far beyond those of his forefathers, or of any succeeding person belonging to the five

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[57] See *above*, pp. 21, 22, 116, 117 and 118.

classes of men, as the sky is beyond the reach of mortal hands.[58] Bhumanyu succeeded his father Bharata in the kingdom. After Bhumanyu came his eldest son, the great monarch Suhōtra, who conquered the whole world up to the sea, and who, according to one tradition was the father of Ajamīḍha, while according to another he was his great-grand-father. Ajamīḍha had six sons by his three wives Dhuminī, Nīlī and Kēśinī. Ṛkṣa was the eldest and succeeded his father as king, while from Duṣmanta and Paramēṣṭhin, the two sons of Nīlī, are said to have descended all the Pañcālas.[59] In the time of *Saṁvaraṇa*, the son of Ṛkṣa, a fearful famine broke

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[58] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 23; also H.T. Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 37, 39 in his article "On the Vedas, or sacred writings of the Hindus." See *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparvan*, XCIV, 17—19; and XCV:

17. Rathantaryām sutān pañca pañcabhūtōpamāṁstataḥ
Īlinō janayām āsa Duṣmantaprabhṛtīn nṛpān;

18. Duṣmantam Śūrabhīmau ca Pravasum Vasum ēva ca
tēṣām jyēṣṭhō' bhavad rājā Duṣmantō Janamējaya.

19. Duṣmantād Bharatō jajñē vidvān Śākuntalō nṛpaḥ
tasmād Bharatavaṁśasya vipratasthē mahad yaśaḥ.

Ibidem, XCV, 28, 29, 31. 28: Duṣmantaḥ khalu Viśvāmitraduhitaram Śakuntalām nāmōpayēmē, yasyām asya jajñē Bharataḥ. 29: Atrānuvaṁśaślōkau bhavataḥ:

Bhastrā mātā pituḥ putrō yēna jātaḥ sa ēva saḥ
bharasva putram Duṣmanta māvamaṁsthāḥ Śakuntalām...

31. Tatō'sya bharatatvam

This ślōka contains another explanation of the word Bharata. Śakuntalā is called an apsaras in Śathapatha-Brāhmaṇa, XIII, 5, 4, 13. See p. 602.

[59] According to the *Ādiparvan*, XCIV, 30—33, Suhōtra is the father of Ajamīḍha.

30. Aikṣvākī janayām āsa Suhōtrāt pṛthivīpatē
Ajamīḍham Sumīḍhañca Purumīḍhañca Bhārata.

31. Ajamīḍhō varas tēṣām tasmin vaṁśaḥ pratiṣṭhitaḥ
ṣaṭ putrān sō' pyajanayat tisṛṣu striṣu Bhārata.

32. Ṛkṣam Dhuminyathō Nīlī Duṣmanta-Paramēṣṭhinau
Kēśinyajanayaj Jahnum sutau ca Jala-Rūpiṇau.

33. Tathēmē sarvapañcālā Duṣmanta-Paramēṣṭhinōḥ
anvayāḥ Kuśikā rājan Jahnōr amitatējasaḥ.

In XCV, 33—35, it is stated, that Suhōtra's son Hastin was the father of Vikuṇṭana, who in his turn became the father of Ajamīḍha.

out and many people died from pestilence, drought and other calamities. To crown all, enemies invaded the country, and the Bharatas were beaten. At last the king of the Pañcālas set out with his enormous armies to subdue the whole world, and directing his attack against Saṁvaraṇa, he utterly defeated and compelled him to leave his country, together with his wife, children, relations and ministers, obliging them to seek shelter on the banks of the Sindhu where they remained for a thousand years.[59]

Most probably it is this invasion of the Pañcāla king Durmukha to which the Aitarēyabrāhmaṇa refers, when it reports that the Pañcāla Durmukha was consecrated by the sage Bṛhaduktha, and through the knowledge which he thus acquired became king, a position not previously occupied by him, and went conquering the whole earth.[60] Lassen who comments on these passages, points out the remarkable fact that Durmukha is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa immediately after Bharata.[61]

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[59] See *Ādiparvan*, XCIV ·

34. Jala-Rūpiṇayōr jyēṣṭham Ṛkṣam āhur janādhipam
Ṛkṣāt Saṁvaraṇō jajñē rājavaṁśakaraḥ sutaḥ.
35. Ārkṣē Saṁvaraṇē rājan praśāsati vasundharām
saṅkṣayaḥ sumahān āsīt prajānām iti naḥ śrutam.
36. Vyaśīryata tatō rāṣṭram kṣayair nānāvidhais tadā
kṣunmṛtyubhyāmanāvṛṣṭyā vyādhibhiśca samāhatam.
37. Abhyaghnan Bhāratāṁścaiva sapatnānām balāni ca
cālayan vasudhāñcēmām balēna caturaṅgiṇā.
38. Abhyayāt tañca Pāñcālō vijitya tarasā mahīm
akṣauhiṇībhir daśabhis sa ēnam samarē'jayat.
39. Tatas sadāras sāmātyas saputras sasuhṛjjanaḥ
rājā Saṁvaraṇas tasmāt palāyata mahābhayāt.
40. Sindhōr nadasya mahatō nikuñjē nyavasat tadā
nadīviṣayaparyantē parvatasya samīpataḥ.
41. Tatrāvasan bahūn kālān Bhāratā durgam āśritāḥ
tēṣām nivasatām tatra sahasram parivatsarān.

[60] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 23 : " Aindram mahābhiśēṣam Bṛhaduktha ṛṣir Durmukhāya Pāñcālāya prōvāca, tasmād Durmukhaḥ Pāñcālō rājā saṁvidyayā sammatam sarvataḥ pṛthivīm jayan parīyāya."

[61] See *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, p. 735.

Saṁvaraṇa was then visited, so relates the Mahābhārata, by the great sage Vasiṣṭha, and after appointing him his family priest, regained his country, became the supreme lord of the earth, and taking as his wife Tapatī, the daughter of the sun, became through her, the father of *Kuru.* As Kuru was very righteous, he was made king by the people, and conferred fame on the country called after him Kurujāṅgala, and sanctified Kurukṣētra by his penance.

The whole story as told in the Mahābhārata is very improbable, especially the introduction of Vasiṣṭha and the retreat of Saṁvaraṇa to the Indus. This Saṁvaraṇa, most likely the last of the Bharatas in the direct line of succession, was expelled by the Pañcālas, and the Bharata kingdom thus came to an end.[62] Then followed a long time of anarchy during which the Pañcālas retained their power.

The Ganges separated the Pañcālas into Northern and Southern Pañcālas. In the commentary to Pāṇini the Eastern and Western Pañcālas are mentioned.[63] The Pañcālas were nearly connected with the Pāṇḍavas, who in fact became later on their representatives and were even called Pañcālas, an appellation to which the fact of their being five in number have contributed. They became also by Draupadī's choice, the sons-in-law of Drupada, king of the Pañcālas.

The term *Pañcāla* is differently explained, but contains most probably the number five (*pañca*). The descent of the Pañcālas given in the Harivaṁśa and Purāṇas differs from that quoted above from the Mahābhārata. The five Pañcālas are in the former the sons of Haryaśva, sixth in descent from Ajamīḍha. Their father is said to have

[62] See *Ādiparvan*, XCV, 42—49. About Saṁvaraṇa compare also *ibidem*, XCV, 37, and chapters XCIV, CLXXIII—CLXXV.

[63] See *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, IV, 25, 50, 51; and Pāṇini, II, 103.

originated their name by declaring that his five sons were sufficient for the protection of the country (*pañca* + *alam*).[64] The name may have also been so called from the country consisting of five districts, similarly as the Panjab obtained name from five rivers (*Pañcanada*).[65]

The word Pañcāla appears grammatically to be formed by the addition of the primitive affix *āla* to the cardinal number *pañca*.[66] It is possible too that the name may have been formed by means of the Gauda-Dravidian *āḻan*, like Vellāla, Ballāla, Bhillāla, Baṅgāla, etc.[67]

The Pañcālas were not unknown to the Greek and Roman geographers and historians, for we find them mentioned by Ptolemy, Arrian, Pliny and others.[68]

With respect to my derivation of the name of the town of Benares or Vārāṇasī, I think it not amiss to mention that it is reported to have been founded by the Pañcāla

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[64] See *Harivaṁśa*, XXXII, 63—66:

63. Ajamīḍhō' parō vaṁśaḥ śrūyatām puruṣōttama
    Ajamīḍhasya Nīlinyām Suśāntir udapadyata.
64. Purujātiḥ Suśāntēs tu Bāhyāśvaḥ purujātitaḥ
    Bāhyāśvatanayāḥ pañca babhūvur amarōpamāḥ.
65. Mudgalas Sṛñjayaścaiva rājā Bṛhadiṣus smṛtaḥ
    Yavīnaraśca vikrāntaḥ Krimilāśvaśca pañcamaḥ.
66. Pañcaitē rakṣaṇāyālam dēśānām iti viśrutāḥ
    pañcānām viddhi Pañcālān sphītair janapadair vṛtān.

According to the Viṣṇupurāṇa, IV, 19, Ajamiḍha had by his wife Nīlinī a son Nīla, whose son was Śānti, whose son was Suśānti, whose son was Purujānu, whose son was Cakṣus, whose son was Haryaśva (the Bāhyāśva of the Harivaṁśa and Agnipurāṇa) and whose five sons were Mudgala, Sṛñjaya, Bṛhadiṣu, Pravīra and Kāmpilya. There are great variations in these names in the various Purāṇas. Compare H. H. Wilson's *Vishṇupurāṇa*, edited by Fitzedward Hall, Vol. V, pp. 144, 145.

[65] See *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, IV, 29, 7: Pañcālāḥ pañca viṣayā yanmadhyē Navakham puram.

[66] See Theodor Benfey's *Handbuch der Sanskritsprache*, p. 151.

[67] See *above*, pp. 104, 105.

[68] See Ptolemy's *Geographia*, VII, 1, 51, where the town Πασσάλα is mentioned; Arriani *Historia Indica*, II, 6, 7; C. Plinii Secundi *Historia Naturalis*, VI, 22.

king Divōdāsa, the son of Sudēva, who through his grandfather Haryaśva, king of the Kāśi and Ajamīḍha, was a direct descendant of Bharata, and by nationality a Bharata.[69]

The Pañcālas were ultimately ousted by the Kurus. To connect Saṁvaraṇa with the Kurus superhuman influence was required, and this is intimated by making Tapatī, a daughter of the god Vivasvat and the younger sister of Sāvitrī.[70] Kuru became the reputed ancestor of the Kurus. The Mahābhārata contains two genealogies of the Candra or Lunar dynasty, the first ends with Dēvāpi, Śāntanu and Bāhlīka, the sons of Pratīpa, and the other with Aśvamēdhadatta, the son of Śatānīka.[71] For the first table

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[69] See *above*, p. 41, also *Mahābhārata*, *Anuśāsanaparvan*, XIII, 9—15:

9. Kāśiṣvapi nṛpō rājan Divōdāsapitāmahaḥ
Haryaśva iti vikhyātō babhūva jayatāmvaraḥ.
10. Sa vītahavyadāyādair āgatya puruṣarṣabha
Gaṅgāyamunayōr madhyē saṅgrāmē vinipātitaḥ.
11. Tantu hatvā narapatim Haihayās tē mahārathāḥ
pratijagmuḥ purīm ramyām vatsyā nāmākutōbhayāḥ.
12. Haryaśvasya ca dāyādāḥ Kāśirājō 'bhyaṣicyata
Sudēvō dēvasaṅkāśaḥ sākṣād dharma ivāparaḥ.
13. Sa pālayām āsa mahīm dharmātmā kāśinandanaḥ
tair vītahavyairāgatya yudhi sarvair vinirjitaḥ.
14. Tam athājau vinirjitya pratijagmur yathāgatam
Saudēvas tvatha Kāśiśō Divōdāsō' bhyaṣicyata.
15. Divōdāsas tu vijñāya vīryam tēṣām mahātmanām
Vārāṇasīm mahātējā nirmamē śakraśāsanāt.

In the Harivaṁśa, Viṣṇupurāṇa and elsewhere Divōdāsa is the son of Badhryaśva, the son of Mudgala, the son of Haryaśva (or Bāhyaśva). In Ṛgvēda, VI, 61, 1, is mentioned a Divōdāsa, a son of the sage Vadhryaśva.

[70] See *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, pp. 734—736; *Ādiparvan*, CLXXIII, 7.

[71] See *Ādiparvan*, XCIV and XCV. According to the 94th chapter *Kuru* had five sons, Avikṣit, Abhiṣyanta, Caitraratha, Muni and Janamējaya. *Avikṣit's* sons were Parikṣit, Śabalāśva, Ādirāja, Virāja, Śālmala, Uccaiśśravas, Bhaṅgakāra and Jitāri. *Parikṣit* had six sons, Kakṣasēna, Ugrasēna, Citrasēna, Indrasēna, Susēna and Bhimasēna. *Janamējaya's* sons were Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu, Bāhlīka, Niṣadha, Jāmbūnada, Kuṇḍōdara, Padāti and Vasati. Dhṛtarāṣṭra's sons were Hastin, Vitarka, Krātha,

Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu are the sons of Janamējaya, the grandson of Kuru, in the latter Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura are the grandsons of Śāntanu, the brother of Dēvāpi and son of Pratīpa. The genuine line of Kuru seems to have ended with Dēvāpi and his brothers. Of the genea-

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Kuṇḍina, Haviśśravas, Indrābha and Bhumanyu, and of his grandsons are mentioned Pratīpa, Dharmanētra and Sunētra. Pratīpa had three sons. Dēvāpi, Sāntanu and Bāhlīka. Dēvāpi retired into the forest and Śāntanu, the youngest of the three brothers, suceeded to the throne.

According to the 95th chapter Kuru married and had a son Vidūratha, who married Mādhavī and had Anaśvan, who by Amṛtā had Parīkṣit, who by Suyaśas had Bhīmasēna, who by Kaikēyī had Pratiśravas, whose son was Pratīpa, who by Śunandā had Dēvāpi, Śāntanu and Bāhlīka. Dēvāpi went as a boy into the forest and Śāntanu became king, who by Gaṅgā had Dēvavrata also called Bhīṣma. Bhīṣma out of kindness married his father Śāntanu to Satyavatī, known else as Gandhakālī. Satyavatī had by a previous connexion with the sage Parāśara a son Dvaipāyana, the celebrated Vyāsa. Śāntanu had by Satyavatī two sons, Vicitravīrya and Citrāṅgada; the latter was killed by a Gandharva and Vicitravīrya becoming king married Ambikā and Ambālikā, the daughters of the king of Kāśī, but dying childless Satyavatī asked her son Vyāsa Dvaipāyana to beget offspring for his brother, and he, obeying his mother, begat Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Pāṇḍu and Vidura. Dhṛtarāṣṭra had 100 sons by his wife Gandhārī, of whom the most renowned are Duryōdhana, Duśśāsana, Vikarṇa and Citrasēna. Pāṇḍu had two illustrious wives, Kuntī or Pṛthā and Mādrī. Pāṇḍu while hunting killed a deer which was playing with his mate, and this deer being a sage, cursed him so that he might experience the same feelings as he had felt. Out of horror Pāṇḍu became pale, and not being able to approach his wives, he asked them to raise offspring for him, and Kuntī had thus by Dharma a son Yudhiṣṭhira, by Māruta Bhīma (Vṛkōdara) and by Śakra Arjuna, while Mādrī had Nakula and Sahadēva by the two Aśvins. When Pāṇḍu had died and Mādrī burnt herself with him, Kuntī brought up the children, who went to Hastināpura and were introduced to Bhīṣma and Vidura. Draupadī became their common wife and Yudhiṣṭhira had from her a son Prativindha, Bhīma a son Sutasōma, Arjuna Śrutakīrti, Nakula Śatānīka, and Sahadēva Śrutakarman. Yudhiṣṭhira had besides by Dēvikā a son Yaudhēya, Bhīma by Valandharī Sarvaga and by Hiḍimbā Ghaṭōtkaca, Arjuna by Subhadrā, Vāsudēva's sweet-speaking sister, Abhimanyu, Nakula by Karēṇumati Niramitra, and Sahadēva by Vijayā Suhōtra. These were the eleven sons of the five Pāṇḍavas. Abhimanyu had by Uttarā a stillborn child who was revived by Kuntī and called Parīkṣit. Parīkṣit married Madrāvatī and had by her Janamējaya, who had by Vapuṣṭhamā two sons Śatānika and Śaṅkukarṇa. Śatānīka married a Vaidēhī and her son was Aśvamēdhadatta.

logies contained in the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata, the first which ends in the 94th chapter appears on the whole more trustworthy, yet it does not altogether inspire confidence. The genealogical account in prose contained in the 95th chapter is no doubt extracted from the previous pedigree to which are joined some additions, for it gives as a rule only one son, the successor to the throne, but it names on the other hand the wives of the kings. It is arranged with the avowed intention to fix and to strengthen the position of the Pāṇḍavas, by introducing into the pedigree several mythical personages. The Purāṇas supply a third pedigree which much resembles the latter.[72]

It is hardly imaginable that Janamējaya, to whom Vaiśampāyana relates the pedigree of the royal race to which the king himself belonged, would have listened quietly to an account, the untrustworthiness of which especially with regard to the more recent times was so manifest, and the incorrectness of which no one could know better than the king himself. Peculiarly enough the only Janamējaya who occurs in the first genealogical table is the father of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, while in the other account Janamējaya, to whom the events of the past are told, is the great-great-grandson of Pāṇḍu. This contradiction is too apparent to require further comment.

After these cursory remarks about the descent of the Kurus and Pañcālas, I may mention that at a subsequent period both tribes dwelt as neighbours in Madhyadēśa, the Kurus living north-east of the Pañcālas. Both are often mentioned together. Thus the Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa[73]

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[72] See *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, pp. 737, 738.

[73] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14: "Yē yē ca Kurupañcālānām rājānaḥ savaśōśīnarāṇām rājyāyaiva tē'bhiṣicyantē, rājētyēnān abhiṣiktān ācakṣata." Compare also *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, V, 7, 2, 8; III, 2, 3, 15; V, 5, 2, 5, etc.; *Vājasanēyi Saṁhitā* (Kāṇva recension), XI, 3, 3; 6, 3. About

reports that the kings of the Kuru-Pañcālas were consecrated to the kingship together with the Vaśas and Uśīnaras and got the title of king.

In such a vast country as India is, it must happen that in the course of time kindred individuals and tribes became settled in different districts, and were for the sake of distinction called by such names as express these differences. These distinctive appellations can be likewise used for marking periods in the history of those to whom they apply, if once their origin is known and their significance is accepted. And this is not rare in India where it still not unfrequently occurs that whole villages, and even smaller districts, are in times of war, famine or other calamities deserted by their inhabitants who settling in another place, apply the name of their old habitations to the new home, distinguishing the old from the modern, by adding to it the necessary local distinctions. We have thus an East, a North, a West, and a South Madura. One section of the Kanarese is known as the Baḍagas or Northerners, while among the Vaiṣṇavas the two main sects are designed Northerners (Vaḍakalai) and (Southerners) Teṅkalai. Instances of this kind exist also in Sanskrit, where we meet such expressions as *Uttarakuravaḥ*, northern Kurus, *Dakṣiṇakuravaḥ*, southern Kurus, *Uttaramadrāḥ*, northern Madras, *Uttarakōsalāḥ*, northern Kōsalas, *Prākkōsalāḥ*, eastern Kōsalas, *Uttarapañcālam* (rāṣṭram) North Pañcāla, *Dakṣiṇapañcālam*, South Pañcāla, etc.

The ancestors of the Gauda-Dravidians lived, as I have already pointed out, on both sides of the Himālaya, and Professor Lassen had good reason for fixing the abode of the Uttarakurus beyond this great mountain chain. In

Kuru-Pañcālas see also Professor Julius Eggeling's introduction to the translation of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Vol. XII, pp. XLI—XLIII of the *Sacred Books of the East*.

like manner the Bāhlīkas, and other kindred tribes of the Bharatas, the Pahlavas and Pallavas, lived beyond the abode of snow. Those Gauda-Dravidians who resided in India remembered of course quite well at the beginning their far distant relatives, but the longer the separation continued, the dimmer became the recollection, till the existence of these people lived only in the legend, and was looked upon as a matter of mere imagination possessing no real foundation. Peculiarly enough we find this very opinion expressed in two different places in one and the same work. In the Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa it is contended that the various nations who live in the northern region beyond the Himālaya, such as the Uttarakurus and Uttaramadras, are consecrated to glorious rule; but a little further on it is said that the land of the Uttarakurus is the realm of the gods, which no mortal can conquer.[74] The Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Purāṇas and other Sanskrit works contain repeated allusions to the Uttarakurus. The fame of this country had spread even to foreign nations, and Ptolemy speaks of the town, mountains and people of the Ottorokorrha. Plinius and Ammianus Marcellinus, and other classical writers mention them also.[75] Professor Lassen has sufficiently proved that the country named after the Uttarakurus was not a myth,

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[74] See *Aitarēya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14: "Tasmād ētasyām udīcyām diśi yē kē ca parēṇa Himavantam janapadāḥ Uttarakurava Uttaramadrā iti vairājyāya ēva tē' bhiṣicyantē," and VIII, 23: "Yadā brāhmaṇa uttarakurūn jayēyam atha tvam u ha ēva pṛthivyai rājā syās sēnāpatir ēvate'ham syām iti. Sa hōvāca Vāsiṣṭhas Sātyahavyō dēvakṣētram vai tad na vai tad martyō jētum arhatyadrukṣō mē ā'ta idam dada iti." Compare Haug's *Aitarēya-Brahmaṇam*, Vol. I, pp. 203 and 211; Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 38—43; Professor Weber's *Indische Studien*, Vol. I, p. 218, and IX, pp. 341, 342; Muir's *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, pp. 492, 493, and Vol. II, pp. 324, 325.

[75] See Claudii Ptolemaei *Geographīa* edit. C. F. A. Nobbe, Vol. II, pp. 128, 129, 130, and 245, or VI, 16, 2, 3, *ὄρος* 'Οττοροκοῤῥας; VI, 16, 5, the people 'Οττοροκοῤῥαι, and VI, 16, 8 and VIII, 24, 7 the town 'Οττοροκοῤῥα

though the recollection of it had faded away and the people of India treated it afterwards as a divine fable land.[76]

The Kurus and the Pañcālas were the two principal tribes of the Bharatas, who alternately lived in close friendship with, or fought against, each other in fierce battles. Such a sanguinary and pernicious war forms the legendary subject of the Mahābhārata, which has as its special theme the fortunes of the great Bharata family, but which includes within its voluminous pages an encyclopædia of ancient Hindu history, geography, divinity and cosmology. This is not the place to enlarge on the age and authenticity of the grand Epic. Suffice it to say that some portions are evidently old and must undoubtedly have been written before the birth of Christ. It is, however, curious that no clear and distinct allusion to the Mahābhārata is found in the older Sanskrit writings.

The original Mahābhārata, for it is pretty certain that the Epic in its present recension is of later date, sided, in the fight between the Kauravas and the Pañcāla-Pāṇḍavas, with the brave, honest and noble but ill-starred Kauravas who succumbed not to the valour but to the insidious tricks of their enemies. For to mean wiles fell victims the wise Bhīṣma, the confiding Drōṇa, and the fierce Karṇa, while Duryōdhana, whose real name appears to have been Suyōdhana, was disabled by an unfair blow on his thigh and then killed by Bhīma. When the poem appeared in its original form, the deeds of the Kauravas were still fresh in the memory of the people, but when the older generations had disappeared, the recollection of these deeds became gradually dimmer and dimmer, so that the infamous behaviour of the Pāṇḍavas was entirely forgotten, and the two parties changed sides in the later literary works so far as

[76] See Lassen's Essay in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, II, 62 ff, and *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. I, pp. 612 and 802 (512 and 654, first edition).

the moral character of both was concerned, the intriguing Pāṇḍavas being white-washed and extolled, while the upright Kauravas were blackened and calumniated. Yet though Brāhman writers and revisors tried their best to pervert the tenor of the whole poem, representing the Pāṇḍavas as genuine Aryan warriors endowed with valour, candour and humanity, and to represent the Kauravas as vile tyrants; the facts were too strong to make it possible for them to succeed in obliterating the whole past. In spite of all their endeavours to omit altogether, or to explain away all questionable incidents in the career of the Pāṇḍavas by introducing supernatural agencies or inventing religious motives, the case was too clearly against them to obtain their object, nor could they entirely silence the objections of pious critics.

The genuine Kuru dynasty ended as we have seen with Śāntanu, because his sons Citrāṅgada and Vicitravīrya died without leaving any offspring. In this difficulty their mother Satyavatī had recourse to her son Vyāsa Dvaipāyana, the son of Parāśara, whom she persuaded to obtain issue from Ambikā and Ambālikā, the two widows of his deceased half-brother Vicitravīrya. Through this connexion were born Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu, who could not, however, be regarded as genuine Kauravas, as neither their reputed father nor their mothers had any Kuru-blood in their veins. It has been suggested that in the older recension Bhīṣma took the place of Vyāsa,[77] in which case Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu at least would belong to the Kuru-family, yet this objection is in reality of no importance. None of the wives of blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra or of pale Pāṇḍu were Aryan ladies by birth, Gāndhārī was a daughter of the king of the Gandhāras, Kuntī or Pṛthā was a Bhōja princess and Mādrī belonged to the non-Aryan Madras. The

[77] See Professor Adolf Holtzmann's *Indische Sagen*, Einleitung, p. XIII. About the Mahābhārata consult "*Zur Geschichte und Kritik des Mahābhārata* von Dr. Adolf Holtzmann, Prof. an der Universitat Freiburg i. B"., Kiel, 1892.

legend, moreover, makes Pāṇḍu impotent in consequence of a curse he had incurred while hunting, and Kuntī became a mother of her three sons Yudhiṣṭhira, Arjuna and Bhīma by associating with the gods Dharma, Indra and Vāyu as her temporary husbands, while Mādrī became in a similar manner through the assistance of the two Aśvins the mother of Nakula and Sahadēva. Yet not satisfied with their miraculous birth the five Pāṇḍavas became enamoured of one and the same woman, and Arjuna won for them all Draupadī, the daughter of Drupada, the king of the Pañcālas. This most flagrant case of polyandry was rather a disagreeable circumstance, but the ingenuity of the Brāhmans was quite equal to explain it; and Draupadī is said to have had five husbands, as Śiva had willed it so because she had prayed in her previous birth five times for a husband. On the other hand the five Pāṇḍavas should be regarded as five incarnations of Indra and in consequence as one man. This occurrence of polyandry and other peculiar customs connect the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas closely with the non-Aryan inhabitants of India, among whom these habits prevailed. Even among the Uttarakurus the women were not bound by their marriage bonds, but chose their mates as they pleased without showing any regard for the feelings of their kinsmen. This fact would by itself furnish strong evidence of the existence of polyandry in Northern India in ancient times, independently of the circumstance that this custom still flourishes there.[78]

[78] See *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparvan*, CXXII: Pāṇḍu tells his wife Kuntī that the women were in former times not kept within houses and dependent on husbands and other relatives, but enjoyed themselves as best as they could. This practice was not regarded sinful, and is still in vogue among the Uttarakurus. It was, however, abolished by Śvētakētu, the son of the sage Uddālaka, when he saw that a strange Brāhman in the presence of his own father took his own mother away with him.

3. Atha tvidam pravakṣyāmi dharmatattvam nibōdha mē
purāṇam ṛṣibhir dṛṣṭam dharmavidbhir mahātmabhiḥ.

It is here perhaps not out of place to mention a peculiar custom observed at the *Aśvamēdha* or horse-sacrifice, which may be regarded as showing traces of non-Aryan origin. The reigning queen (*mahiṣī*), desirous of a son and heir, must in company with other favorite wives of the king, as the *vāvātā*, *parivṛktī* and *pālakalī*, spend the night near the slain sacrificial horse, exposing herself to him as to a husband. According to the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, the priest leading her to the horse says: "O Ambā, O Ambikā, O Ambālikā, O blessed one, who is covered with a Kāmpīla-cloth; you both shall enjoy yourselves in heaven," as the queen complains, that no one leads her, and that the horse sleeps.

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4. Anāvṛtāḥ kila purā striya āsan varānanē
kāmacāravihāriṇyaḥ svatantrāś cāruhāsini.
5. Tāsām vyuccaramāṇānām kaumārāt subhagē patīn
nādharmō'bhūd varārōhē sa hi dharmaḥ purābhavat.
6. Tañcaiva dharmam panrāṇam tiryag yōnigatāḥ prajāḥ
adyāpyanuvidhīyantē kāmakrōdhavivarjitāḥ.
7. Pramāṇadṛṣṭō dharmō'yam pūjyatē ca maharṣibhiḥ
uttarēṣu ca rambhōru kuruṣvadyāpi pūjyatē.
8. Strīṇām anugrahakaraḥ sa hi dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ
asmiṁstu lōkē na cirān maryādēyam śucismitē.
sthāpitā yēna yasmācca tan mē vistarataḥ śṛṇu.
9. Babhūvōddālakō nāma maharṣir iti naḥ śrutam
Śvētakētur iti khyātaḥ putrastasyābhavan muniḥ.
10. Maryādēyam kṛtā tēna dharmyā vai Śvētakētunā
kōpāt kamalapatrākṣi yad artham tam nibōdha mē.
11. Śvētakētōḥ kila purā samakṣam mātaram pituḥ
jagrāha Brāhmaṇaḥ pāṇau gacchāva iti cābravīt.
12. Ṛṣiputras tataḥ kōpam cakārāmarsacōditaḥ
mātaram tām tathā dṛṣṭvā nīyamānām balād iva.
13. Kruddham taṁ tu pitā dṛṣṭvā Śvētakētum uvāca ha
Mā tāta kōpam kārṣīstvam ēṣa dharmas sanātanaḥ.
14. Anāvṛtā hi sarvēṣām varṇānām aṅganā bhuvi
yathā gāvaḥ sthitās tāta svē svē varṇē tathā prajāḥ.
15. Ṛṣiputrō'tha tam dharmam Śvētakētur na cakṣamē
cakāra caiva maryādām imām strīpuṃsayōr iti.

In spite of Pāṇḍu's words his very grandchildren transgressed this law introduced by Śvētakētu. See *above*, pp. 214 and 216, about the practice of polyandry among the Kunāwāris.

The queen from under the white silk cloth, where she is with the horse, utters four times further complaints to the other queens, about the futility of her designs, as the horse is sleeping. They, however, console her and say that she will nevertheless get her reward, for the horse does its duty though she does not perceive it, and that she will ultimately obtain a son.[79] The abovementioned Kāmpīla

[79] The *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*, VII, 4, 19, 1—3 reads 1. " Ambē Ambālyambikē, na mā nayati kaścana, sasastyaśvakaḥ, subhagē kāmpīlavāsini suvargē lōkē samprōrṇvāthām, āham ajāni garbhadham ā tvam ajāsi garbhadham, tau saha caturaḥ padaḥ samprasārayāvahai, vṛṣā vām rētōdhā rētōdadhātūtsakthyōr gṛdam dhēhyañ jimudañ jim anvaja, yaḥ strīṇām jīvabhōjanō ya āsām 2. biladhāvanaḥ, priyaḥ strīṇām āpīcyaḥ, ya āsāṅkṛṣṇē lakṣmaṇi, sardigṛdim parāvadhit. Ambē Ambālyambikē na mā yabhati kaścana, sasastyaśvakaḥ, ūrdhvām ēnām ucchrayatād vēṇubhāram girāviva, athāsyā madhyam ēdhatāṁ śītē vātē punanniva. Ambē Ambālyambikē na mā yabhati kaścana sasastyaśvakaḥ yaddhariṇīyavam atti na 3. pnṣṭam paśu manyatē, śūdrā yad aryajārā na pōṣāya dhanāyati. Ambē Ambaliyambikē na mā yabhati kaścana sasastyaśvakaḥ, iyaṁ yakā śakuntikā halam iti sarpati, āhatam gabhē pasō ni jalgulīti dhāṇikā. Ambē Ambāliyambikē na mā yabhati kaścana, sasastyaśvakaḥ, mā tā ca tē pitā ca tē'gram vṛkṣasya rōhataḥ 4. prasūlāmīti tē pitā gabhē muṣṭim ataṁsayat."

Compare with this *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa*, III, 9, 5, 1—13. 6. " Yathōktasya mṛtōpacārasyānuṣṭhānārtham pratiprasthātṛkartṛkam patnyānayanam vidhattē." Ambē Ambālyambika iti patnīm udānayati ahvataivainām " iti, ambādiśabdaiḥ pratiprasthātā mahiṣīm sambōdhayati, tēna tām āhvayatyēva ētaccānyāsām apyupalakṣaṇam. 7. Yaduktam sūtrakārēṇa subhagē kāmpīlavāsinīti śōṇēna vāsasādhvaryur mahiṣīm aśvañca pracchādyēti,-tasmin mantrē prathamabhāgasya tātparyam darśayati. Subhagē kāmpīlavāsinityāha, tapa ēvainām upanayati iti. Atra pratiprasthātā mahiṣīm sambōdhayati, hē subhagē saubhāgyayuktē, hē kāmpīlavāsini śṛṅgārārtham vicitradukūlavastrōpētē, anēna sambōdhanēna mahiṣīm 'ēnām,' 'tapa ēva,' prāpayati, mṛtēnāśvēna saha bhōgārtham āhvānam santāpahētutvāt tapasthānīyam."

The *Vājasanēyi-Saṁhitā* (Mādhyandina recension, XXIII, 18) has: " Ambē Ambikē'mbālikē na mā nayati kaścana sasastyaśvakaḥ subhadrikām kāmpīlavāsinīm." 19. Gaṇānān tvā gaṇapatim havāmāhē priyāṇāntvā priyapatim havāmahē nidhīnāntvā nidhipatim havāmahē vasō mama."

About the *Aśvamēdha* see *Ṛgvēda* I, 162 and 163; and *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, XIII (XIV) 35, 36:

35. Patatriṇā tadā sārdham suṣṭhitēna ca cētasā
avasad rajanīm ēkām Kanśalyā putrakāmyayā.
36. Hōtādhvaryustathōdgātā hayēna samayōjayan
mahiṣyāḥ parivṛtyartham upōḍhām aparām tathā,

is a town in the Pañcāla country, where certain precious kinds of cloth were manufactured.

Professor Weber is inclined to explain the words *Subhadrikām Kāmpīlavāsinīm* which occur in the Vājasanēyi-Saṁhitā for which *Subhagē Kāmpīlavāsini* stand in the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, as referring to Subhadrā, the wife of Arjuna, and the names Ambikā and Ambalikā as applying to the mothers of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Pāṇḍu. In this case the whole passage would point to an event in the history of the Kuru-Pañcālas. Though such an explanation would suit my purpose, I am afraid that it cannot be accepted. I am, however, satisfied that the ceremony is of non-Aryan origin, and therefore I have quoted it.[80]

It would not be difficult for me to produce from the man-

The Bombay edition and that of Carey and Marshman (p. 173) read 36*b* as follows: "mahisyā parivṛttyātha vāvātām aparām tathā." The Grantha edition reads *hastēna* instead of *hayēna*. The commentary of the Rāmāyaṇa (Gōvindarājīya) says: "Atra sūtram: *Ambē Ambālyambikē* iti japantī mahiṣī aśvam upasaṅgamya *gaṇānām tvā gaṇapatim havāmaḥ* ityabhimantrya utsaktyōr gṛdam dhēhīti prajananē prajananam sannidhāya upaviśati. *Subhagē Kāmpīlavāsini* iti kṣaumēṇa vāsasā adhvaryuḥ mahiṣīm aśvam ca prāchādya vṛṣā vām rētōdhāḥ rētō dadhātu iti japati āgnīdhra ētām rātrim ṛtvijaḥ yajamānām jāgarayanti." (Daśaratha gives his four queens the Mahiṣī, Parivṛkti, Vāvātā and Pālakalī to the Hōtṛ, Adhvaryu, Udgātṛ and Brahman (Atharvan) priests respectively as their wives. The priests return the queens after the ceremonial against a present to the king.

[80] See Professor Weber's *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 114, 115 "The second passage occurs in connection with the horse sacrifice (XXIII, 18). The *mahishī*, or principal wife of the king, performing this sacrifice, must, in order to obtain a son, pass the night by the side of the horse that has been immolated, placing its *śiśna* on her *upastha*; with her fellow-wives, who are forced to accompany her, she pours forth her sorrow in this lament: 'O Ambā, O Ambikā, O Ambālikā, no one takes me (by force to the horse); (but if I go not of myself) the (spiteful) horse will lie with (another, as) the (wicked) Subhadrā who dwells in Kāmpila.' Kāmpila is a town in the country of the Pañchālas. Subhadrā, therefore, would seem to be the wife of the king of that district, and the benefits of the *aśvamedha* sacrifice are supposed to accrue to them, unless the *mahishī* consents

ners and customs prevailing among the Kurus, Pañcālas and Pāṇḍavas further evidence to show that they resemble those of their non-Aryanised relations beyond the pale, but I believe that sufficient proofs have been already brought forward in support of the non-Aryan descent of the former. It must also not be forgotten, in cases like these, that it is quite impossible at this distant period to give an accurate and concise description of the manners to which the people of India adhered in those days, though we may be able to give a general account of them.

If I now summarize the conclusions to which I have arrived concerning the Bharatas, I contend that the Bharatas mentioned in the Ṛgvēda, principally as the followers of Viśvāmitra, were warriors of non-Aryan origin, who disconnecting themselves early from their aboriginal kindred and gaining access into the Aryan pale, became by their superior prowess and influence the representative tribe of the Aryan race, as their relatives beyond the pale were the representatives of the aboriginal inhabitants. They were divided into two great branches, the Kurus and Pañcāla-Pāṇḍavas, round which were grouped the other smaller clans. In a similar manner two great tribes, the Gaudians and Dravidians, formed the chief component parts of the non-Aryanised Bharatas, who, split up in numberless sub-

voluntarily to give herself up to this revolting ceremony. If we are justified in regarding the *mahishī* as the consort of a king of the Kurus,—and the names Ambikā and Ambālikā actually appear in this connection in the Mahābhārata, to wit, as the names of the mothers of Dhṛitarāshṭra and Pāṇḍu,—we might then with probability infer that there existed a hostile, jealous feeling on the part of the Kurus towards the Pañchālas, a feeling which was possibly at that time only smouldering, but which in the epic legend of the Mahābhārata we find had burst out into the flame of open warfare. However this may be, the allusion to Kāmpīla at all events betrays that the verse, or even the whole book (as well as the corresponding passages of the Taitt. Brāhmaṇa), originated in the region of the Pañchālas; and this inference holds good also for the eleventh book of the Kāṇva recension." I quote from the first edition, as I have not yet seen the second edition of the History of Indian Literature.

divisions, were spread over the whole length and breadth of India, and even beyond it, if we include the Uttarakurus and Bāhlīkas with their immediate kindred who lived beyond the Himalayan mountain range. I have given a list of these various tribes in some previous chapters.[81] Though the non-Aryan population everywhere considerably outstripped the Aryans in numbers, the latter, except in the case of some northern districts, though forming in fact only an infinitesimal fraction of the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula, were nevertheless able to gain and to retain dominion over the numberless aborigines by the display of their superior mental and physical powers, to exact implicit obedience to their behests, stamping on them the seal of divine ordinance, by arrogating to themselves the title of Gods on Earth. And yet while occupying without dispute the position of lords over the whole country, these masters when naming the land could not find a more suitable appellation for it than one which contains the name of the most prominent and powerful indigenous race, the Bharatas, connecting it with their eponymous king Bharata. In consequence, I prefer as India's name the designation Bharatavarṣa, or land of the Bharatas. Indeed, if I may venture a suggestion, I think that as a general name comprising all the inhabitants of India that of Bharata should have the preference, because all classes and clans of the population can put in a claim for it. Even the Brāhmans, to whom it does not properly apply, could have no objection to it, in consequence of their ancient and intimate connexion with the Bharata-kings, and their present high position as principal leaders in temporal and spiritual matters of the population of Bharatavarṣa. Such a name will bridge over the great social chasms, which divide at present the Hindus, and perhaps bring together

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[81] See *above*, pp. 14, 112 and 113.

in union the two great antagonistic sections of the original inhabitants, which since the earliest times of antiquity have lived estranged from each other, not always, perhaps, in open enmity and war, yet never in sincere friendship: I mean those divisions which appear in history at various times and occasions as Kurus and Pañcālas, Gaudians and Dravidians, Kurumbas and Pallas, etc. To all these kindred tribes, as to the Kurus and Pañcālas of old, the term *Bharata* can be applied, as it includes all Aryanised and non-Aryan Indian clans within and without the Aryan pale, and I consider that by accepting such a time-honoured and honourable name as their national designation, a great step towards national unity would be taken in India.

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